This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

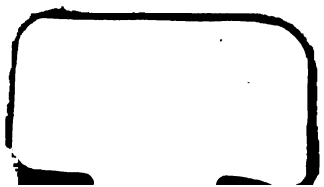
Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

HN 2XWL %

Digitized by Google

KF 29752(9)

HARVARD
COLLEGE
LIBRARY



Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE

WORKS OF EDMUND BURKE.

IN NINE VOLUMES.

VOL. IX.

BOSTON:

CHARLES C. LITTLE AND JAMES BROWN.

MDCCCXXXIX.

Digitized by Google

KF 29752 (9)
~~B 2102.90.67~~
B
HARVARD COLLEGE
July 11, 1941
LIBRARY
Miss Sally Fairchild
HARVARD
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY
JUN 26 1961

BOSTON:
FREEMAN AND BOLLES, PRINTERS,
WASHINGTON STREET.

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS.

VOL. IX.

An account of the European Settlements in America . . . 17

The Epistolary Correspondence of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke and Dr. French Laurence 417

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS

IN

AMERICA.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

PREFACE.

The affairs of America have lately engaged a great deal of the public attention. Before the present war, there were but a very few who made the history of that quarter of the world any part of their study; though the matter is certainly very curious itself, and extremely interesting to us, as a trading people.

The history of a country which, though vast in extent, is the property only of four nations; and which, though peopled probably for a series of ages, is only known to the rest of the world for about two centuries, does not naturally afford matter for many volumes. Yet it is certain, that, to acquire a proper knowledge of the history of the events in America, an idea of its present state, and a competent judgment of its trade, a great deal of reading has been found requisite. And I may add, that the reading on many parts of this subject is dry and disgusting; that authors have treated on it, some without a sufficient knowledge of the subject, and others in such a manner as no knowledge of the subject in the author could induce any body to become readers; that some are loaded with a lumber of matter that can interest very few; and that others obscure the truth in many particulars, to gratify the low prejudices of parties, and, I may say, of nations. Whatever is written by the English settled in our colonies, is to be read with great caution; because very few of them write without a bias to the interest of the particular province to which they belong, or perhaps to a particular faction in that province. It is only by comparing the printed

Digitized by Google

accounts with one another, and those with the best private informations, and correcting all by authentic matter of record, that one can discover the truth; and this hath been a matter of some difficulty.

With regard to the foreign settlements, recourse was had to the best printed accounts of travelers and others; and, in some points, to private information from intelligent traders. The materials for the foreign settlements are far from being as perfect, or as much to be depended upon, as we could wish. It was very seldom that I could venture to transcribe any thing directly from them without some addition or some corrective.

In the historical part of this work, I fixed my eye principally on some capital matters, which might the most fully engage and best reward the attention of the reader; and in treating of those I dwelt only upon such events as seemed to me to afford some political instruction, or to open the characters of the principal actors in those great scenes. The affairs, which seemed most worthy of an account of any length, are those splendid and remarkable events of the discovery of America, and the conquest of the only two civilized kingdoms it contained.

In treating of other parts, I have given so much of the history of each country as may serve to show when and upon what principles it was planted, to enable the reader the better to judge of its present condition. These accounts are very short; and, considering of what sort of matter such histories are composed, I believe I shall deserve as much for what I have omitted, as for what I have inserted. If I could not write well upon any subject, I have endeavored always to write concisely.

My principal view, in treating of the several settlements, was to draw every thing towards their trade, which is the point that concerns us the most materially; for which reason, I have but little considered their civil, and yet less their natural history, further than as they tended to throw some light upon the commerce of these countries; except where

Digitized by Google

the matters were very curious, and served to diversify the work.

It is not to be expected that a performance of this kind can be written equally throughout. In some places, the subject refuses all ornament; and the matter, dry in itself, is by no art to be made otherwise; in some a contagion communicated from the dulness of materials, which yet were necessary to the work, may probably appear; in many, and perhaps the most blamable parts, the author alone must be answerable.

Having spoken perhaps a little too hardly of my materials, I must except the assistance I have had from the judicious Collection called Harris's Voyages. There are not many finer pieces than the history of Brazil in that Collection; the light in which the author sets the events in that history is fine and instructive; an uncommon spirit prevails through it; and his remarks are every where striking and deep. The little sketch I have given in the part of Portuguese America, if it has any merit, is entirely due to that original. However, the accounts given of many things in that part of his work which relates to the English and French settlements, may be defective, and suited rather to the ancient than to the present state of affairs in that part of the world. His remarks have rarely this fault; and where I differ from him in any respect, it is with deference to the judgment of a writer to whom this nation is much obliged, for endeavoring every where with so much good sense and eloquence to rouse that spirit of generous enterprise, that can alone make any nation powerful or glorious.

A. D. 1761.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS.

PART I.

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA, AND THE REDUCTION OF MEXICO AND PERU.

CHAPTER I.

Page.

The state of Europe before the discovery of America—The project of Columbus—His application to several courts—His successful application to that of Spain—His voyage—The discovery of the Bahamas, and Greater Antilles 17

CHAPTER II.

The discovery of the Caribbees—Columbus returns to Europe—His behavior at Lisbon—His reception at Barcelona by Ferdinand and Isabella—Second voyage of Columbus—The condition of the Spaniards in Hispaniola—The city of Isabella built, and a Spanish colony settled—A voyage for better discovering the coast of Cuba . 24

CHAPTER III.

The difficulties attending the voyage—Jamaica discovered—Columbus returns to Hispaniola—The Spaniards rebel—A war with the Indians of that country—They are conquered—Their scheme for starving the Spaniards 31

CHAPTER IV.

Complaints against Columbus—A person is sent to inquire into his conduct—He returns to Spain—He is acquitted—He sets out on his third voyage—He discovers the continent of South America—He sails to Hispaniola 36

CHAPTER V.

Columbus finds the Spaniards of Hispaniola in rebellion—His measures to suppress it—New complaints against him in Spain—He is superseded in the government, and sent to Spain in irons . . . 41

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER VI.

Page.

The discoveries of Americus Vesputius, and other adventurers—What caused the spirit of discovery 44

CHAPTER VII.

Columbus again acquitted—Undertakes a fourth voyage—Discovers the coast of Terra Firma and the isthmus of Darien—Returns to Hispaniola—His reception there—Pursues his discoveries to the coast of Terra Firma—He is driven to Jamaica, and shipwrecked on that island—His distresses there—The rebellion of his men, which he suppresses—He leaves the island and returns to Spain—His reception there—He dies 47

CHAPTER VIII.

The character of Columbus—Some reflections on the conduct of the court of Spain 54

CHAPTER IX.

The discoveries and conquests of Balboa—Velasquez sends Cortes on the Mexican expedition—The state of the Mexican empire—Cortes makes an alliance with the Tlascalans 57

CHAPTER X.

Cortes builds La Vera Cruz—He marches to Mexico—His reception by Montezuma—Cortes imprisons Montezuma—That prince's stratagem to gain his liberty; the consequence of it 63

CHAPTER XI.

The attempts of Montezuma to make the Spaniards leave Mexico—The arrival of Narvaez to take the command from Cortes—Cortes leaves Mexico—Defeats and takes Narvaez prisoner—The Spaniards in Mexico besieged—Cortes raises the siege—Montezuma is killed 69

CHAPTER XII.

Guatimozin chosen emperor by the Mexicans—He besieges the Spaniards in their quarters—Obliges Cortes to retire out of the city—Distresses him in his retreat—The battle of Otumba—Cortes retreats to Tlascala 76

CHAPTER XIII.

Spaniards sent against Cortes join him—He marches again to Mexico—A conspiracy against his life baffled . . . . . .

CHAPTER XIV.

The siege of Mexico—Terms of accommodation refused by the Mexicans—The Spaniards repulsed by a stratagem of Guatimozin—A new stratagem of Guatimozin—He is taken—The city surrenders—Guatimozin tortured—Cortes superseded in his government—Reflections on the Spanish cruelties. 87

CHAPTER XV.

The scheme of Pizarro and Almagro for the conquest of Peru—Their characters—The state of the empire of Peru at that time—The taking of the ynca Atabalipa 97

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER XVI.

Page.

The murder of the ynca—A dispute between Pizarro and Almagro—They were reconciled—Almagro's expedition to Chili—The Peruvians renew the war, and besiege Cusco—Almagro returns and defeats them—Almagro renews the quarrel with Pizarro, but is defeated and put to death 105

CHAPTER XVII.

The final dispersion of the Peruvian army—The conspiracy against Pizarro—He is murdered 112

CHAPTER XVIII.

Young Almagro made governor—The new viceroy Vaca di Castro arrives—Puts to death young Almagro—Puts an end to the factions, and settles the province—He is recalled—Gonzalo Pizarro raises a rebellion, and usurps the government—Peter de la Gasca made viceroy—Defeats the troops of Pizarro, and puts him to death . 115

PART II.

THE MANNERS OF THE AMERICANS.

CHAPTER I.

The persons of the Americans—Their dress and way of living—Their manner of conversing—Their hospitality—Their temper—Their religion and superstitions—Their medicine 121

CHAPTER II.

The government of the Americans—Their councils—Their orators—Their feasts—Their manner of administering justice . . 126

CHAPTER III.

Their mournings for their dead—The feast of souls—The American women, their occupations—Their marriages and divorces . . 131

CHAPTER IV.

The Indian manner of preparing for war—The songs and dances—Their taking the field—Their method of discovering and attacking the enemy—Their cruel treatment of their prisoners of war . 134

PART III.

SPANISH AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

A general description of America 144

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER II.

Page.

The climate and soil of New Spain—Animals—Its vegetable produce 147

CHAPTER III.

The gold and silver mines—The manner of purifying those metals—Some thoughts on the generation of metals—Of the quantity of those metals produced in the Spanish West Indies 150

CHAPTER IV.

Of cochineal and cacao 156

CHAPTER V.

The trade of Mexico—Some account of that city—The fairs of Acapulco and La Vera Cruz—The flota and register ships 159

CHAPTER VI.

Three sorts of people in New Spain—The Whites, Indians, and Negroes; the characters of those—The clergy, their characters—The civil government, its character 166

CHAPTER VII.

New Mexico—Its discovery—Climate—Products—The English claim to California 169

CHAPTER VIII.

The climate and soil of Peru—Its produce—The mines, the coca and herb of Paraguay 170

CHAPTER IX.

The wines of Peru—The wool—The lamas and vicunnas, sheep of Peru—Jesuits' bark—Guinea pepper—The dung of Iquiqua—Quicksilver mines 174

CHAPTER X.

The character of the Peruvians—Their divisions—The Indian festival—Honors paid to a descendant of the ynca 177

CHAPTER XI.

The cities of Peru, Lima, Cusco, and Quito; a description of them—Callao, its trade and destruction—The viceroy of Peru—His jurisdiction, and revenues 180

CHAPTER XII.

The temperature of the air in Chili—The soil—Its fertility—A description of the principal towns—The trade of Chili 185

CHAPTER XIII.

The Spaniards in this province but few—The Americans, their character—some free 187

CHAPTER XIV.

The climate of Paraguay—Its rivers—The province of La Plata—The town of Buenos Ayres—Its trade 189

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER XV.

Page.

The territory of the Jesuits in Paraguay—Their manner of settling and governing it—The obedience of the people—Some reflections on the late transactions there 191

CHAPTER XVI.

Terra Firma—Its extent and produce—The cities of Panama, Carthagena, and Porto-bello—The galleons—The isle of Cuba—The Havanna—Hispaniola—Porto Rico—Reflections on the policy of Spain with regard to the colonies 197

PART IV.

THE PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENTS.

CHAPTER I.

An account of the discovery of Brazil—The method of settling it—Conquered by the Dutch—Reconquered by the Portuguese . 205

CHAPTER II.

The climate of Brazil—Of the Brazil wood 209

CHAPTER III.

The trade of Brazil—Its intercourse with Africa—The settlement of the river Amazons and Rio Janerio—The gold mines—The commonwealth of the Paulists—The diamond mines 210

CHAPTER IV.

Regulation of the Portuguese trade—The description of St. Salvador, the capital of Brazil—The fleets for that city—Rio Janeiro and Pernambuco 215

CHAPTER V.

The character of the American Portuguese—The state of the Negroes—The government 218

PART V.

THE FRENCH SETTLEMENTS.

CHAPTER I.

The time in which the French began their West Indian Settlements—Favored by Cardinal Richelieu—De Poincy governor—The West India company 221

CHAPTER II.

The destruction of the colony of St. Christopher's—The rise of the Buccaneers—The cause of their success—The settlement of His-

Digitized by Google

Page.

paniola—The policy of France—A description of Hispaniola—Its trade—The towns of Cape Françoise and Leogane . . 225

CHAPTER III.

A description of Martinico—Of Guadaloupe and other French islands—Their produce—Observations on the mistakes that have been made about their value 231

CHAPTER IV.

French North America—Description of Canada—Its climate—The fair of Montreal—Quebec—The inhabitants of Canada—The river St. Lawrence and the great Lakes—Capt Breton 235

CHAPTER V.

Louisiana—The Mississippi—The Ohio—The fountain of youth—The colony of Louisiana 241

CHAPTER VI.

The French policy with regard to their colonies 244

CHAPTER VII.

The Dutch settlements—Curaçoa—The city, its trade—The Spanish contraband—Eustatia—The Danish company—The Danish island of Santa Cruz—The characters of the several European nations as they regard America 251

PART VI.

THE ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS.

CHAPTER I.

The division of the English West Indies—Description of Jamaica—Conquest of that island 257

CHAPTER II.

The settlement of Jamaica—The failure of cacao—The Buccaneers—The flourishing state of that island—Its decline in some respects 261

CHAPTER III.

The products of Jamaica—Pimento—Sugar—Rum—Molasses—Cotton—Ginger—The logwood trade—Disputes about it—The contraband—Slave trade 264

CHAPTER IV.

Port Royal—The earthquake, 1692—Kingston—St. Jago de la Vega, or Spanish-town—Disputes about the removal of the seat of government 269

CHAPTER V.

Barbadoes—Its savage condition at the first planting—The hardships suffered by the planters—The speedy increase of the island—Its great wealth and number of inhabitants—Its decline—Present state of the island 272

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER VI.

Page.

St. Christopher, Antigua, Nevis, Montserrat; their present condition and force 277

CHAPTER VII.

Climate of the West Indies—The rains and winds—Hurricanes—Their prognostics—Produces of the West Indies—Sugar—The manner of manufacturing it—Planters in the West Indies—Their way of life and management of their affairs—The negroes 279

CHAPTER VIII.

Observations on the settlement of the West Indies—Advantages there for tempers prejudicial at home—Bad tempers not always noxious in every sense 286

CHAPTER. IX.

Observations on taxing the colonies—On an expensive establishment there—Objections answered 289

CHAPTER X.

State of the negroes in the West Indies—Danger from them—Methods proposed for remedying these abuses—The necessity of increasing the whites—Use of this regulation in trade 293

CHAPTER XI.

Misery of the negroes—Great waste of them—Methods of preventing it—Instruction of negroes in religion 298

CHAPTER XII.

Proposals for a sort of enfranchisement of mulattoes and negroes—Danger from the multitude of house-negroes 302

PART VII.

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

A general view of the English dominions in North America . 304

CHAPTER II.

First attempts to settle North America—The rise and progress of the Puritans—They are persecuted by Laud—Several fly into New England 306

CHAPTER III.

Difference in religion divides the colony—Massachusetts—Connecticut—Providence—Spirit of persecution—Persecution of the Quakers—Disputes about grace 312

CHAPTER IV.

The Witchcraft delusion—Great cruelties—The madness ends in the accusation of the magistrates—Reflections 317

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER V.

Page.
The situation, climate, &c. of New England—Indian corn described—Cattle of New England 322

CHAPTER VI.

People of New England—Their numbers—History of the charters of the colonies here, and the forfeiture of some. 325

CHAPTER VII.

Boston, its harbor—Trade—Ship building—Distillery—Foreign traffic—Reflections on the scheme of limiting it—Declension of the trade of New England. 328

CHAPTER VIII.

New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania—Description of their situation, &c.—Short account of their settlement 336

CHAPTER IX.

City of New York—Its flourishing trade—Albany—The Indian trade there—The Iroquois or Five Nations. 340

CHAPTER X.

New Jersey—Its trade; and inhabitants 342

CHAPTER XI.

Account of William Penn—The principles on which he settled the colony—His death 343

CHAPTER XII.

Inhabitants of Pennsylvania—Variety of nations and religions—Pacific principles of the Quakers—Reflections on the present state of affairs there 345

CHAPTER XIII.

Description of Philadelphia—Its trade—Number of people in Pennsylvania—Its flourishing condition—Few negroes there . . . 348

CHAPTER XIV.

Situation, &c. of Virginia—Conveniency of its rivers for navigation—Beasts and birds of the country—The opossum 350

CHAPTER XV.

Towns in Virginia few and small—Tobacco, its cultivation—Trade in that and other commodities—People in Virginia—White and black 354

CHAPTER XVI.

Attempts to settle Virginia, three unsuccessful—Settled at last by Lord Delaware 357

CHAPTER XVII.

Virginia holds out against Cromwell, and is reduced—Bacon's rebellion—Its causes—Bacon dies—Peace restored 360

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER XVIII.

Page.

Maryland—The time of settling it—Grant to Lord Baltimore—Attempts of King James to deprive him of his jurisdiction—He is deprived of it on the Revolution—He is restored—Capital of Maryland—Its trade and inhabitants 363

CHAPTER XIX.

Attempts of the French to settle Carolina—They are beat off by the Spaniards 367

CHAPTER XX.

Carolina is settled by the English—Its constitution—The lords proprietors resign their charter—Made a royal government, and divided into two provinces 369

CHAPTER XXI.

Situation, climate, &c., of Carolina—its animal and vegetable productions 372

CHAPTER XXII.

The commodities of Carolina for export—Rice, indigo, pitch, and tar—Process in raising and manufacturing the commodities . . 376

CHAPTER XXIII.

North Carolina—Some account of its settlement—Bad state of that province—Is considerably improved—Chief town . . . 381

CHAPTER XXIV.

An account of Charleston—Port Royal—The trade of Carolina—Its vast increase—Articles not sufficiently attended to there . . 383

CHAPTER XXV.

Settlement of Georgia—Reasons for it—The plan of the settlement defective—Attempts to remedy it 387

CHAPTER XXVI.

Colony new modeled—Faults in the new constitution—Trade of this province. 391

CHAPTER XXVII.

Nova Scotia—the time and reasons of its settlement—French there—Climate and soil—Annapolis, Halifax, and Lunenburg . . 394

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The island of Newfoundland—The fishery there—The Bermudas—Their settlement and trade—The Bahamas. 398

CHAPTER XXIX.

Hudson's Bay—Attempts for the discovery of a North west passage—The Hudson's Bay company—Thoughts upon its trade—Climate and soil of the countries there—Conclusion 401

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER XXX.

Page.

The royal, proprietary, and charter governments—Laws of the colonies—Paper currency—Abuses in it—Another sort of money proposed 408

Digitized by Google

PART I.

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA, AND THE REDUCTION OF MEXICO AND PERU.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATE OF EUROPE BEFORE THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA—THE PROJECT OF COLUMBUS—HIS APPLICATION TO SEVERAL COURTS—HIS SUCCESSFUL APPLICATION TO THAT OF SPAIN—HIS VOYAGE—THE DISCOVERY OF THE BAHAMAS, AND GREATER ANTILLES.

THERE was an extraordinary coincidence of events at the time that the discovery of America made one of the principal; the invention of printing, the making of gunpowder, the improvement of navigation, the revival of ancient learning, and the reformation; all of these conspired to change the face of Europe entirely. At this time the principal monarchies began to knit and to acquire the strength, and take the form, they have at this day. Before this period, the manners of Europe were wholly barbarous; even in Italy, where the natural mildness of the climate and the dawning of literature had a little softened the minds of the people, and introduced something approaching towards politeness, the history preceding this era, and indeed for some time after it, is nothing but one series of treasons, usurpations, murders, and massacres: nothing of a manly courage, nothing of a solid and rational policy. Scarce any state had then very extensive views, or looked much farther than to the present advantage. They did not well comprehend the complicated system of

Digitized by Google

interests that Europe formed even long before this. Lewis the Eleventh, who was looked upon as one of the wisest princes in his time, and one who sacrificed every thing to his ambition, sacrificed one of the fairest objects of that ambition to a pique, which since his time could have little influence on the counsels of any prince. His son, Charles the Eighth, as he won Italy without either courage or conduct, so he lost it by a chain of false measures, such as we may venture to say has no parallel in later times. A wild romantic courage in the northern and western parts of Europe, and a wicked policy in the Italian states, was the character of that age. If we look into the manners of the courts, there appear but very faint marks of cultivation and politeness. The interview between our Edward the Fourth and his brother of France, wherein they were both caged up like wild beasts, shows dispositions very remote from a true sense of honor, from the dignity of their stations, or any just ideas of politeness and humanity. All the anecdotes which remain of these and other courts are in the same spirit.

If the courts had made such poor advances in policy and politeness, which might seem the natural growth of courts at any time, both the courts and the people were yet less advanced in useful knowledge. The little learning which then subsisted was only the dotage of the scholastic philosophy of words; together with the infancy of politer learning, which only concerned words too, though in another way. The elegance and purity of the Latin tongue was then the highest, and almost the only point of a scholar's ambition. Mathematical learning was little valued or cultivated. The true system of the heavens was not dreamed of. There was no knowledge at all of the real form of the earth; and in general the ideas of mankind were not extended beyond their sensible horizon.

In this state of affairs Christopher Columbus, a native of Genoa, undertook to extend the boundaries which ignorance had given to the world. This man's design arose from the just idea he had formed of the figure of the earth; though the

Digitized by Google

maps, more erroneous than his conjectures, made him mistake the object. His design was to find a passage to China and India by the western ocean. It is not improbable, that besides the glory attending such a discovery, and the private advantages of fortune he might propose to derive from it, Columbus had a further incentive from national jealousy and resentment. Venice and Genoa were then almost the only trading powers in Europe; and they had no other support of their power but their commerce. This bred a rivalship, a jealousy, and frequent wars between them; but in traffic Venice was much superior; she had drawn to herself almost the whole commerce of India, always one of the most valuable in the world, and then carried on only by the way of Egypt and the Red Sea. An emulation of this kind might probably have put Columbus on finding another and more direct passage to the East Indies, and by that means transferring this profitable trade to his own country. But neither that which he sought, nor that which he found, was destined for his country. However, he performed the duty of a good citizen, and made his first proposal at home; at home it was rejected. Discharged of this obligation, he applied to the court of France, and meeting no better success there, he offered next his services to our Henry the Seventh. This prince was rather a prudent steward and manager of a kingdom than a great king, and one of those defensive geniuses who are the last in the world to relish a great but problematical design. It is therefore no wonder that his brother, whom Columbus had employed to solicit in England, after several years spent here, had little success in his negotiation. But in Portugal, where he applied himself after his failure here, his offers were not only rejected, but he was insulted and ridiculed; he found, however, in these insults and this ridicule a new incitement to pursue his scheme, urged forward by the stings of anger and resentment.

Last of all he exercised his interest and his patience for eight years together at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella. There is a sort of enthusiasm in all projectors, absolutely

Digitized by Google

necessary for their affairs, which makes them proof against the most fatiguing delays, the most mortifying disappointments, the most shocking insults; and, what is severer than all, the presumptuous judgments of the ignorant upon their designs. Columbus had a sufficient share of this quality. He had every day, during this long space, to combat with every objection that want of knowledge, or that a false knowledge, could propose. Some held that the known world which they thought was all that could be known, floated like a vast scum upon the ocean; that the ocean itself was infinite. Others, who entertained more just notions, and believed that the whole of the earth and waters composed one vast globe, drew a consequence from it as absurd as the former opinion. For they argued, that if Columbus should sail beyond a certain point, the convexity of this globe would prevent his return. As is usual in such cases, every one abounded with objections. His whole time was spent in fruitless endeavors to enlighten ignorance, to remove prejudice, and to vanquish that obstinate incredulity, which is of all others the greatest enemy to improvement, rejecting every thing as false and absurd, which is ever so little out of the track of common experience; and it is of the more dangerous consequence, as it carries a delusive air of coolness, of temper and wisdom. With all this, he had yet greater difficulties from the interests of mankind, than from their malignity and ignorance. The expense of the undertaking, inconsiderable as this expense was, was at the bottom the chief support of the other objections, and had more weight than all the rest together. However, with an assiduity, and firmness of mind, never enough to be admired and applauded, he at length overcame all difficulties; and to his inexpressible joy, with a fleet of three ships, and the title and command of an admiral, set sail on the third of August, 1492, on a voyage the most daring and grand in the design, and in the event of which the world was the most concerned, of any that ever yet was undertaken.

It must not be omitted here, in honor to the sex and in justice to Isabella, that this scheme was first countenanced, and

Digitized by Google

the equipment made by the queen only; the king had no share in it; she even raised the money necessary for the design upon her own jewels.

I do not propose to relate all the particulars of Columbus's voyage in a track now so well known, and so much frequented; but then there was no chart to direct him, no lights from former navigators, no experience of the winds and currents peculiar to those seas. He had no guide but his own genius, nor any thing to comfort and appease his companions, discouraged and mutinous with the length and hopelessness of the voyage, but some indications which he drew from the casual appearances of land birds and floating sea-weeds, most of them little to be depended upon, but which this wise commander, well acquainted with the human heart, always knew how to turn to the best advantage. It was in this expedition that the variation of the compass was first observed; an appearance which has ever since puzzled all philosophers, and which at this time made a great impression upon Columbus's pilots; when in an unknown and boundless ocean, far from the road of former navigation, nature itself seemed altered, and the only guide they had left appeared to be upon the point of forsaking them. But Columbus, with a wonderful quickness and sagacity, pretended to discover a physical cause for this appearance, which, though it did not satisfy himself, was plausible enough to remove something of the terrors of his mariners. Expedients of this kind were daily wanting, and the fertile genius of this discoverer invented them daily. However, by frequent use, they began to lose their effect; the crew insisted on his returning, and grew loud and insolent in their demand. Some even talked of throwing the admiral overboard. His invention, and almost his hopes were near exhausted, when the only thing which could appease them happened; the clear discovery of land, after a voyage of thirty-three days, the longest ever any man was known to be from sight of shore before that time.

They landed on one of the islands now called Lucayos, or Bahamas, which is remarkable for nothing but this event;

Digitized by Google

and here it was that the two worlds, if I may use the expression, were first introduced to one another; a meeting of an extraordinary nature, and which produced great changes in both. The first thing Columbus did, after thanking God for the success of his important voyage, was to take possession of the island in the name of their Catholic majesties by setting up a cross upon the shore; great multitudes of the inhabitants looking on, ignorant and unconcerned at a ceremony which was to deprive them of their natural liberty. The stay of the Spaniards in this island was but short; they found, from the extreme poverty of the people, that these were by no means the Indies, which they sought for.

Columbus at his departure very prudently took with him some of the natives, that they might learn the Spanish tongue, and be his guides and interpreters in this new scene of affairs; nor were they unwilling to accompany him. He touched on several of the islands in the same cluster, inquiring every where for gold, which was the only object of commerce he thought worth his care, because the only thing that could give the court of Spain a high opinion of his discoveries. All directed him to a great island called Bohio, of which they spoke extraordinary things, and principally that it abounded in gold. They told him it lay to the southward. To the southward he steered his course and found the island, which he called Hispaniola, no ways inferior to the reports; commodious harbors, an agreeable climate, a good soil, and, what was of most consequence, a country that promised from some samples a great abundance of gold; inhabited by a humane and hospitable people, in a state of simplicity fit to be worked upon. These circumstances determined Columbus to make this island the centre of his designs, to plant a colony there, and to establish things in some permanent order before he proceeded to further discoveries. But to carry his designs of a settlement here, and his schemes of future discoveries into execution, it was necessary that he should return to Spain and equip himself with a proper force. He had now collected a sufficient quantity of gold to give credit to his

Digitized by Google

voyage at court, and such a number of curiosities of all kinds as might strike the imaginations, and engage the attention of the people. Before he parted, he took care to secure the friendship of the principal king of the island by caresses and presents, and under pretence of leaving him a force sufficient to assist him against his enemies, he laid the groundwork of a colony. He built a fort, and put a small garrison of Spaniards into it, with such directions for their conduct as might have insured their safety and the good offices of the inhabitants, if the men had not been of that kind, who are incapable of acting prudently either from their own or other people's wisdom. He did every thing to gain the esteem of the natives, by the justice and even generosity of his dealings, and the politeness and humanity with which he behaved upon every occasion. He showed them too, that though it was not in his will, it was not the less in his power to do them mischief, if they acted so as to force him upon harsher measures. The surprising effects of his cannon, and the sharpness of the Spanish swords, of which he made an innocent ostentation, convinced them of this.

When the Spaniards first arrived in that country, they were taken for men come from heaven; and it was no wonder, considering the extreme novelty of their appearance, and the prodigious superiority they had in every respect over a people in all the nakedness of uncultivated nature. Whatever therefore the Indians got from them, they valued in a high degree, not only as curious and useful, but even as things sacred. The persons of the Spaniards were respected in the same light. Columbus, who knew the value of opinion, did all he could to keep them in their error; and indeed no action of his, either of weakness or cruelty, could furnish matter to undeceive them. For which reason, on his departure, he left the people with the best inclinations imaginable to nurse his infant colony. And when he desired some of the inhabitants to carry into Spain, he was more at a loss whom he should accept, than how he should prevail upon them to go.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER II.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE CARIBBEES—COLUMBUS RETURNS TO EUROPE—HIS BEHAVIOR AT LISBON—HIS RECEPTION AT BARCELONA BY FERDINAND AND ISABELLA—SECOND VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS—THE CONDITION OF THE SPANIARDS IN HISPANIOLA—THE CITY OF ISABELLA BUILT, AND A SPANISH COLONY SETTLED—A VOYAGE FOR BETTER DISCOVERING THE COAST OF CUBA.

On his return homewards, still attentive to his design, he aimed at such discoveries as could be prosecuted without deviating considerably from his course. He touched upon several islands to the southward, and discovered the Caribbees, of the barbarity of whose inhabitants he had heard terrible accounts in Hispaniola. He had before landed upon Cuba in his passage from the Bahamas. So that in this his first voyage, he gained a general knowledge of all the islands, which lie in such an astonishing number in that great sea which divides North and South America. But hitherto he neither knew nor suspected any continent between him and China.

He returned to Europe after an absence of above six months, and was driven by a great storm into the harbor of Lisbon. This he did not look upon as a misfortune; since here, he had the satisfaction of convincing the Portuguese demonstratively, of what an error they were guilty in rejecting his proposals. It was now his turn to triumph. Those who want sagacity to discern the advantages of an offer, when it is made to themselves, and treat it with the greatest scorn, are always most stung with envy when they actually see these advantages in the hands of another. The Portuguese had some time before this begun to make a figure: their ships had coasted Africa for a greater length than any had done before them, which opened to them a profitable trade to Guinea. This gave them a reputation. They considered

Digitized by Google

discovery as their proper province; and they were enraged to see that the Castilians were now let into the same path, in consequence of an offer which they had rejected. Some proposed to murder the admiral; but all were agreed to treat him in the most unworthy manner. However, their design of insulting him gave Columbus an opportunity at once of gratifying his resentment, maintaining his own dignity, and asserting the honor of the flag of Castile. He sent to the king at his first entering the harbor, to desire a liberty to come up to Lisbon and refresh, as he had his master's orders not to avoid his ports; adding that he was not from Guinea, but the Indies. An officer of the king of Portugal came aboard him with an armed force, and ordered him to come ashore, and give an account of himself to the king's officers. Columbus told him he had the honor of serving the king of Castile, and would own himself accountable to no other. The Portuguese then desired him to send the master of his ship; this he likewise refused, saying, that the admirals of Castile always chose rather to die than deliver up themselves, or even the meanest of their men; and if violence was intended, he was prepared to meet force with force. A spirited behavior, in almost any circumstance of strength, is the most politic as well as the most honorable course; we preserve a respect at least by it, and with that we generally preserve every thing; but when we lose respect, every thing is lost. We invite rather than suffer insults, and the first is the only one we can resist with prudence. Columbus found this; the officer did not pursue his demand; the admiral had all the refreshments he wanted; and was even received at court with particular marks of distinction.

From Lisbon he proceeded to Seville; the court was then at Barcelona. But before he went to give an account of his voyage, he took all the care he could to provide for another. He wrote an abstract of his proceedings, and sent with it a memorial of all such things as were necessary for the establishment of a colony, and for further discoveries. Soon after he began his journey to Barcelona, every where followed by

Digitized by Google

the admiration and applauses of the people, who crowded to see him from all parts. He entered the city in a sort of triumph. And certainly there never was a more innocent triumph, nor one that formed a more new and pleasing spectacle. He had not destroyed, but discovered nations. The Americans he brought with him appeared in all the uncouth finery of their own country, wondered at by every body, and themselves admiring every thing they saw. The several animals, many highly beautiful, and all strangers to this part of the world, were so disposed as to be seen without difficulty; the other curiosities of the new world were displayed in the most advantageous manner; the utensils, the arms, and the ornaments of a people so remote from us in situation and manners; some valuable for the materials; even the rudeness of the workmanship in many made them but the more curious, when it was considered by whom and with what instruments they were wrought. The gold was not forgot. The admiral himself closed the procession. He was received by the king and queen with all imaginable marks of esteem and regard, and they ordered a magnificent throne to be erected in public to do him the greater honor. A chair was prepared for him, in which he sat, and gave, in presence of the whole court, a full and circumstantial account of all his discoveries, with that composedness and gravity, which is so extremely agreeable to the Spanish humor, and with the modesty of a man who knows he has done things which do not need to be proclaimed by himself. The successful merit of Columbus was understood by every body; and when the king and queen led the way, all the grandees and nobility of the court vied with each other in their civilities and caresses.

These honors did not satisfy Columbus. He prepared with all expedition for a second voyage. The difficulties attending the first were all vanished. The importance of the object appeared every day more clearly, and the court was willing to second the vivacity of his desires to the full. But before his departure there was one thing which they judged wanting to

Digitized by Google

give them a clear and unquestionable right to the countries which should be discovered. This was a grant of them from the pope. The Portuguese some time before had a grant of such lands as they should discover within certain latitudes; and this grant made a similar one to the Spaniards appear the more necessary. The pope accordingly gave a very ample bull in their favor, very liberally conceding countries, of which he was so far from having any possession, that he had no knowledge of them. The limits of this grant was a line drawn from pole to pole, an hundred leagues to the westward of the Azores. On the other side no bounds at all were set. This was afterwards a subject of much controversy between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, the latter having got a grant of all that should be discovered to the east, as the former had of all to the westward; those who drew the bulls not having known enough of the figure of the earth to see, that these grants must necessarily clash; and the powers which desired them were perhaps not sorry to find their pretensions such as they might extend or contract at pleasure.

Whatever the validity of this ample grant might be, Columbus was made governor with the highest authority over all that it contained. But he had somewhat with him more material for his possession than any charters. This was a fleet of seventeen sail of ships, with all manner of necessaries for settlement or conquest, and fifteen hundred men on board, some of them of the best families in Spain. With this fleet he set sail on his second voyage the 25th of September, 1493. He gave each of the captains instructions for their course sealed, with orders not to open them, unless in distress, and separated from the fleet, that he might create such an absolute dependence of all upon himself, as should preserve an uniformity in their designs. On the second of November they made land, which is the island now called Dominica. But his design was first to settle his colony before he attempted any new discovery, therefore he made no stay here, nor at several other islands at which he touched before he could make Hispaniola.

Digitized by Google

On his arrival he found the fort he had built utterly demolished, and all his men killed. The Spaniards had first fallen out amongst themselves, upon the usual subjects of strife, women and gold; and afterwards preserving as little harmony with the natives, and observing no decency in their behavior, or justice in their dealings, they quickly lost their esteem, and were every man murdered, after having been dispersed into different parts of the island. The prince, whom they were left to defend, was himself wounded in their defence, and bore this mark of his affection and good faith, when Columbus returned to the island. The admiral very wisely forbore to make any nice inquiry into the affair, or to commence hostilities in revenge for the loss of his soldiers; but he took the most effectual measures to prevent such an evil for the future: he chose a more commodious station for his colony, on the north-east part of the island, which had a good port, great conveniency of water, and a good soil, and lay near that where he was informed the richest mines of the country were found: in gratitude to his royal patroness, he called it Isabella. He engaged in the settlement with great warmth, and never allowed himself a moment's repose from superintending the fortifications, the private houses, and the works of agriculture; in all which the fatigue was infinite; for he had not only the natural difficulties attending all such undertakings, but he had the insuperable laziness of the Spaniards to contend with. So that, spent with the fatigues of so long a voyage, and the greater fatigues he had endured since he came on shore, he fell into a dangerous illness. Of this accident several of his men took the advantage to begin a rebellion, to undo all he had done, and to throw every thing into the most terrible confusion. These people, on their leaving Spain, had fancied to themselves that gold was to be found every where in this country, and that there required nothing further to make ample estates, than to be transported into it; but finding their mistake, and that, instead of receiving these golden showers without any pains, they fared ill, labored hard, and that their prospects of a fortune, if any at

Digitized by Google

all, were remote and uncertain, their discontent became general; and the mutinous disposition increased so fast, and was carried to such extremities, that if the admiral had not recovered at a very critical time, and on his recovery had not acted in the most resolute and effectual manner, all his hopes of a settlement in Hispaniola had been at an end. He was satisfied with imprisoning some of the chiefs. This was neither a time nor a place for very extensive or rigorous justice. He quelled this sedition, but he saw at the same time that his work was not yet done; he saw another danger, against which he was to provide with equal diligence. He had good reasons to apprehend, that the Americans were not well affected to their new guests, and might probably meditate to cut them off, whilst they saw them divided amongst themselves. To prevent this, as well as to banish idleness from amongst his men, and to revive military discipline, he marched into the heart of the country, through the most frequented parts of it, in order of battle, colors flying, and trumpets sounding, with the flower of his troops, to the mountains of Cibao, where lay the richest mines then discovered in the island. Here he built a fort to secure this advantageous post, and overawe the country; and then he returned in the same pomp and order, to the inexpressible terror of the inhabitants, who had now no prospect of withstanding a force, which to them seemed more than human.

In this expedition Columbus made great ostentation of his cavalry. This was the first time the Indians of America had ever seen horses. Their dread of these animals and their riders were extreme; they thought both formed but one animal, and the impetuosity of their charge appeared irresistible to these naked and ill-armed people. Wherever they appeared, those Indians, who intended any hostility, immediately fled; nor did they think the intervention of the deepest and most rapid rivers any security; they believed that the horses could fly, and that nothing was impossible to creatures so extraordinary. But Columbus did not rely upon those prejudices, though he made all imaginable use of them; knowing

Digitized by Google

that those things which appear most terrible at first, become every day less affecting by use, and that they even grow contemptible, when their real power is once well known. For which reason, he neglected none of his former methods of cultivating the affections of the natives; he still showed them all manner of respect, and when he had taken two persons of their nation, who had committed some acts of hostility, and was at the point of putting them to death, he pardoned and set them free at the intercession of a prince of the country, with whom he was in alliance. On the other hand, he saw how necessary it was to preserve a strict discipline amongst the Spaniards, to keep them from that idleness to which they had such a propensity, and which naturally retarded the growth of the colony, at the same time that it nourished discontent and sedition. He employed them in cutting roads through the country, a work which the natives never attempted themselves, nor now endeavored to oppose, though it be one of the best instruments of enslaving any barbarous people. This wise governor observed besides, that the Spaniards conformed with great difficulty to the Indian manner of living, to which, however, they were necessitated, but from which, for want of use, they suffered great hardships. To remedy this evil he daily sent out small parties upon expeditions into the country; from which he derived two material advantages. First, he inured, by degrees, all his people to the manner of living in the country; and secondly, he taught them to know it perfectly, lest a war should find them unprovided in the only point in which the Indians were their superiors, and a point which in a woody and mountainous country is certainly of the greatest importance. All this he did without any material hazard to the sum of his affairs. At home, he endeavored to withdraw the Spaniards from their romantic hopes of miraculous treasures, and to fix them to a rational and industrious course of life. He represented to them, that there was no real wealth but what arose from labor; and that a garden, a corn ground, and a mill, were riches more to their present purpose, than all the gold they were in ex-

Digitized by Google

pectation of meeting in the Indies. In short, he labored for the establishment of this colony with as much assiduity, as though his views had extended no further; at the same time that he meditated the greatest discoveries, and considered those things which had astonished the world, only as the earnest of his future performances.

I have before mentioned his having put in at Cuba. The country, from some specimens, seemed a rich discovery; but whether it was an island, or a part of some great continent, he was altogether uncertain. Now that he had got his colony to take firm root in the Indies, he prepared with all expedition to ascertain this point, and to push his discoveries to the utmost, in which he had succeeded hitherto so happily.

CHAPTER III.

THE DIFFICULTIES ATTENDING THE VOYAGE—JAMAICA DISCOVERED—COLUMBUS RETURNS TO HISPANIOLA—THE SPANIARDS REBEL—A WAR WITH THE INDIANS OF THAT COUNTRY—THEY ARE CONQUERED—THEIR SCHEME FOR STARVING THE SPANIARDS.

This voyage was more remarkable for the hardships which the admiral and his men suffered, than for any considerable discoveries it produced. As he endeavored to coast along the southern shore of Cuba, he was entangled in a labyrinth of an innumerable multitude of islands, amongst which he reckoned 160 in one day. They were most of them pleasant and well inhabited, affording our navigator an agreeable meditation on this fertility of nature, where the world looked for nothing but a barren ocean. These islands, Columbus, who had a grateful mind, in which the memory of his benefactress was always uppermost, called Jardin de la Reyna, or The Queen's Garden, in honor of Queen Isbella. But their number and fertility made little amends for the obstruction they gave Columbus in the course of his navigation. The coast

Digitized by Google

absolutely unknown, among so many rocks, sands, and shelves, the sudden and violent storms, the tornadoes, and the terrible thunder and lightning so constant between the tropics, obliged him to keep a continual watch, and held his mind upon a constant stretch; the voyage was extended to an unprofitable length by these difficulties; and being driven out to sea, the worst disaster of all befel them. Their provisions fell short. In this extremity they were obliged to come to a very narrow and bad allowance, in the distribution of which the admiral fared nothing better than the rest. In this unremitted fatigue of body and of mind, in famine and in danger, his usual firmness began nearly to forsake him; but it could go no further than to oblige him to remark in his journal, that no interest of his own should ever oblige him to engage again in such an enterprise. They were at last relieved by the appearance of Jamaica, where they were hospitably received, and supplied with Cassava bread and water. From thence they proceeded, mortified and disappointed, to Hispaniola, not being able to come to any certainty concerning Cuba, other than that they understood from some of the inhabitants that it was an island. This disappointment and the infinite fatigue and difficulty of the voyage, threw Columbus into a lethargy, which was near being fatal to him, and of which he was scarcely recovered when they arrived at the harbor of Isabella.

Here they found all things in confusion, and the colony in the utmost danger of being a second time utterly destroyed; as if its prosperity or destruction depended upon the presence or absence of Columbus. For no sooner was he sailed, than the Spaniards, who were very difficultly retained in their duty by all his steadiness and wisdom, broke through all regulations, laughed at government and discipline, and spread themselves over the island, committing a thousand disorders, and living at free quarter upon the inhabitants, whose hatred to them was worked up to such a point, that they wanted only the word from their princes to fall on and massacre the whole colony; a thing by no means impracticable in its present disorder. Four of the principal sovereigns of the island took

Digitized by Google

advantage of this disposition, and united to drive out those imperious intruders. None adhered to them but one called Gunacagarry, the same prince whom Columbus from the first had taken so much pains to oblige. In his dominions some of the Spaniards found protection. The other princes had already commenced hostilities, and one of them killed sixteen of the Spaniards, who were taking no uniform measures to oppose them; neither in their present anarchy could it be well expected.

In this condition was the island on the arrival of Columbus, whose first business was to collect the scattered fragments of the colony, and to form them into a body. This he was the better able to accomplish, because the present danger added a weight to his authority; but it was necessary that he should lose no time. He was resolved to act with what force he had, rather than wait until the union of the islanders might be better cemented against him, and they might find some lesser matter in their favor to raise their courage, and abate their terror of the Spanish arms. He therefore first marched against the king, who had killed the sixteen Spaniards; as it was an enterprise colored with an appearance of justice, and because that prince happened to be the worst prepared to receive him. He was easily subdued, and several of his subjects sent prisoners into Spain. The second whom Columbus designed to attack being better prepared against force, he was resolved to circumvent him by fraud, and got him into his power by a stratagem, which did no honor to his sincerity, and rather showed great weakness in this unfortunate barbarian, than any extraordinary contrivance in those who deceived him.

The other princes were not terrified at these examples. Their hatred to the Spaniards increased; and perceiving that all depended upon a sudden and vigorous exertion of their strength, they brought an immense army, it is said of one hundred thousand men, into the field, which was arrayed in the largest plain in that country. Columbus, though he had but a small force, did not scruple to go out to meet them.

Digitized by Google

His army consisted but of two hundred foot, twenty horse, and twenty wolf dogs. The latter part of this army has a ludicrous appearance; but it was a very serious matter amongst a people no better provided with arms offensive or defensive than the Indians. Neither was it rash in Columbus to venture an engagement against forces so vastly superior in numbers; for when such numbers are no better skilled or armed than these were, their multitude is in fact no just cause of dread but to themselves. The event was answerable; the victory was decisive for the Spaniards, in which their horses and dogs had a considerable share; the loss on the side of the Indians was very great. From that day forward they despaired, and relinquished all thoughts of dislodging the Spaniards by force. Columbus had but little difficulty in reducing the whole island, which now became a province of Spain, had a tribute imposed, and forts built in several parts to enforce the levying of it, and to take away from this unhappy people all prospect of liberty.

In this affecting situation they often asked the Spaniards, when they intended to return to their own country. Small as the number of these strangers was, the inhabitants were extremely burthened to subsist them. One Spaniard consumed more than ten Indians; a circumstance which shows how little this people had advanced in the art of cultivating the earth, or how lazy they were in doing it, since their indigence reduced them to such an extreme frugality, that they found the Spaniards, who are some of the most abstemious people upon earth, excessively voracious in the comparison. Their experience of this, joined to their despair, put the Indians upon a project of starving out their invaders. In pursuance of this scheme, they entirely abandoned the little agriculture which they practised, and unanimously retired into the most barren and impracticable parts of the island. This ill-advised stratagem completed their ruin. A number of people crowded into the worst parts of the country, subsisting only upon its spontaneous productions, were soon reduced to the most terrible famine. Its sure attendant epidemical sick-

Digitized by Google

ness pursued at its heels; and this miserable people, half famished and lessened a third of their numbers, were obliged to relinquish their scheme, to come down into the open country, and to submit once more to bread and fetters.

This conquest, and the subsequent ones made by the several European nations, with as little color of right as consciousness of doing any thing wrong, gives one just reason to reflect on the notions entertained by mankind in all times concerning the right of dominion. At this period, few doubted of the power of the pope to convey a full right to any country he was pleased to chalk out; amongst the faithful, because they were subject to the church; and amongst infidels, because it was meritorious to make them subject to it. This notion began to lose ground at the reformation, but another arose of as bad a tendency; the idea of the dominion of grace, which prevailed with several, and the effects of which we have felt amongst ourselves. The Mahometan great merit is to spread the empire of the faith; and none amongst them doubt the legality of subduing any nation for these good purposes. The Greeks held, that the barbarians were naturally designed to be their slaves, and this was so general a notion, that Aristotle himself, with all his penetration, gave into it very seriously. In truth, it has its principle in human nature, for the generality of mankind very readily slide from what they conceive a fitness for government, to a right of governing; and they do not so readily agree, that those who are superior in endowments should only be equal in condition. These things partly palliate the guilt and horror of a conquest, undertaken with so little color, over a people whose chief offence was their credulity; and their confidence in men who did not deserve it. But the circumstances of Columbus, the measures he was obliged to preserve with his court, and his humane and gentle treatment of this people, by which he mitigated the rigor of this conquest, take off much of the blame from him, as the necessity of taking up arms at all never arose from his conduct, or from his orders. On the contrary, his whole behavior, both to the Spaniards and Indians, the care

Digitized by Google

he took to establish the one without injury to the other, and the constant bent of his policy to work every thing by gentle methods, may well be an example to all persons in the same situation.

Since I have digressed so far, it will be the more excusable to mention a circumstance recorded in the history of this settlement. America was then, at least these parts of it were, without almost any of those animals by which we profit so greatly. It had neither horses, nor oxen, nor sheep, nor swine. Columbus brought eight sows into America, and a small number of horned cattle. This was the stock which supplied, about two hundred years ago, a country now, the most abounding in these animals of any part of the known world; in which too it has been a business, for this century past, to hunt oxen merely for their hides. An example which shows how small a number might originally have served to produce all the animals upon earth, who commonly procreate very fast to a certain point, and when they arrive at it, seem much at a stand.

CHAPTER IV.

COMPLAINTS AGAINST COLUMBUS—A PERSON IS SENT TO INQUIRE INTO HIS CONDUCT—HE RETURNS TO SPAIN—HE IS ACQUITTED—HE SETS OUT ON HIS THIRD VOYAGE—HE DISCOVERS THE CONTINENT OF SOUTH AMERICA—HE SAILS TO HISPANIOLA.

Whilst Columbus was reducing this wealthy island to the obedience of the crown of Castile, and laying the foundations of the Spanish grandeur in America, his enemies were endeavoring with pains as indefatigable to ruin him in Spain. Some of the persons principally concerned in the late disorders fled to Spain before his return; and there, to justify their own conduct and gratify their malice, they accused him of neglecting the colony, and of having deceived their majesties

Digitized by Google

and the adventurers with false hopes of gold, from a country which produced very little either of that metal or any thing else that was valuable. These complaints were not without effect; and an officer, fitter by his character for a spy and informer than a redresser of grievances, was sent to inspect into his conduct; in which manner of proceeding there was certainly a policy as erroneous, as it was unjust and ungrateful. At that distance from the fountain of authority, with an enemy at the door, and a mutinous household, a commander ought always to be trusted or removed. This man behaved in a brutish and insolent manner, like all such persons, who, unconscious of any merit of their own, are puffed up with any little portion of delegated power. Columbus found that he staid here to no purpose under such disgraceful terms; and that his presence at court was absolutely necessary to his support. He determined to return once more to Spain, convinced that a long absence is mortal to one's interest at court, and that importunity and attendance often plead better than the most solid services. However, before he departed, he exerted the little remains of authority he had left, to settle every thing in such a manner, as to prevent those disorders which hitherto he had always found the certain consequence of his absence. He built forts in all the material parts of the island, to retain the inhabitants in their subjection. He established the civil government upon a better footing, and redoubled his vigilance for the discovery of mines, which were to be the great agents in his affairs; nor did he altogether fail of success.

It was the fate of this great man to have his virtue continually exercised with troubles and distresses. He continued his course to Spain in the latitude of 22°, not having at that time discovered the advantageous method of running into the northern latitudes to meet the south-west winds: they therefore made very little way; a scarcity ensued, in which they were reduced to six ounces of provision a day for each person. On these occasions the admiral fared no better than the common sailor; yet in this distress his hunger did not get the bet-

Digitized by Google

ter of the tenderness and humanity which distinguished his character. He refused to listen to the pressing instances of his crew, who were very earnest in this distress to have the Indian prisoners thrown overboard to lessen the consumption of provisions. In this voyage his skill was as remarkable as his magnanimity. He had nine experienced pilots in his fleet, yet none of them could tell where they were, after having been a full month from the sight of the first land. This length of time persuaded them they must be very near Europe, and they were therefore for crowding sail to make land as soon as possible. But Columbus, upon sure observations, maintained they were but a little to the westward of the Azores, and therefore ordered his sails to be slackened for fear of land. His prediction was fulfilled, and the Azores relieved them next morning. This, added to a series of predictions and noble discoveries, made his skill seem something prophetic, and exalted his character in this respect above all the seamen before his time; and indeed, considering his opportunities of improvement, and what he did himself to improve his art, he will perhaps appear inferior to none who have succeeded him.

All the accusations and prejudices against the admiral vanished almost as soon as he appeared. He brought such testimonies of his fidelity and good behavior, as silenced all calumnies which arose on that head; and the large specimens of gold and pearl he produced refuted all that was said on the poverty of the Indies. The court was fully convinced of the importance of the new colony, the merit of its governor, and the necessity of a speedy supply. But the admiral's enemies were not idle, though they were silenced; they continued to throw all manner of obstructions in his way; which was a thing not difficult in a country, where every thing is executed with much phlegm and languor, and where those forms and mechanical methods of business, necessary perhaps in the common course of affairs, but ruinous in great designs, are more exactly observed, than any where else. It was therefore with great difficulty that he was able to procure any

Digitized by Google

relief to be sent to Hispaniola, but with much greater, and after a thousand delays and disappointments, that he was himself enabled to set out on a discovery of more importance than any of the former.

He designed to stand to the southward from the Canaries, until he should come under the equinoctial line, and then to proceed directly westward, until Hispaniola should bear to the north-west from him, to try what opening that might afford to India, or what new islands or what continent might reward his trouble. He therefore stood away to the Cape de Verd islands, and then south-west. In this navigation a thick fog, which intercepted the light of the sun and stars, enveloped them for several days; and when this cleared off, the heats were grown so excessive, that the men could not venture between decks. The sun being at this time nearly vertical, the heavy rains which fall at this season between the tropics, without abating the heat, added much to their distress. At last a smart gale sprang up, and they went before it seventeen days to the westward. The admiral, who could have no second to supply his place, scarce allowed himself a moment's sleep: but in this, as in all his voyages, had the whole burthen of every thing upon himself; this fatigue threw him into a fit of the gout; but neither the fatigue nor the disorder could remove him from the deck, or make him abate of his usual vigilance. His provisions, however, being damaged by the heat, the wine casks many of them burst, and the wine being soured in those that held, obliged him to alter the course he intended to keep southward, and to decline some points to the north-west, hoping to fall in with some of the Caribbees, where he intended to refit and take in provisions, to enable him to continue his discoveries. But he had not sailed long, when from the round-top a seaman saw land, which was an island on the coast of Guiana, now called Trinidad. Having passed this island and two others, which lie in the mouth of the great river Oronoquo, he was surprized and endangered by a phenomenon he had never seen before. The river Oronoquo, at all times very great, at this time augmented tenfold

Digitized by Google

by the rains we have just mentioned, rushing into the ocean with an immense and rapid flood, meets the tide; which rises here to a great height and comes in with much strength; and both being pent up between the islands, reverberated from one to another, caused a conflict extremely terrifying to those who had not been accustomed to it, and were ignorant of the cause, as Columbus was at this time. But sailing further he found plainly that he was in fresh water, and judging rightly that it was probable no island could supply so vast a river, he began to suspect he had discovered the continent. But when he left the river, and found that land continued on to the westward for a great way, he was convinced of it. Satisfied, in some measure, with this discovery, he yielded to the uneasiness and distresses of his crew, and bore away for Hispaniola, favored by a fair wind and those currents which set strongly to the westward all along the northern coast of South America.

In the course of this discovery the admiral landed in several places, and traded with the inhabitants, amongst whom he found gold and pearl in tolerable plenty. Contrary to the custom of many navigators, who behave wherever they go as if they never intended to come there again, he every where used the natives with great civility, and gave them what they judged the full value of their commodities; little bells, bits of glass and of tin, with some trifling apparel, being exchanged for gold dust and pearls, and much to the satisfaction of both parties, who thought they had each overreached the other, and indeed with equal reason.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER V.

COLUMBUS FINDS THE SPANIARDS OF HISPANIOLA IN REBELLION—HIS MEASURES TO SUPPRESS IT—NEW COMPLAINTS AGAINST HIM IN SPAIN—HE IS SUPERSEDED IN THE GOVERNMENT, AND SENT TO SPAIN IN IRONS.

He arrived at Hispaniola the 19th of August, 1498, quite worn down with sickness and continual watching, the necessity of which was rather increased than diminished, as he came nearer home, amongst such a multitude of islands and shoals as filled those seas, at this time little known; add to this, that a current, setting strongly westward towards the continent, threatened every moment, without the greatest attention, to carry him out of his course. So wasted was he with the fatigue, that his brother, whom he had left in his place, scarce knew him at his return. And he found that he was likely to have as little repose upon land as at sea.

The admiral's authority had suffered some diminution, from the ill-judged step of sending a check upon his motions before he left Hispaniola; and the encouragement this gave to all sorts of murmurings and complaints against government, sowed the seeds of a rebellion, which sprung up in the colony soon after he left it. But this rebellion was more dangerously formed than either of the former. For in the first place, the rebels had regularly appointed themselves a chief, called Francis Roldan; a man whom the admiral had left in a considerable post; this gave it a uniformity and credit. And secondly, they gained the Indians to their party, by pretending to be their patrons, and the assertors of their liberty. Then, to establish themselves the more securely, they made a secession from the uncorrupted part of the colony, and settled in another part of the island, which formed an asylum for all idle and seditious persons, by whom they were continually reinforced.

Digitized by Google

In this threatening state of things, the admiral having found his forces, in no condition to act offensively against the rebels, did what he could to break their force, and dissolve that union which made them formidable. He began by publishing a free pardon for all that chose to cancel their crimes by a timely submission. Observing besides, that many were very desirous of returning to Spain, he gave them to understand they might go with the ships which brought the last succors. He did not intend to perform this latter part immediately, but he knew that his offers would stagger some; and that, in affairs of this nature, it is every thing to gain time. He wrote to court a full account of his late discoveries, and sent samples of the wealth they yielded. He took the same opportunity of describing the distracted state of the colony, desiring that fifty or sixty men might be sent by every ship, which he promised to replace by as many of the rebels. He proposed this plan, lest the Spanish power should be weakened in those parts, by diminishing their men, or kept in as dangerous a state, by harboring such as were ill disposed to the public good. He added very judiciously to his request, that some religious men and able lawyers might be sent him, as the most effectual means of introducing and preserving obedience and order. He then entered into negotiations with the chiefs of the rebels; he granted them all they demanded, and even invidiously placed their principal commander, Roldan, in such an office as flattered his pride, though without augmenting his power. Thus things were brought into something of regularity, without any struggling or violence; and Roldan himself, though in his former office of chief judge of the island, contributed most of all towards bringing those who stood out to obedience. There arose a difference between them; and they flew again to arms; but on their first motion, Roldan, by virtue of his authority, seized, condemned, and executed several. By this, the rest were awed, all the connection broke off irretrievably, between the head and body of the rebels, and all done without having any part of the offence, that might be given by this severity, charged to the admiral.

Digitized by Google

He now began just to breathe in a little tranquillity, acquired by the severest labors, whilst a new storm was gathering against him from the quarter of the court. His old implacable enemies, uniting with some of the rebels who had lately transported themselves into Spain, renewed the clamor against him. They heaped upon him all manner of calumnies; they accused him of a design of setting up for himself, and as they charged him in Hispaniola with cruelty and tyranny to the Indians, here they reversed the charge, and accused him of a popularity amongst that people, dangerous to his and their alliance. They added to these, what could not fail to work on national prejudices, that Columbus was a stranger, and had not a proper respect for the Spanish nobility. They complained that great debts were due to them; that all ways of recovering them were shut up. In short, the king and queen never went abroad without being pursued and persecuted by the clamors of these pretended suitors of justice. Wearied out with such complaints, they sent a judge with power to inquire into the admiral's conduct, and authorized, if he should find the accusations proved, to send him into Spain, and remain himself as governor in his room. They made it the judge's interest to condemn him.

The judge, who was extremely poor, and had no other call but his indigence to undertake the office, no sooner landed in Hispaniola, than he took up his lodging in the admiral's house, for he was then absent. He next proceeded to seize upon all his effects; and at last summoned him and his brothers to appear. In the mean time, he encouraged all manner of accusations, without regarding the character of the accusers, or the probability or consistency of their accusations. In consequence of these, he apprehended the admiral and his brothers, and, with the last marks of insult and indignity, loaded them with irons, and embarked them to be transported prisoners into Spain.

The captain of the vessel, touched with respect for the years and great merit of Columbus, offered to take off the irons; but he did not permit it. "Since the king has com-

Digitized by Google

manded that I should obey his governor, he shall find me as obedient to this, as I have been to all his other orders. Nothing but his commands shall release me. If twelve years' hardship and fatigue; if continual dangers and frequent famine; if the ocean, first opened, and five times passed and repassed, to add a new world abounding with wealth to the Spanish monarchy; and if an infirm premature old age, brought on by those services, deserve these chains as a reward; it is very fit I should wear them to Spain, and keep them by me as memorials to the end of my life."

Great minds, though more apt to forgive injuries, perhaps, than common souls, do not easily lose the memory of the wrongs that are done them. Columbus afterwards carried these irons with him wherever he went; they hung constantly in his chamber, and he ordered them to be buried with him.

The new governor made a more effectual provision for the reward of his services; for, besides confiscating the greatest part of the admiral's effects, which he converted to his own use; to flatter the people, he permitted an unbounded liberty, by which he ruined the royal revenue, and was near ruining the colony too, past all reparation, if the court had not recalled him in time, and set a person to succeed him of greater judgment and firmness, though of little more real virtue.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DISCOVERIES OF AMERICUS VESPUTIUS, AND OTHER ADVENTURERS—WHAT CAUSED THE SPIRIT OF DISCOVERY.

About this time the spirit of discovery began to spread itself widely; and private adventurers, both in Spain and Portugal, stimulated by the gold which from time to time was remitted to Europe by Columbus, made equipments at their own expense. In one of these the famous Americus Vesputius commanded;

Digitized by Google

he had got into his hands the charts of Columbus, in his last voyage, and he sailed the same course. But as he was a man of address and great confidence, and was besides an able seaman and good geographer, he found a way of arrogating to himself the first discovery of the continent of America, and called it by his own name; which it has ever since retained, though nobody has any doubt concerning the real discoverer. For this, I believe, no other reason can be given, than that America is perhaps a better sounding word than Columbia, and is more easily pronounced with the others, in enumerating the several divisions of the earth; a trifling matter, and influenced by trifling causes. But the glory of Columbus stands upon foundations of another sort.

Pinzon, one who attended the admiral in his first voyage, equipped a squadron at his own expense; and was the first who crossed the line at the side of America, and entered the great river Maranon, or the river of Amazons.

The Portuguese, notwithstanding the pope's exclusive grant, turned their thoughts to America, and discovered the Brazils, which make the most valuable part of their present possessions, when they have lost what was considered as their original right, and which never was so advantageous to them.

What animated these adventurers, at the same time that it fixes a stain upon all their characters and designs, is that insatiable thirst of gold, which ever appeared uppermost in all their actions. This disposition had been a thousand times extremely prejudicial to their affairs: it was particularly the cause of all the confusion and rebellions in Hispaniola: yet it is certain, that if it were not for this incentive, which kindled the spirit of discovery and colonization first in Spain and Portugal, and afterwards in all parts of Europe, America had never been in the state it now is; nor would those nations ever have had the beneficial colonies, which are now established in every part of that country. It was necessary there should be something of an immediate and uncommon gain, fitted to strike the imaginations of men forcibly, to tempt them to such hazardous designs. A remote prospect of com-

Digitized by Google

merce, and the improvement of manufactures, by extending of colonies, would never have answered the purpose; those advantages come to be known only by reason and deduction, and are not consequently of so striking a nature. But to go out with a few baubles and to return with a cargo of gold is an object readily comprehended by any body, and was consequently pursued with vigor by all. The speculative knowledge of trade made no part of the study of the elevated or thinking part of mankind at that time. Now, it may be justly reckoned amongst the liberal sciences; and it makes one of the most considerable branches of political knowledge. Commerce was then in the hands of a few, great in its profits, but confined in its nature. What we call the balance of trade was far from being well understood; all the laws relative to commerce were every where but so many clogs upon it. The imposts and duties charged on goods were laid on without distinction or judgment. Even amongst ourselves, the most trading and reasonable people in Europe, right notions of these matters began late, and advanced slowly. Our colonies were settled without any view to those great advantages which we draw from them. Virginia was constructed out of the wrecks of an armament destined on a golden adventure, which first tempted us to America. And those who settled New England and Maryland meant them only as asylums from religious persecution. So that if America had not promised such an inundation of treasure, it could only have supplied a languid commerce, which would have habituated the natives by degrees to our European manners, and supplied them with equal arms. Then it would have been next to impossible to have made those extensive settlements in that new world. So certain it is, that we often reap differently from what we have sown; and that there must be some strong active principle to give life and energy to all designs, or they will languish, let them be ever so wisely concerted.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER VII.

COLUMBUS AGAIN ACQUITTED—UNDERTAKES A FOURTH VOYAGE—DISCOVERS THE COAST OF TERRA FIRMA, AND THE ISTHMUS OF DARIEN—RETURNS TO HISPANIOLA—HIS RECEPTION THERE—PURSUES HIS DISCOVERIES TO THE COAST OF TERRA FIRMA—HE IS DRIVEN TO JAMAICA, AND SHIPWRECKED ON THAT ISLAND—HIS DISTRESSES THERE—THE REBELLION OF HIS MEN, WHICH HE SUPPRESSES—HE LEAVES THE ISLAND, AND RETURNS TO SPAIN—HIS RECEPTION THERE—HE DIES.

No sooner was Columbus arrived in Spain, in this disgraceful manner, than the court disavowed and highly blamed the conduct of their governor. And now, according to the giddy custom of men who act without plan or principle, they acquitted Columbus of all the charges against him, with as little inquiry into their validity, as they before used, when, upon the same charges, they unjustly condemned him. Restitution and reward were promised him, and he wanted very few incentives to engage once more in discoveries. His ambition was to arrive at the East Indies, and so to surround the globe. This had really an influence upon his own mind, and he knew nothing could so much influence those of the king and queen. On this prospect he was again fitted out with a fleet, promising to reduce both East and West Indies under the dominion of their Catholic majesties.

He embarked upon his fourth voyage in May, 1502. His design was to stand directly for the coast of South America, and keep along the northern shore until he should come to the place where he heard an obscure account of some narrow strait, (whether a strait or isthmus was not so clear from the accounts he had) and by this, if a strait, he hoped to pass into the great South Sea. After so very long a voyage as his had been to America, and the discovery of a continent

Digitized by Google

which was not that of India nor that of China, he saw clearly that the maps were no longer in the least to be relied on; he therefore depended solely upon his own ideas. He reviewed the bearings of all the countries which his former experience or his late discoveries had opened to him; he considered the figure of the earth in general; he reasoned upon the balance and distribution of the land and water; and comparing all these he concluded, that beyond the continent he had discovered was another ocean, probably as great or greater than that he had formerly passed; if this were so, then it was probable too that these oceans had some communication. He judged it to be near those places since called Veragua and Nombre de Dios; but not thinking his ships fit for that voyage, he proposed to put into Hispaniola to refit, and to make some new dispositions.

Columbus, whilst he navigated and resided in the West Indies, was extremely diligent in his observations upon the nature of the air, the seasons, the meteors, rains, and winds; and how each of these seemed to affect the others; nor was he less sagacious in drawing prognostics from the remarkable appearances in all; at this time he judged from observations that a great hurricane was approaching. Before he entered the harbor, he notified his arrival to Obando the governor, with the nature of his design and the condition of his vessels; desiring at the same time that the fleet, which he understood to be on the point of setting sail for Europe, should in consideration of the approaching hurricane defer their departure for some days. But it was his destiny that ingratitude should pursue him every where, and persecute him in every shape. For the governor, without any cause, not only refused to hearken to his advice about the sailing of the ships, but absolutely denied him permission to enter into harbor, to save his life in that island which he himself had discovered and subdued. He had nothing to do but to draw up as close to the shore as he could. The storm came on next night; but Providence, favoring his innocence and assisting his capacity, brought him safe through it, though as terrible a

Digitized by Google

storm as had ever happened in those seas. The fleet of twenty sail, which against his advice had put to sea, suffered the punishment due to their temerity. Only four escaped the storm; sixteen perished. Amongst those which were lost, was the ship which carried back that governor to Spain, who had sent Columbus thither in so oppressive and scandalous a manner; amongst the four that were saved, was one that had on board some treasure, all that could be rescued from the pillage of the admiral's fortune. So that whilst he was mortified at this shameful instance of human ingratitude, Heaven seemed to declare in his favor, and to condemn and punish it. His character was highly raised by the prediction of the storm, and by his behavior in it; for to his and his brother's good conduct, the safety of his little fleet was justly attributed. His brother was a navigator and philosopher, second only to the admiral, very useful to his affairs, and a comfort and assistance in all his misfortunes, by his capacity and the goodness of his heart.

After he had weathered the storm, he left this island, in which he had so surprising an instance of ingratitude, in pursuit of more matter to employ it. In this voyage he discovered all the coast of Terra Firma to the isthmus of Darien, where he hoped to have found a passage to the South Sea. In this he was disappointed, but he was not disappointed in the other part of his project; for every where as he advanced, he became more sensible of the value of his discoveries on the continent. He found a people more civilized and more abounding in gold than the islanders. He entered a harbor, which from its excellence he called Porto Bello, well known since as one of the greatest openings by which the Spanish commerce is carried on between the two worlds. Here the admiral designed to establish a colony, under the command of his brother, proposing to return to Europe himself to obtain the requisites for a complete settlement. But the avarice and insolence of his men raised the country upon him, and obliged him to relinquish his design, without having an opportunity of doing any thing more than showing his judgment

Digitized by Google

in the choice of the situation, and his own and brother's bravery in extricating their men from the calamities in which their folly had involved them.

Driven from hence, and finding his vessels in so bad a condition that it was by no means advisable to proceed upon further discoveries, he quitted the continent, after having discovered the eastern side of the isthmus of Darien, and the whole shore as far as Gracios o Dios in the gulf of Honduras. He then stood over to Hispaniola. His voyage was made under a thousand difficulties of the severest kind; the vessels so leaky, that the crew had not a moment's respite from the pump, and scarce any provision remaining to refresh them after their labors. To complete the sum of their calamities a violent storm arose, in which the ships fell foul of one another. But though he providentially weathered this storm, it was now scarcely possible to keep his ship above water, and he was glad to make Jamaica, where he was a second time relieved from the greatest dangers and distresses.

But a distress of almost as bad a nature exercised his invention here. His ships were absolutely unfit for service, beyond all possibility of being repaired; no means of getting new; the inhabitants suspicious, and the ill behavior of his men gave daily occasion to increase those suspicions. In this distress, he prevailed upon some of the hardiest and most faithful of them to pass over in a canoe to Hispaniola, to represent his calamitous situation to the governor, and to beg vessels to carry them off.

Eight months did the admiral remain in this island without the least intelligence from his messengers, or assistance from the governor. The natives grew exasperated at the delay of the Spaniards and the weight of subsisting them, which was a heavy burthen on the poverty of the Indians. Provisions therefore came in very sparingly. Things even threatened to grow much worse; for the seamen, who are at best unruly, but think that all discipline ceases the moment they set foot on land, mutinied in great numbers. By this mutiny the admiral's authority and strength were considera-

Digitized by Google

bly weakened, whilst the natives were exasperated by the disorders of the mutineers; but Columbus found means to recover his authority, at least among the Indians. Knowing there would shortly be a visible eclipse of the moon, he summoned the principal persons in the island; and by one who understood their language told them, that the God whom he served, and who created and preserves all things in heaven and earth, provoked at their refusing to support his servants, intended a speedy and severe judgment upon them, of which they should shortly see manifest tokens in the heavens, for that the moon would, on the night he marked, appear of a bloody hue, an emblem of the destruction that was preparing for them. His prediction which was ridiculed for the time, when it came to be accomplished struck the barbarians with great terror. They brought him plenty of provisions; they fell at his feet, and besought him in the most supplicating style to deprecate the evils which threatened them. He took their provisions, comforted them, and charged them to atone for their past sin by their future generosity.

He had a temporary relief by this stratagem, but he saw no prospect of getting out of the island, and pursuing those great purposes to which he had devoted his life. The mutiny of his men was in danger of growing general, when every thing seemed to be settled by the sight of a ship in the harbor, sent by Obando, the governor of Hispaniola. The governor resolved not only to abandon but to insult this great man in his misfortunes. The captain of the vessel was a mortal enemy to the admiral, and one of the persons principally concerned in those rebellions, which had formerly given him so much trouble. The design of this captain was only to be a witness of the distress of his affairs; for he came ashore, forbidding his crew all manner of communication with the admiral or his men; and after delivering to Columbus an empty letter of compliment, embarked without even flattering him with the least hope of relief.

Thus abandoned, his firmness and presence of mind alone did not forsake him. The arrival of this ship for a moment

Digitized by Google

reconciled his men to obedience; but when they saw it depart, they were almost unanimously on the point of shaking off all authority, and abandoning themselves to the most desperate courses. The admiral, without betraying the least sign of disappointment or grief, told them in a cheerful manner, that he had a promise of an immediate supply: that he did not depart in this ship, because she was too small to carry off all the Spaniards who were with him; and that he was resolved not to leave the island until every man of them might enjoy the same conveniency. The easy and composed air of the admiral himself, and the care he manifested for his people, superior to his own preservation, reconciled their minds, and made them attend their fate with patience. But he knew his delay might be very tedious in this island, and that as long as there remained a receptacle to which every ill humor among his men might gather, his affairs would grow worse every day. He found those that still adhered to him firmly attached to his cause; he therefore came to a resolution of taking vigorous measures with the rest. He sent his brother, a sensible and resolute man, with a proper force, and well armed, to treat with them; and in case of obstinacy to compel them to obedience. They met, and the captain of the mutineers, grown insolent with a long course of licentiousness and rapine, not only rejected the admiral's proposal, but offered violence to his brother; who using this as a signal to his men, prepared for such an accident; they fell upon the rebels with so much resolution, that ten lay dead in a moment with their chief; disordered by the unexpected attack, the rest fled, and soon after were obliged to submit.

Thus the admiral pacified every thing with equal spirit and address, sometimes giving way to the storm, and temporizing when he doubted his strength; but when he was assured of it, always employing it with resolution and effect; turning every incident, even the most unfavorable to his advantage; and watching every change of nature, and every motion of the human mind, to employ them in his purposes. It is the principal thing which forms the character of a great man, to

Digitized by Google

be rich in expedients; the use Columbus made of the eclipse was truly ingenious. It may be said, that such a thing cannot be imitated amongst a civilized people. I grant it. But the way to imitate great men is not to tread in their steps, but to walk in their manner. There is no people who have not some points of ignorance, weakness, or prejudice, which a penetrating mind may discover, and use as the most powerful instruments in the execution of his designs. Such a knowledge as this is the only thing which gives one man a real superiority over another; and he who understands the passions of men, and can entirely command his own, has the principal means of subduing them in his hands.

The admiral might have spent his whole life in this miserable exile, if a private man, moved with esteem for his merit, and compassion to his misfortunes, had not fitted out a ship for his relief. This brought him to Hispaniola. The governor, who refused to contribute any thing to his coming, when he came received him with that overacted complaisance and show of friendship, which so often succeeds the greatest insolence in base minds, and which they practise with so little shame and remorse to the persons they have before loaded with the greatest injuries. The admiral bore this like every thing else; and, convinced that a dispute with a governor in his own jurisdiction would bring him little advantage or honor, hastened every thing for his departure to Spain, where he arrived after a voyage in which he was tossed by most terrible storms, and sailed seven hundred leagues after he had lost his mainmast.

He was now grown old, and severely afflicted with the gout. The queen his patroness was dead; and the king, of a close and dissembling disposition, and a narrow mind, was the only person he had to soothe his misfortunes, or pay the reward which was due to his labors. But he received neither comfort nor reward. The performance of his contract was deferred upon frivolous pretences; and he employed the close of his life, as he had done the active part of it, in a court solicitation; the most grievous of all employments to

Digitized by Google

any man, the most hopeless to an old man. Vanquished at last by years, fatigues, and disappointments, he died with those sentiments of piety, which supported him through the misfortunes of his life, and added a finishing, which nothing else could give to his greatness of mind, and all his other virtues.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CHARACTER OF COLUMBUS—SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE CONDUCT OF THE COURT OF SPAIN.

HENCEFORWARD, in treating of the progress of the Spanish discoveries and arms, instead of designs laid in science, and pursued with a benevolent heart and gentle measures; we are but too often to show an enthusiastic avarice, urging men forward to every act of cruelty and horror. The character of this first discoverer was extremely different from that of all with whom he dealt, and from that of most of those who pursued his discoveries and conquests; some with a vigor and conduct equal, but all with virtues very much inferior. In his character hardly is any one of the components of a truly great man wanting. For to the ideas of the most penetrating philosopher, and a scheme built upon them worthy of a great king, he joined a constancy and patience, which alone could carry it into execution, with the fortune of a private man. Continual storms at sea, continual rebellions of a turbulent people on shore, vexations, disappointments, and cabals at court, were his lot all his life; and these were the only reward of services which no favors could have rewarded sufficiently. His magnanimity was proof against all these, and his genius surmounted all the difficulties they threw in his way, except that of his payment, the point in which such men ever meet with the worst success, and urge with the least ability. That surprising art, possessed by so few, of making every

Digitized by Google

accident an instrument in his designs; his nice adjustment of his behavior to his circumstances, temporizing, or acting vigorously as the occasion required, and never letting the occasion itself pass by him; the happy talent of concealing and governing his own passions, and managing those of others; all these conspire to give us the highest idea of his capacity. And as for his virtues, his disinterested behavior, his immovable fidelity to the ungrateful crown he served, the just policy of his dealing with the Indians, his caution against giving them any offence, and his tender behavior to them when conquered, which merited him the glorious title of their father, together with his zeal to have them instructed in the truths of religion, raise him to the elevated rank of those few men whom we ought to consider as examples to mankind, and ornaments to human nature.

I hope it will be forgiven me if I add a remark upon the conduct of the court of Spain with regard to this great man. Though, as we saw all along, this conduct was equally unjust and impolitic, sorry I am, that no lesson of instruction can be drawn from the event, which was in all respects as fortunate, as the measures pursued were ungrateful and imprudent. But there was a coincidence of events at that time, which does not always happen so opportunely to justify an ungrateful and narrow policy. It is certain that some men are so possessed with their designs, that, when once engaged, nothing can discourage them in the pursuit. But great and frequent discouragements are examples to others, which will at least certainly have an effect, and will terrify men from forming such designs at all. Then the spirit of invention and enterprise dies away; then things begin to stagnate and to corrupt; for it is a rule as invariable in politics as it is in nature, that a want of proper motion does not breed rest and stability, but a motion of another kind; a motion unseen and intestine, which does not preserve but destroy. The best form and settlement of a state, and every regulation within it, obeys the same universal law; and the only way to prevent all things from going to decay is by continually aiming to better them

Digitized by Google

in some respect or other (since if they are not better they will surely be worse), and to afford an attentive ear to every project for this purpose. I am sensible that it must frequently happen, that many of these projects will be chimerical in themselves, and offered by a people of an appearance and manner not very prejudicing in their favor. But then I am satisfied too, that these men must in the nature of things have something odd and singular in their character, who expose themselves, and desert the common and certain roads of gain, in pursuit of advantages not certain to the public, and extremely doubtful to themselves.

It is equally true, that, if such people are encouraged, a number of visionary schemes will be offered. But it is the character of pride and laziness to reject all offers, because some are idle, as it is a weakness and credulity to listen to all without distinction. But surely, if judgment is to have any share in our conduct, it is the province of judgment to sift, to examine, to distinguish the useful from the foolish, the feasible from the impracticable, and even in the midst of the visions of a fruitful and disordered brain, to pick out matter which a wise man will know how to qualify and turn to use, though the inventor did not. Cromwell, partly from his circumstances, but more from his genius and disposition, received daily a number of proposals of this kind, which always approached him in a fanatical dress, and were mixed frequently with matters the most remote from probability and good sense; and we know that he made a signal use of many things of this kind.

Colbert spent much of his time in hearing every scheme for the extending of commerce, the improvement of manufactures, and the advancement of arts; spared no pains or expense to put them in execution and bountifully rewarded and encouraged the authors of them. By these means, France advanced during the reign of Louis the Fourteenth, and under this minister, more than it had done in many reigns before; and by these means, in the midst of wars which brought that kingdom and all Europe to the brink of destruction, amidst

Digitized by Google

many defaults in the royal character and many errors in his government, a seed of industry and enterprise was sown which, on the first respite of the public calamities, and even while they oppressed that nation, rose to produce that flourishing internal and external commerce and power that distinguish France, and form its strength at this day, though a less active reign and ministers of a different character have succeeded. On the contrary, it was always the character of the court of Spain to proceed very slowly, if at all, in any improvement; and to receive schemes for that purpose with coldness and disdain. The effects upon the power of that monarchy were at last answerable. With regard to America, the conquest as well as the discovery was owing wholly to private men; the court contributed nothing but pretensions and patents.

CHAPTER IX.

THE DISCOVERIES AND CONQUESTS OF BALBOA—VELASQUEZ SENDS CORTES ON THE MEXICAN EXPEDITION—THE STATE OF THE MEXICAN EMPIRE—CORTES MAKES AN ALLIANCE WITH THE TLASCALANS.

An ancient painter drew a satirical picture of Cimon the Athenian. He represented this commander asleep, and Fortune drawing a net over cities to put them into his possession. There never were princes to whom this representation could be applied with more justice, than to King Ferdinand and his successor the Emperor Charles. Without forming any plan in the cabinet, without issuing a penny out of their treasury, without sending a regiment from their troops, private adventurers amongst their subjects put them into possession of a greater and more wealthy territory, than ever the most celebrated conquerors had acquired by their valor, or their wisdom. Nor was this conquest more extraordinary for the

Digitized by Google

trivial means by which it was accomplished, than for the shortness of the time in which it was effected; for from the departure of Columbus, which was in the year 1492, to the entire reduction of Chili, which was in 1541, seven great kingdoms, inhabited by a vast number of warlike and wealthy nations, were made to bow under the Spanish yoke. After the discoveries of Columbus had enlarged the sphere of industry to active minds, such a spirit of enterprise went abroad, that not only those persons whose indigence might have driven them from their native country, but persons of the first rank went over to settle in America. Gold was the spur to all those adventurers, of whatever rank; and this, with a romantic spirit of chivalry, made the greatest hazards appear but common matters in their eyes. And indeed in a country wholly uncivilized, under the burning zone, and in many places extremely unhealthy, the temperance of the Spaniards, their hardiness under fatigue, and the patience and perseverance, which make the most shining part of their character, enabled them to engage in enterprises, and to surmount difficulties, to which any other people had certainly been unequal.

Vasco Nunez de Balboa made a considerable figure amongst these adventurers; he was a man of a graceful presence, a liberal education, a hardy constitution, and that kind of popular bravery, which recommends a man who engages in desperate expeditions, where he must have more authority from his person than his place. This man first surrounded Cuba, conquered, and left it. He did not there find the treasures which he expected. He therefore relinquished the gleanings of this field to those who had a more moderate ambition, and a more saving industry. He sought new ground, he followed the tracks of Columbus to Darien, gained the friendship of some of the caziques, and conquered others. He was the first who discovered the South Sea. He settled a colony upon that coast, and built the city of Panama. But according to the fate of all the first adventurers in this new world, indeed according to the fate of most who engage in new

Digitized by Google

undertakings, he never lived to reap the fruit of his labors. He found himself superseded by one who had only discernment enough of his merit to raise his jealousy and envy, and who could make no other use of the discoveries of this great man, than to increase his own private fortune. This man was a politician and a courtier, and having in several instances basely injured Balboa, he was too wise to stop there, but under a pretended form of justice cut off his head, and confiscated his estate.

Some time after the settlement of Cuba, Don James Velasquez obtained the government; a man of good sense in common affairs, but so much mistaken, as to imagine he could act a great part by deputy; and that too in circumstances, wherein a man who had but little capacity could do him but little service, and he that could do much would certainly do it for himself. The continent of America was now very well known, and the fame of the greatness and wealth of the Mexican empire spread every where. This inspired Velasquez with a scheme of reducing some part of this opulent country under his obedience. He pitched upon Hernando Cortes to command in this expedition, in which he certainly made a very right judgment. There was no man amongst the Spaniards, who to an adventurous disposition, then common to them all, knew so well to join a cool and steady conduct, to gain love whilst he preserved respect; not to shift his schemes according to occasions, but persisting uniformly in a well-judged design, to make every inferior action and event subservient to it; to urge still forward; to extricate himself out of difficulties into which he was brought by bold actions, not by mean subterfuges, but by actions yet bolder. This was the character of the man already in high reputation, whom Velasquez chose to conquer for him.

The embarkment was made at St. Jago de Cuba, and Cortes was to take in some reinforcements at the Havanna. But he was hardly departed, when Velasquez grew jealous of him; and, without considering that Cortes was of that heroic disposition in which a blind obedience is rarely a principal ingre-

Digitized by Google

dient, he took the ill-judged step of removing him from the command of an army, which in some sort might be considered as his own, since he had much influence on the soldiers, and a considerable part of the expense of the armament had been supplied by himself. When this order, which was to deprive him of his command, arrived to Cortes, he was not long before he came to a resolution. He explained the whole matter to his soldiers; he showed them how uncertain the intentions of Velasquez were, and how much all their hopes were like to be frustrated by the inconstancy of his disposition. The event was prepared. The soldiers declared to a man, that they were subjects only to the king of Spain, and knew no commander but Cortes. The army and the general, thus bound to each other by their mutual disobedience, sailed for Mexico.

The empire of Mexico was at that time governed by a prince called Montezuma, the eleventh who reigned from the first monarch who had conquered the country. The empire was elective, and the merit of Montezuma had procured him the election; a prince of capacity and courage, but artful, hypocritical, and cruel. This empire, founded on conquest, was increased by his victories. By himself, or by his generals, he had absolutely subdued several kingdoms and provinces; several were made tributary, and others, which were not absolutely subdued, were influenced by his power to an entire obedience to his will. His armies were the best in that part of the world, and prodigiously numerous. In this situation, and so headed, was the empire of the Mexicans, when Cortes came to prove its strength, with an army of no more than five hundred foot, and not quite sixty horse. He did not come a stranger into the country, to encounter a force which he dared to engage only because he was ignorant of it. He had long made every possible inquiry from the Spaniards and Indians in every circumstance of its internal weakness or power; its allies, its enemies, and the interests which determined them to be allies or enemies. Weighing all these, and knowing that, along with great hopes, great dangers likewise

Digitized by Google

lay before him, he made his retreat yet more dangerous by disobedience to the governor of Cuba; and when he landed on the continent, he made it impossible, for he burned his ships. But though he had made a retreat impossible, he had something more to encourage him to go forward, than the impossibility of retiring. He had great hopes that many of those states, who were kept in a forced subjection or a slavish dread of Montezuma, would gladly turn this new and alarming appearance from themselves against that monarch, and, under the banner of these formidable strangers, arm themselves to shake off the ancient tyranny, which always appears the worst, without foreseeing consequences, to which more civilized nations have frequently been as blind as they. It happened according to his expectations.

The Zempoallans, a nation tributary to Montezuma, as soon as they had sufficient proofs of the power of the Spaniards, at the expense of several of their neighbors, who attempted to oppose their progress, threw off the Mexican yoke, gladly put themselves under the protection of Cortes, and earned it by the large reinforcements which they added to his army. Montezuma was soon made acquainted with these measures. For, according to the custom of that well-regulated kingdom, he had posts so stationed, that in a little time he had notice of whatever happened in the remote parts of his empire. The despatches which were sent him were painted cloths exactly representing every circumstance of the business of which he was to be informed; the figures were interspersed with characters to explain what must necessarily be wanting in the picture. So far, but no farther, had this people advanced in the art of writing. As well informed as the emperor was of every particular of this invasion, and of the defection of his tributaries, he acted not at all conformably to the greatness of his former exploits. He took the worst method which a great prince ever did upon such an occasion, which was, to temporize. He let the Spaniards see, by some trifling arts which he used to oppose them, that he did not look upon them as his friends, and at the same time neglected

Digitized by Google

to act against them as so formidable an enemy required. They made daily advances in the country. His enemies were encouraged, his tributaries made insolent, and his subjects and allies utterly dispirited; whilst the Spaniards, in a variety of engagements which they had with the petty princes of the country, raised their reputation by a train of victories, and began to be considered as invincible. Cortes, like the great commander he was, took advantage of this irresolute disposition in Montezuma, and used every possible means to cherish it. He always sent back what prisoners his new allies had taken, with presents, and every profession of esteem and regard to their master, and with the strongest assurance of a desire of preserving peace; requesting to see Montezuma, and to confer with him upon some matters which he said he had in charge to deliver to him from his master the emperor of the Romans.

There was at that time a celebrated republic on the coast of Mexico, towards the gulf, called Tlascala. This people were said to be so powerful, as to be able to arm four hundred thousand men. Powerful as they were, though not subdued, they were yet awed by the greatness of the Mexicans. This awe, or perhaps a better policy, induced them to give a check to the Spaniards. But, in the manner of Montezuma's proceedings, they would not oppose them publicly, and therefore could not oppose them effectually. Some nations, on whom they had prevailed to fall upon the Spaniards, were over and over again defeated, together with those troops the Tlascalans had sent clandestinely to their assistance. At last, by degrees, declaring themselves more openly, as the danger pressed them, they drew a large army into the field, which was routed by the troops of Cortes; few indeed in number, but infinitely superior in arms, and now grown familiar with victory. The consequence of this battle was the alliance of the Tlascalans with their conqueror, which they entered into with the less difficulty, as they were to serve against the Mexicans, and might now hope to serve with success. Cortes, however, did not choose to trust this untried and forced

Digitized by Google

alliance too far, nor at the same time to deprive himself entirely of the succor it produced. He therefore took a middle course, and, accepting three thousand of their men, he held on his route to Mexico.

CHAPTER X.

CORTES BUILDS LA VERA CRUZ—HE MARCHES TO MEXICO—HIS RECEPTION BY MONTEZUMA—CORTES IMPRISONS MONTEZUMA—THAT PRINCE'S STRATAGEM TO GAIN HIS LIBERTY; THE CONSEQUENCE OF IT.

Before Cortes began his expedition to Mexico, he had built a strong fortress at the principal port on the coast, to open a passage for succors, whenever his success should make interest enough to procure them. This he called La Vera Cruz, and it has since become a city, remarkable for the great traffic carried on between these opulent countries and Old Spain.

During the Tlascalan war, in which the Spaniards suffered something, and had every thing to apprehend, Montezuma took no steps, but lay by, watching the event, in hopes that the Tlascalans might defeat the troops of Cortes at their own expense; or, if the Spaniards proved victorious, he might then have the merit of not having used hostilities against them. He lost both parties by this double conduct; such an insidious neutrality betrays nothing but the weak policy of him who uses it. However, as a fair correspondence still subsisted between them, he used every means he could to dissuade Cortes from his proposed journey to Mexico. At last he took a step, worse judged than all the bad ones he had hitherto taken. He sent to the Spaniards a very large and magnificent present, of every thing his dominions afforded valuable, but principally a vast quantity of gold and precious stones; offering at the same time yet more, and persuading

Digitized by Google

them to return to their own country. If any person in the army was unwilling before this to proceed, he now changed his mind. All were convinced that they ought to advance with speed to possess the fountain of that wealth, of which this rich donation was but an inconsiderable rivulet.

Montezuma, baffled in all his schemes to keep the Spaniards at a distance, having used himself to shifting measures until they were in a degree grown habitual, found Cortes at the gates of Mexico before he was resolved how he should receive him. It was now almost too late for force. He therefore dissembled his concern with the best grace he could, and received him with all the honors a monarch can bestow, when he would display his own magnificence and show his sense of extraordinary merit. Cortes was lodged in a palace spacious and grand, after the manner of the country. All his Spaniards were lodged with him; but he took care to place a train of artillery at his gate.

Thus posted without a blow in the heart of this great city, the capital of the new world, he was for awhile at a loss what measures to pursue, for securing himself in a conquest of such importance. Having received more than he could reasonably have asked, there was no cause of complaint, and consequently no advantage to be colorably taken. He had only to wait for some of those critical incidents, upon whose use all great matters depend, and without which the greatest genius must be at a stand. It was not long before one of these occurred.

Two Tlascalans arrived in disguise at Mexico, who brought him an account that a general of Montezuma had attacked some of his confederate Indians; that the garrison of Vera Cruz had gone out to their defence; and that, though the Mexicans were repulsed with loss, the Spaniards were greatly endangered, many wounded, and one killed, whose head, by the order of Montezuma, was carried through all the cities and villages of their country, to destroy their reverence in which they held the Spaniards, and to undeceive them in a notion they had conceived, that these strangers were immor-

Digitized by Google

tal. This intelligence alarmed Cortes. He knew that opinion was one of the strongest supporters of his little force; that things of this kind never stop at their beginnings; that Montezuma, while he caressed him in his city, was disjoining his allies, and distressing his garrison abroad; and that no time was to be lost in dilatory counsels; that he must keep alive the memory of his former exploits. He therefore took a resolution worthy of a brave man, in a difficulty made for his capacity. He armed himself in the best manner, and with five of the most faithful and best-resolved of his officers, went directly to the palace of Montezuma. Thirty of his men attended at some distance. Guards of Spaniards were placed at the principal avenues to the palace.

It was usual for Montezuma's guards to withdraw, out of respect, when he had any conference with Cortes. On this occasion, as soon as he was admitted to audience, he charged the emperor with the outrages committed by his orders, in terms of great resentment. The emperor disavows them. But Cortes, after having paid him the compliment of not supposing him capable of so mean a dissimulation, assured him, that he was himself entirely satisfied of his innocence; but that others had fears which were not easily removed: that, to satisfy the Spaniards, he must give some solid proof of his confidence in them; which he could effectually do no otherwise than by his removing without delay to their quarters. A request of this nature startled Montezuma, who never was used to any voice but that of the humblest submission. However, he saw plainly that Cortes did not make so extraordinary a request but with a resolution of making it be complied with. He saw the necessity, and he yielded to it.

Thus was the metropolis of a vast and powerful empire, inhabited by an innumerable multitude of warlike people, entered without resistance by a handful of men, who came to overturn its liberty. And thus was one of the greatest princes on earth, renowned for his wisdom and valor, seized in his palace, in the midst of his capital, at noon-day, and carried

Digitized by Google

prisoner, without noise or violence, by six persons, to be disposed of at their pleasure.

The people, confounded and enraged to find one whom they always used to revere as a god, treated in this unworthy manner, surrounded the quarters of the Spaniards to punish this sacrilege, and rescue their captive prince. But Cortes, who well understood the consequence of the steps he had taken, was not alarmed. He knew that he had now in his hands an engine, which was capable of doing any thing. Montezuma went out to appease the people, assured them that he was there of choice, and (which was true) that the Spaniards were wanting in no instance of respect due to his character and dignity.

This appeased and dispersed the people. But Montezuma, whose unfortunate circumstances obliged him to act as an instrument to his own captivity, could enjoy no rest, though allowed the attendance of the principal officers of his court, and indulged by the Spaniards in every thing but his liberty. Long revolving, he at last contrived a scheme, which he judged, without his appearing to concur with them, might alarm his subjects with a sense of their danger, or oblige the Spaniards to depart by the reasonableness of his proposals. He had always liberty of going abroad with a guard of Spaniards under pretence of doing him honor. He now desired to hold a council of the states of his empire, that in concurrence they might satisfy Cortes and his associates in the amplest manner. This council was convened, in which Montezuma, in a premeditated speech, set forth the origin of his nation; the prophecies extant among them, that a people of the same race should arrive, to whom this empire should be subject; that the people were now arrived who were the object of those prophecies, and sprung from this origin, to whom the gods had destined universal empire, and who, by their great accomplishments and surprising bravery, merited their high destination: then he solemnly declared himself tributary to the emperor of the Romans; he exhorted his people on their part to a due obedience; and ended by telling them, that, as

Digitized by Google

he had himself prepared a present from his treasures worthy of this emperor, he expected that every one of them, in proportion to his ability, would testify his loyalty to their new master, and his regard to the merit of his general and those brave men that attended him, that they might be enabled to depart speedily to their own country, with that opinion of their brethren the Mexicans, which their affection to them, and their obedience to their common master deserved.

At first a dead silence succeeded this harangue; the whole assembly were confounded and struck dumb with grief, indignation, and surprise. Then followed a mixed cry, as each person was affected by some particular part of the general calamity. The lustre of their empire was tarnished, their religion to be profaned, their freedom surrendered, their emperor, degraded; what was worse, degraded by himself; could they believe their ears? Was it Montezuma who had spoken in such a manner?

The design of Montezuma was until this moment a secret to Cortes; he was surprised and somewhat chagrined at an artifice, the intention of which he now penetrated very clearly. But his surprise did not confound or perplex him in the part he saw it was proper for him to act. Without any embarrassment, he seconded the harangue of Montezuma by a speech, which was well interpreted, wherein he strongly urged the propriety, and insinuated the necessity, of an entire obedience to their prince and an imitation of his conduct. Disordered as the assembly was, yet still held by a sacred reverence to their emperor, influenced by the hope of the sudden departure of the Spaniards, and reserving themselves for a better occasion, they followed Montezuma's example, and paid homage to Cortes, in that dumb and sullen submission with which fierce spirits yield to necessity. He received it, and thanked them, as a man thanks his debtor for a ready payment.

Cortes saw that this empty homage secured him nothing; but he knew that the gold which was to accompany it, would be of real service in cancelling the ill impressions made by

Digitized by Google

his disobedience in Spain. In Mexico he might look upon himself as secure; he had the person of the emperor in his hands; he had his forces in the capital; he had lately struck a terror into all, by seizing the general, who had committed hostilities against the Spaniards. He got the emperor to disavow his conduct, and condemn him as a traitor. By their joint authority this unhappy man, guilty of nothing but obedience to his lawful master and zeal for his country, was burned alive in the public square of Mexico. But neither this horrid example, nor the imprisonment of their emperor, nor the late acknowledgment of the Emperor Charles, was sufficient to make the Mexicans insensible to the disgrace they suffered, nor of the danger which hung over them. They began to consult how they might deliver themselves. Some proposed to cut off the communication with the continent, and hold the Spaniards besieged in their quarters; for the city of Mexico is an island in a great lake, and communicates with the continent by four great causeways, extremely curious for contrivance and solidity. Whilst they were ripening their schemes, a report came to Cortes, that some words had dropt from a Mexican concerning the practicability of destroying one of these causeways. From this word (for he heard no more) this watchful and sagacious commander judged of the whole contrivance. Without however taking notice of it publicly, he immediately orders two brigantines to be built to secure his retreat, if a retreat should prove the wisest measure. In the mean time he kept a strict discipline in his army; and to preserve reverence from the Indians, he prohibited their approaching his quarters when his men were asleep, and severely punished those of his soldiers who slept out of the times and places appointed for that purpose. All this while no preparations for his departure.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER XI.

THE ATTEMPTS OF MONTEZUMA TO MAKE THE SPANIARDS LEAVE MEXICO—THE ARRIVAL OF NARVAEZ TO TAKE THE COMMAND FROM CORTES—CORTES LEAVES MEXICO—DEFEATS AND TAKES NARVAEZ PRISONER—THE SPANIARDS IN MEXICO BESIEGED—CORTES RAISES THE SIEGE—MONTEZUMA IS KILLED.

MONTEZUMA, sick with impatience of his confinement, and seeing that he daily lost his authority amongst the people by the pusillanimous appearance of his conduct, as soon as he perceived that any spirited action on his side would be seconded with equal spirit by his subjects, roused his dormant magnanimity, and, in spite of the condition he was in, sent for Cortes, and addressed him in this manner: "Cortes, the desires of my subjects, my own dignity, and the commands of my gods, require that you should depart my empire. You are sensible how much I valued your friendship, and how effectually I have shown that I valued it. But, after so many professions of good will on your side, and so many proofs of it upon mine, after every pretence of business is over, wherefore do you delay your return? I have yielded homage to your master, I am ready to obey him; I have sent him presents (or shall I call it a tribute?) worthy of myself and of him: your whole army is loaded, even to an inconvenience, with their darling gold. Would they have more? they shall have more. But then, when they shall have spoken their largest wishes, and satisfied their most eager desires, I insist upon it that they depart immediately; or they may find, in spite of the condition I am in, of which condition, for your sake and for my own, I shall speak but little, that Montezuma has yet courage enough to vindicate his honor, and friends in Mexico who will not fail to revenge the wrongs he shall suffer."

Cortes perceived something of an unusual resolution and

Digitized by Google

sternness in the emperor's countenance whilst he spoke. He therefore sent orders, before the interpreter began to explain his speech, that the Spaniards should stand to their arms, and wait his commands. His answer was resolute, but not such as to drive the emperor to despair. He lamented the jealousy which their common enemies had occasioned; that for his part he was secured from all fear, by his own courage and the bravery of his own troops; but, since he was so unfortunate as to find he could not longer enjoy the honor of a conversation he had such reason to esteem, consistently with the emperor's repose, he would depart as soon as ships could be built, for on landing he had been obliged to burn his own. This answer soothed Montezuma; he resumed his good humor, he promised to load his army with gold at his departure, and gave immediate orders that every thing should be prepared for fitting out the ships in the speediest and amplest manner. But Cortes gave orders which were full as well obeyed, to the person he appointed for the equipment, to delay it upon every possible pretence. He expected daily the return of the messengers he had sent into Spain, to solicit his pardon and succors, with the continuance of the command.

Whilst he was entertained with these expectations, and with finding out pretences to defer his departure, an express arrived from Sandoval, his governor at La Vera Cruz, informing him of the arrival of eighteen ships, in which was an army of eight hundred foot, and two hundred horse, under the command of one Narvaez, who was sent by his old enemy Velasquez, the governor of Cuba, to supersede him in the command, to treat him as a rebel, and send him in chains to Cuba. The governor seized the messengers, who were sent by Narvaez to require him to surrender, and sent them prisoners with this account to Cortes. There never was a time wherein the firmness and capacity of this commander-in-chief were put so strongly to the proof. On one hand, here was an army in weapons and courage equal to his own, in numbers vastly superior, and above all strengthened with the

Digitized by Google

name of royal authority. The Mexicans, ill-affected before, would rejoice in this opportunity to fall upon him. On the other hand, must he resign the conquests he had made with such infinite toils and hazards into the hands of his mortal enemy, and in return bear the name and receive the punishment of a traitor? There was little room to hope for an accommodation. The thoughts of a surrender were intolerable. One way only remained to conquer Narvaez. His own courage and conduct; his soldiers, habituated to victory, and endeared to him by common dangers and triumphs; his reputation, and the signal providence which always attended him, would combat upon his side. Above all, no time was to be lost in fruitless counsels. He sent an express to Sandoval, his governor in La Vera Cruz, to evacuate that place, and join him in his route with what men he had. He assembled his forces, and found them to a man attached to his interests, and ready to hazard every thing in support of them. He left eighty men in Mexico, picked from his troops, recommending them to Montezuma, and him to them. With this small garrison he dared to entrust Mexico and all his vast hopes there; but the imprisoned emperor was himself a garrison, from the reverence his subjects bore him. Before he set out he released the prisoners which Sandoval had sent him, using the severity of his officer to display his own clemency. He caressed them extremely, loaded them with presents for themselves and the principal officers of Narvaez's army, and did every thing to create himself a party there by his generosity. He sent at the same time very advantageous terms of accommodation to the general himself, but took care to follow and second his ambassadors with all the power he could raise. This, with Sandoval's reinforcement, did not amount to three hundred men; but with these and some confederate Indians, he marched with all imaginable diligence to Narvaez's quarters.

Narvaez, elated with the superiority of his army, would hearken to no terms, though he was much pressed to it by his principal officers, who discovered plainly that this quarrel

Digitized by Google

could only end in the ruin of their party, or that of the Spanish interest in Mexico. Meantime Cortes, little encumbered with baggage, and less with a dilatory genius, advanced by forced marches. He was but a small distance from the enemy's quarters when the rains came on, and, as usual in that country, fell very heavily. Cortes, knowing that the ill dispositions of the sky were circumstances favorable to a surprise, inviting to desperate enterprises, and that they are always least prejudicial to those in motion, having perfect intelligence of the disposition of Narvaez's army, and having disposed his troops in such a manner as not to fall upon one another, and to act in concert, he ordered them when they should enter the town where the enemy was posted, to keep in close to the houses, that they might not suffer by the artillery, which was so placed as to play upon the middle of the street. Having made this disposition, he marched to attack the camp, on one of those gloomy and tempestuous nights. Though he directed every thing with the utmost secrecy, Narvaez had intelligence of his approach, but he laughed at it; and, not understanding the nature of a prudent rashness, could not believe that Cortes would make such an attempt in such a season, but went to sleep, without taking sufficient care that it should not be disturbed. Security in the general is easily followed by that of every one else. Cortes assaulted the town in three bodies, and whilst every one in the adverse party ran in confusion to his arms, and opposed without command or uniformity as each man was attacked, the whole army was routed. The quarters of Narvaez were attacked by Cortes's division, and the men routed there as elsewhere. Narvaez himself, shamefully taken in bed, fell into his hands. "Value yourself," said he, "my Lord Cortes, on your fortune in making me your prisoner!" But Cortes, with a smile of indignation, answered, "That he thought this by far the least action he had performed since he came into the new world."

When the morning came on the dispersed army of Narvaez began to form into bodies, and to discover the inconsiderable

Digitized by Google

force which the night before had defeated them. Their first motion, distracted with shame and anger, was to fall upon the conquerors, and recover the honor they had lost. But when they found that their general was a prisoner, their artillery seized, and the advantageous post they had occupied in the enemy's possession, and numbers amongst themselves well affected to Cortes, they listened at last to his proposals, recommended as they were by the polite and insinuating behavior of which he was master, and that open and unbounded generosity he showed to every one. They all enlisted under his banner, and agreed to share his fortune. Thus did this accident, which seemed to threaten inevitable destruction to the affairs of Cortes, prove the most effectual method of restoring them to an excellent condition, wholly by means of the wisdom of his measures, and of that vigor and activity with which he pursued them. His army now consisted of above a thousand men, after replacing his garrison at La Vera Cruz, in which fortress he left Narvaez a prisoner.

This victory, and the reinforcement it procured, came at a most critical time; for hardly had he begun to adjust matters for his return to Mexico, when an express arrived that his affairs there were in a most dangerous condition. Alvarado, whom he had left to command at his departure, though a brave and able man, had too great a contempt for the Indians, and too little discernment for the nice circumstances he was in, to manage with that just mixture of firmness and yielding, by which Cortes had hitherto so balanced the hopes and fears of the Mexicans, that he never gave them an entire opportunity of knowing their own strength. This man, either discovering, or pretending at least to discover, that some of the chief men in the city, who were met in the great temple, were assembled to consult how to expel the Spaniards, suddenly surrounded the place, and murdered all the persons of rank who composed the assembly.

This cruel and precipitate action fired the whole people. Enraged at what they had already suffered, and what they saw plainly they were yet to expect, their late ignominious

Digitized by Google

patience, the fear of the Spanish arms, their inbred respect for Montezuma, were all lost in their fury. Should they stay, until on various pretences they were all butchered? Montezuma, either forgetful of his office and dignity, or unable to exert it, could protect them no longer. Gods and men allowed them to defend themselves, and arms were in their hands. The flame, so furious in the capital, spread itself with equal swiftness and rage over all the country, and all were vowed and hearty for the destruction of the Spaniards. In this extremity, Alvarado showed as much bravery as he had done imprudence in bringing it on. He redoubled his watch on the emperor; he obliged him to exert the remains of his authority in his favor, and, fortifying his quarters in the best manner the time would admit, he stood out the storm and repulsed the Mexicans in several attacks. But their fury, far from relenting at the frequent and bloody repulses they met, redoubled by their losses. They exercised the besieged, day and night, with the most vigorous assaults; and to cut off their retreat found means to burn the brigantines which Cortes had built.

Cortes, who was obliged to make so rapid a march from Mexico, to defend himself against Narvaez, was compelled by an equal necessity to march from Zempoalla to Mexico, to relieve his forces and preserve his most essential interests there. The Mexicans, like all people who have not reduced the art of war to some rule, suffered their eagerness in pursuing one advantage to let another material one lie neglected. For, whilst they pushed on the siege of the Spanish quarters with great vigor and diligence, they took no effectual care of the avenues to the city, or to cut off all succors from the besieged. Cortes entered the city without resistance. He soon routed those who invested the post of the Spaniards, and brought them a relief of which they stood in the greatest need.

The arrival of so formidable a body of troops held the Mexicans some time in suspense; but, in spite of the fatal error of admitting them into their city, which had now inex-

Digitized by Google

cusably been a second time committed, and in spite of the success every where attending the Spanish arms, they came to a resolution of continuing hostilities. But things wore another face since the arrival of Cortes. No longer satisfied with defending his quarters, he sallied out and defeated them several times with great slaughter. However, as he found that he suffered more by the least losses than the Mexicans by the greatest, he kept close for some time, suffering the enemy to approach, in hopes of making one last effort, to appease them by the authority of Montezuma. This unhappy prince, reduced to the sad necessity of becoming the instrument of his own disgrace, and of the slavery of his people, appeared on the battlements, and addressed his subjects with every argument he could use to prevail with them to disperse. But this expedient was not attended with the usual success. The Mexicans, by a habit of living without rule, had many of them lost much of that respect, which, even to adoration, every one of them used to pay their prince; they answered him with reproaches; and a stone from an uncertain hand struck him with great violence on the temple. The Spaniards carried him to his apartment. Here he refused to suffer any dressings to be applied to his wound; but, wrapping his head in his garment, gave himself up a prey to shame and grief; and in a few days died, less of his wound, which was but inconsiderable, than of sorrow and indignation, on feeling that he had so far lost the esteem and love of his subjects. There are other accounts of the death of Montezuma, but this appears the most probable.

Thus died this noble prince, more remarkable for the great virtues by which he ascended the throne, and those qualities by which he held it in so much lustre for many years, than for his steadiness and wisdom in defending it when attacked by a formidable enemy. It has happened thus to many great men. When Lucullus and Pompey attacked Tigranes, king of Armenia, we do not see any thing in him of the conqueror of so many kings. Even his conqueror Pompey was not himself, after having enjoyed in glory for a long time a power

Digitized by Google

acquired by the greatest exploits. *Se esse magnum oblitus est.* It is natural whilst we are raising ourselves, and contending against difficulties, to have our minds, as it were, strung, and our faculties intent and constantly awake. The necessity of our affairs obliges us to a continual exercise of whatever talents we possess; and we have hope to animate and urge us onward. But when we are come to the summit of our desires, the mind suffers itself to relax. It is grievous to contend anew for things, of which we have long looked upon ourselves as secure. When we have no longer any thing to hope, we have then every thing to fear. Thus enervated by this prosperity, and discomposed with this fear, we become stiff and irresolute to action; we are willing to use any temporizing measures, rather than hazard on an adventure so much power and reputation. If Montezuma had made an early use of his power, he had strength enough, after many losses, to have kept Cortes far enough from his capital; but, having once entered upon shifting and dilatory courses, this brave and active enemy gave his affairs a mortal blow, by seizing his capital and his person. The rest was all a consequence, which no prudence could prevent, of a plan of conduct imprudent and ill laid originally.

CHAPTER XII.

GUATIMOZIN CHOSEN EMPEROR BY THE MEXICANS—HE BESIEGES THE SPANIARDS IN THEIR QUARTERS—OBLIGES CORTES TO RETIRE OUT OF THE CITY—DISTRESSES HIM IN HIS RETREAT—THE BATTLE OF OTUMBA—CORTES RETREATS TO TLASCALA.

As soon as the Mexicans were apprized of the death of their emperor, they set about the election of a successor. They immediately cast their eyes upon Guatimozin, nephew and son-in-law of Montezuma, a man fit to command at such a time; of a person graceful, a body strong and robust,

Digitized by Google

and of a soul full of the most undaunted courage. Though no more than twenty-four years old, the reputation of his early exploits procured him the authority of age, and a penetrating genius served him for experience. He was no sooner called to this unsteady throne, than he took measures to prevent the Mexicans from their disorderly and casual attacks, and to make them act with design and uniformity. He examined thoroughly into the cause of their former miscarriages; and considering every thing, he found that the Indians in their present condition, could never hope for any success in open action; he resolved therefore to spare his men as much as possible, until his own invention and time might teach them better methods of fighting. On these ideas he caused all assaults to cease; then he cut off the causeways which joined the city to the continent, and at the same time strongly barricaded the streets, resolving to starve an enemy which seemed unconquerable by any other means; a measure, which though it has with us no extraordinary appearance, showed no small sagacity in Guatimozin, because it was what had never been before practised amongst the military stratagems of this people, and invention is the characteristic of genius.

From henceforward the whole method of the war was changed, the Spaniards grew every day more and more straitened for provisions; and whenever they sallied out, though they slew great numbers of their opponents, the many canals of the city, and barricado behind barricado, after some successful progress, obliged them, vanquished by mere weariness, to return without effect to their quarters. The Spaniards, invincible by the Indian arms, were not proof against famine. Cortes saw that nothing was left for his security, but as speedy a retreat as possible; and though this must necessarily lose them the most considerable part of the treasure they had amassed, it was what least afflicted him. He encouraged his troops, by cheerfully relinquishing his own part, not to attempt burthening themselves with a treasure which they might consider as lying at an advantageous inter-

Digitized by Google

est, until they should, as they certainly would, be enabled to return with a sufficient force to reclaim it.

The resolution of retreating being now taken, and all things disposed for it, a question arose whether it were better made by day or in the night. On this the council of war was divided; and their reasons seeming pretty equal, a person among them, a sort of astrologer, who passed for a prophet, and as such was much respected by the greater part of the army, promised them certain success if they retreated by night. Certain it is, that, when measures are dubious, superstitious determinations have great use; for as reason cannot easily determine the right way, that method which superstition fixes upon is, by the weight it has from thence, pursued with the greater cheerfulness and effect.

The general was guided by the prophet, and he disposed every thing for his retreat with great judgment. He caused the usual fires to be lighted in every part of his quarters. Some of his boldest and most active men led the van. The prisoners, artillery, and heavy baggage were in the centre. He himself, with one hundred of his choicest troops, formed the rear. With wonderful order and silence, and without any interruption, did the Spaniards march until they came to the first breach in the causeway. Here a portable wooden bridge, which Cortes had prepared, was laid over; but when the artillery and horses had passed, it was wedged so closely into the stones that bordered the causeway that it could not be removed, and there was yet another breach. But they were soon called from attending to this by a more pressing danger; for as nothing could elude the vigilance of the new emperor, he found out their intention of retreating, and disposed all along the sides of the causeway an infinite multitude of canoes, with orders to preserve the greatest silence, and not to attempt any thing until a signal was given. The darkness of the night favored the scheme. And now, perceiving that the Spaniards were under some embarrassment, the Mexicans took this advantage, and all at once, with great order, poured in their arrows; raising at the same time a

Digitized by Google

most tremendous shout, swelled with the barbarous sound of all their martial instruments of music. The Spaniards were not wanting to themselves, but behaved with signal bravery. It were needless, and almost impossible, to relate all the destruction of that horrid night. The Indians at first attacked in good order, but the first ranks being repulsed, and the distant canoes pressing on to action, the whole attack was thrown into confusion. The Indians drowned or slaughtered one another: however, they still pressed on with untamable fury. Thousands, impatient of the delay their remote situation caused them, leapt from their canoes, and, climbing up the causeway in the front where it was interrupted, broke in upon the Spaniards, with a torrent hardly resistible. In vain this naked multitude was hacked to pieces by the Spanish swords, in vain were they tumbled upon one another by hundreds into the lake; new warriors succeeded those that were killed, and the Spaniards, actually wearied out, were in danger of being wholly cut off; when, making one vigorous effort in the front, they happily cleared that post, and by a beam which they casually met, they passed over one by one; or, as some say, filling the intervals with the dead bodies of their enemies, they gained the main land. Cortes came over with the first, for in the confusion of the night, their former order was in a good measure lost, and took care as fast as his men got over to form them, in order to secure the passage for the rest. Then returning to those who were behind, by his presence and example he animated them to renew the fight, and drawing up a part of his men on both sides of the causeway, he ordered the rest to file off from the centre. In this manner the first light saw the Spaniards clear out of the city. Cortes halted at a small distance, that those whom the confusion and the night had dispersed, might have an opportunity of rejoining the rest of the army.

Happily they were not pursued; for as soon as the dawning light unveiled the field of battle to the Mexicans, the possession of which they bought by such a profusion of their own blood, they perceived among the slain two sons of Mon-

Digitized by Google

tezuma. These were amongst the prisoners, and were pierced by the arrows of the Mexicans in the promiscuous and undistinguished carnage of the preceding night. For some time they were confounded and struck dumb with horror at this sight; their sentiments of loyalty returned; their monarch, almost their god, lately profaned by their own violence! now their hands imbrued in the blood of his children! A general deadness and consternation ensued. They must not add to their impiety by neglecting the obsequies due to the deceased. In the mean time the Spaniards, favored by this circumstance, pursued their retreat without molestation. But this security lasted a short time: all the allies of the Mexicans, already in arms and divided into several flying parties, hung over the army of Cortes, and harassed it without intermission; they attacked him in front, in rear, in flank, by open force by ambuscade, by surprise. Provision grew extremely scarce on his march; and now it was that Cortes showed a firmness under his losses, a vigilance against incessant attacks so various in time and manner, and a courage which enabled him to repulse them, which have been exceeded by nothing in history.

The principal army of the Mexicans, whilst he contended with such difficulties from the flying parties, took another route, and pouring in three columns into a plain, where their number might be of most avail, they covered the whole of an extended valley, which lay directly in his road to Tlascala: this was called the valley of Otumba. They concealed their purposes with all imaginable care. To blind the Spaniards, they ordered several villages to give them a friendly reception. But Cortes did not suffer this to relax his vigilance, not allowing himself to be deceived by any appearances of friendship shown by men, whose interest it was not to be his friends; convinced, as he was, that a surprise of all things was indeed very prejudicial to the affairs of a general, but that it was mortal to his reputation. He drew indications of their sentiments towards him, from the manners, the gestures, and the countenances of those he treated with in his march;

Digitized by Google

and, perceiving that many showed unusual signs of content and exultation, he judged, not without reason, that it could not be favorable to him. He therefore disposed every thing in such a manner as that his troops were neither disordered, nor his courage abated, when from an eminence they discovered the extended plains of Otumba darkened as far as the eye could reach with the myriads of their enemies. The Spaniards, animated by their superiority in arms and their former victories, and the Tlascalans, by the presence of such allies and their hatred of the Mexican name, behaved with great bravery and success; neither were the Mexicans inferior in animosity and courage. But it was Cortes himself who determined the fortune of the day. Nothing he ever heard was either forgot, or suffered to be a useless burthen upon his memory. He remembered to have heard from the Mexicans, that the fortune of the field with them ever followed that of the royal standard. This was a net of gold, elevated on a gilded staff, and splendid with plumes of a thousand colors. Great exigences alone brought it into the field, and it was entrusted to none but the care of the general, who sat on a chair sumptuously adorned, and supported on men's shoulders in the centre of the armies, to view the whole battle, to be a witness of the behavior of all his troops, and to give orders as the occasion required. Cortes, pretending to make his principal effort in a quarter remote from the standard, employed all his foot in that service; but, heading the horse himself with some of his bravest officers, informing them of his design, and animating them with the hopes of a speedy decision, he flung himself with fury against the part that seemed least distant from the centre. After dispersing and overturning whole battalions, they penetrated to the chosen body of nobles, who guarded the general and standard. Here the resistance was greater, but it was soon overcome, and Cortes's own lance met the general, who was overthrown, and the standard taken. All the other standards were struck directly, and the Mexicans fled every way which their fear and confusion hurried them. They lost twenty thousand

Digitized by Google

men in this battle, and a spoil infinite. This victory gave Cortes an undisturbed passage to Tlascala, and a welcome reception amongst his allies there.

CHAPTER XIII.

SPANIARDS SENT AGAINST CORTES JOIN HIM—HE MARCHES AGAIN TO MEXICO—A CONSPIRACY AGAINST HIS LIFE BAFFLED.

Let us now turn our eyes to Mexico. No sooner were the Spaniards departed, than Guatimozin ordered the city to be fortified in such a manner as to secure himself against their entrance a third time. He found that a thousand Tlascalans were killed in this retreat, upwards of two hundred Spaniards (the greatest loss they had yet in America), and a great number of horses. He cut off the heads of the Spaniards, and of their horses, no less dreaded, and sent them to all the neighboring nations, as an infallible token of his victory; as a sure proof that he was resolved to keep no measures with the enemy, and to stir them up to their utter destruction. He succeeded so well, that numberless petty nations, well inclined to the Spaniards, fell off, and many that were wavering were confirmed in the Mexican interest. By this means several adventurers, that from the fame of Cortes had landed to join him, were cut to pieces before they gained his army. But the negotiation to which Guatimozin bent all his force, was that with Tlascala, because this was Cortes's chief strength. He sent large presents, and ambassadors of ability, with excellent instructions, to detach them from the Spanish interest; who executed their commission so well, that they caused a great division in their favor in the councils of that republic. But Cortes, making his military exploits subservient to his negotiations, and his skill in negotiation assistant to his exploits, baffled them at length with great address, but not without great difficulty; and the Tlascalans were confirmed in his friendship.

Digitized by Google

Whilst a general has an obedient and well-united army, he has an engine in proper order to work in his designs, and he can then execute them with ease; but the greatest trial of his capacity is to defend himself against a foreign enemy and wrestle with a domestic sedition at the same time. The soldiers of Narvaez since Cortes's return from Mexico, where they were obliged to leave so considerable a part of their booty, now hopeless of the expedition, began to mutiny, and demanded to be sent home directly to Cuba; nor were his other troops free from some part of the infection. Whatever could be done by preserving them in action, without too great a fatigue; whatever a seasonable yielding, without forfeiting authority; in short, whatever an able commander could do in such circumstances, was done by Cortes, without any other effect than that of palliating the disease; the indisposition still continued.

Whilst he struggled with these difficulties, which nearly overpowered him, his old enemy, James Velasquez, looking at the success of Narvaez's expedition as a thing certain, sent a ship to get intelligence of his proceedings, and about thirty men to reinforce him. The person who commanded at the port for Cortes, no sooner saw the ship in the offing than he went on board her; and, upon the captain's inquiry after Narvaez, he assured him he was well, and as successful as he could wish. Not doubting this, the captain and his men landed, and were immediately made prisoners. Finding how affairs were really circumstanced, they admired the conqueror, commended the stratagem, and cheerfully joined the army.

Much about the same time the governor of Jamaica, and he too a determined enemy of Cortes, sent three ships with a small body of troops, in hopes of tearing from him some part of his conquests. These ships were dispersed in a storm, and were involved in many difficulties; but, what is singular, they all, though separated, came to one and the same resolution, which was to revolt from the commander and join Cortes, the moment they came on shore: so that the enemies of Cortes

Digitized by Google

now no less than three times relieved him, by the very methods which they took to distress his affairs. These advantages, though improved to the utmost by Cortes, were certainly not at all the result of his contrivance. There is a species of a splendid good fortune necessary to form a hero, to give a lustre to his wisdom and courage, and to create that confidence and superiority in him that nothing else can give, but which always makes a principal part of an heroic character. Without this, it is impossible for any man, however qualified, to emerge. Cortes was not only fortunate, by being freed from the most terrible embarrassment by the arrival of these succors, which were never intended as such; but much about the same time ships arrived from Spain, bringing, on the account of some private persons, a reinforcement of men and military stores; and from the court an authentic approbation of his conduct, and a confirmation of his command.

Fortified with these, he yielded to the mutinous importunities of such of his soldiers as were earnest to depart; and, though he diminished his numbers considerably by this step, he judged it better to have a well-disciplined army than a great one, and knew that little could be expected from men who were dragged unwillingly to action; at the same time that their cowardice or sedition would infect the rest. After the departure of the mutineers, he found he had still above nine hundred Spanish foot, eighty-six horse, and eighteen pieces of cannon. With these, and with the assistance of a vast body of Tlascalans, and allies of various nations, whom admiration and fear of Cortes or hatred to the Mexicans had brought under his banner, he once more prepared to attack Mexico, which was the grand object of his undertakings. The city was so advantageously situated, and he knew at this time so well fortified, that nothing could be done without a force on the lake. To cut off their supplies, he ordered the materials of twelve brigantines to be got ready, in such a manner as only to need being put together when they should arrive at Mexico. These were carried upon the shoulders of his Indian allies. His route to Mexico cannot be so much

Digitized by Google

considered in the light of a march, as a continued train of ambuscades and battles, some of which were fought with the most numerous armies, and with circumstances not suited to the brevity of my purpose to relate. In all these he was successful, though his enemies may be said, with little exaggeration, to have disputed with him every foot of ground between Tlascala and Mexico.

At last that city showed itself, rising from the midst of a noble lake, surrounded with a number of most populous cities, as her attendants upon every side, and all subject to her power. The Spaniards, looking on this as their goal, revived their courage and forgot the difficulties of their march; and the Tlascalans, in perfect fury of military delight, wanted the steady hand of Cortes to restrain a courage, which he commended and kept alive by his example and words, whilst he moderated its ardor. Before he began the attack of Mexico, he spent some time in reducing all the neighboring cities from which it might derive any succor. He cut off the aqueducts which supplied Mexico with water, that of the lake being brackish; and he got ready his brigantines with all imaginable diligence, to cut off all relief from that quarter.

Whilst his attention was wholly employed in the prosecution of the war, an old Spaniard, who had long served, discovered to him a conspiracy of the most dangerous nature. Antonio de Vilesana, a private soldier, but a man bold and desperate in any bad purpose, and subtle in contriving it, had formed a conspiracy with several others to kill Cortes and the principal persons upon whom he relied, and then to return to Vera Cruz, from whence they might easily pass to Cuba, and secure their pardon by the merit they should make of this action with James Velasquez. They were urged to this resolution by the fatigue of those innumerable dangers and difficulties they had passed, and by the despair of overcoming those which yet lay before them; without considering that, by this wicked action, they must rather produce new difficulties than overcome the old. Others of more consequence were drawn in; and the conspiracy had been so far formed,

Digitized by Google

that the time and manner of killing the general was settled, and the person fixed, upon whom they intended to devolve the command.

When Cortes was apprized of this conspiracy, without any hurry which might give notice that he had discovered it, yet, without losing a moment to take advantage of the discovery, with four or five of his principal captains, he went directly to the quarters of Vilesana, who, astonished at seeing him, made half his confession by the fear he discovered. Cortes had him thrown immediately into irons; and then, ordering every body to retire, he examined himself into all the particulars of the affair, and the names of the persons concerned. Vilesana made a full confession, and ended it by producing a paper in vindication of their proceeding, which had been signed with the names of all the conspirators. Cortes was not a little surprised to see amongst them the names of persons upon whom he had great reliance. However, he dissembled his concern, and ordered Vilesana to be immediately executed. He was shown to all the army hanging by his tent door. Cortes informed none of the friends he most trusted with the paper he had received; but, summoning the army, he gave them an account of the horrid conspiracy that had been formed against his life; that he had punished the person principally concerned; but that it was with satisfaction he was left ignorant of his accomplices, by the care the criminal took in destroying a paper, which he believed might have made great discoveries. For his part, as he had punished, and was resolved severely to punish, any flagitious attempt against his life or authority, so he was determined to order both in such a manner as to give just cause of complaint to no man; and if by any accident he had done so, he was ready to give him all reasonable satisfaction. Proceeding thus, Cortes had the advantage of knowing who they were that wished him ill; at the same time that they remained unapprized of the discovery he had made, and endeavored to prevent it by a more diligent performance of their duty: he now appointed a guard upon his person.

Digitized by Google

Hardly had Cortes suppressed this conspiracy, and made the proper use of a baffled attempt against his authority, which was to strengthen and increase it, than a difficulty of something of a similar nature engaged him, and from which he extricated himself with the same courage and prudence. The general of the Tlascalans, envying his glory, and perhaps fearful of the consequence of the entire destruction of the Mexicans, though enemies to his own country, persuaded a considerable body of the people to quit the Spanish camp. Cortes immediately ordered him to be pursued. This general had formerly been an enemy to Cortes, and opposed him in the council of his nation; but, when he saw the general current in his favor, he made a timely change, and came entirely into his interests. He had now relapsed, and was therefore not to be trusted any more. Cortes gave orders to those who pursued him to put him to death. The Tlascalans who revolted were easily prevailed upon to return; and so dexterously did Cortes represent this affair, that neither the Tlascalans in his army, nor the republic, nor even the father himself of the general, condemned him for what he had done.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE SIEGE OF MEXICO—TERMS OF ACCOMMODATION REFUSED BY THE MEXICANS—THE SPANIARDS REPULSED BY A STRATAGEM OF GUATIMOZIN—A NEW STRATAGEM OF GUATIMOZIN—HE IS TAKEN—THE CITY SURRENDERS—GUATIMOZIN TORTURED—CORTES SUPERSEDED IN HIS GOVERNMENT—REFLECTIONS ON THE SPANISH CRUELTIES.

These internal disorders being composed, he turned his fortitude and wisdom against his open enemies. Three principal causeways led to the city, which three towns or suburbs defended upon the side of the continent. Within were trenches and barricadoes, one behind another the whole length of the

Digitized by Google

way. Cortes ordered three attacks upon these towns, and the causeways which they defended. The brigantines acted upon the water. Through the whole length of the siege, the bravery of the Mexicans, in defence of every thing which was dear to them, was not more remarkable than the ingenuity by which they baffled the attacks of the Spaniards, and attacked them in their turn. On land, on water, by open force, by stratagem, by every method, they plied each other incessantly day and night. But the Spaniards, invincible under the command of Cortes, had the advantage so far, that with infinite slaughter they gained these posts which secured the causeways upon the side of the country, at the same time that they cleared the lake, so that a canoe of the enemy did not dare to appear upon it.

Cortes gained these advantages, but he saw how dearly he had bought them; he reflected how it would tarnish his glory to destroy so beautiful a city, and drench it in the blood of its unfortunate inhabitants; and, considering what supernatural exertions of strength had been frequently shown by a despairing people in the last convulsive struggle for their religion, life, and property, he made use of the advantages he had gained to recommend the terms of accommodation, which he resolved to send in to the besieged. He required no more than the acknowledgment of the emperor of the Romans, and the confirmation of his right of succeeding ceded to him by Montezuma, and long acknowledged by the most authentic prophecies of the nation, and such a security as might settle the performance of this.

Guatimozin, who had done all that bravery and military skill could perform to save his country, finding the means most suited to his years and inclinations unsuccessful, though full of that noble pride which becomes and supports the royal character, was now as willing to save it by the milder and surer way of accommodation. But the priests, who had much influence in the council, either fearful of losing their power, or through an honest, though blind zeal, denounced vengeance from their gods upon all who could think of sub-

Digitized by Google

mission, and promised a certain success to those who stood up in defence of their religion. They had great weight; and the whole council, contrary to the opinion of the emperor, became unanimous in refusing all terms. Guatimozin, who yielded to the general sentiment with regret, and saw the unhappy consequence but too clearly, resolved to fall with the same spirit that he had lived. "Then," said he, "since you are determined to hazard every thing, prepare to act in a manner worthy of that resolution. Me, you shall never find wanting to you or to myself. These are the last good terms you are to expect. Whatever henceforward you demand through necessity, will be answered with pride and cruelty. Therefore, henceforward, let no man presume to speak of peace, be our exigences what they will; the first that dares to do it shall certainly die; even the priests themselves; they are most concerned to support the oracles of their gods."

When he had said this, with a stern and determined countenance, he went out of the assembly, and ordered the whole city under arms. Cortes, on the other side, as soon as he found that his proposals were rejected, laid aside all thoughts but those of violence, and commanded a general assault to be made at the three causeways all at once, and to carry fire and sword into the heart of the city. He commanded himself in the principal attack. The causeway was broken down before him, and the breach formed a ditch of sixty feet wide. On the other side appeared a fortification of earth and planks. He ordered the brigantines to the side of the causeway, to favor the attack, and directing his cannon against the fortification, made so furious a fire that it was soon demolished; and the defenders, galled by the incessant shot, which made a most terrible havoc, could maintain the post no longer. Cortes, under the fire of his cannon and with the help of his brigantines, passed over the ditch, and lost no time to possess himself of the other side, leaving one of his captains with a detachment to fill it up, and secure a retreat, in case it should be found necessary. Then he advanced to attack the remaining barricadoes of the Mexicans, who made a brave defence.

Digitized by Google

The battle raged furiously, and as the Spaniards gained ground, their dangers and losses grew every moment greater. They had now advanced amongst the buildings, from whence they were oppressed with a mixed storm of darts, arrows, stones and boiling water. Before them stood a chosen body of the Mexican soldiers, who made a resolute stand. During this conflict, the captain who had been posted to fill up the ditch, thinking it an inglorious employment to be employed as a pioneer whilst his companions were in such hot action, advanced with all his men, and deserted the necessary work he was employed in.

No sooner had Guatimozin, whose eyes were every where, perceived this motion, than he took advantage of it. He ordered those who were in the front of the Spaniards to slacken their efforts; for, as night came on fast, he thought it better to allow the enemy to gain some ground, that he might fall on them with more advantage in their retreat. Cortes as quickly perceived this slackness, and the cause which produced it. He found that the breach of the causeway was abandoned, that night approached, and that there was little hope of a lodgment in the city at that time. He therefore began to retreat in the best order he could, setting fire to the houses, that he might not be incommoded by them in his next attack. But scarcely was the retreat begun when their ears were alarmed by the dreary sound of the sacred trumpet, so called because it was permitted to the priests alone to sound it; and that only when they animated the people on the part of their gods. The sound was doleful, continued, and strong, inspiring a contempt of death, and a dark religious fury. Immediately ensued a horrid cry, which resounded from all parts; and this was followed by an attack of more than common rage upon the rear of the Spaniards, which was broken entirely, after a gallant and bloody stand. All order was now lost. The general's commands were drowned in the cry and tumult of the fight; the Tlascalans who were in the front threw themselves precipitately into the trench; some made a fruitless opposition, others attempted to gain the brigantines,

Digitized by Google

whilst the Mexicans on shore, in canoes, wading or swimming, upon every side, assaulted and slaughtered them with the most horrid cries, and a rage almost inconceivable.

With difficulty Cortes and some of his troops escaped on board the brigantines, wounded and defeated. A thousand Tlascalans lay dead upon the causeway, many Spaniards, and scarce any escaped without a wound. What was the saddest circumstance of all, forty were taken prisoners, of whose destiny there was no doubt. The other attacks had no better success, though in them the loss was not so considerable. The officer whose imprudence had occasioned this misfortune, came to Cortes, with tears acknowledging his crime, and desiring to wash it out with his blood; but Cortes, though rigid in his discipline, saw that this was no time to dispirit the army with examples of severity.

Night came on; but it brought no rest to the afflicted Spaniards, since darkness could not conceal from them the triumph of the Mexicans and the fate of their friends. They saw the whole city shining with lights, and heard it resounding with a dissonance of barbarous music and all the marks of a horrid joy. So great were the fires and the illuminations, that they could see distinctly the men in motion, and all things preparing for the death of the prisoners, attended with the mortifying circumstance, that they were to be sacrificed to their false gods. Cortes, in the midst of all these calamitous circumstances, which lay heavy about his heart, assumed an air of tranquillity, endeavoring to comfort his soldiers with the hope of a timely revenge, and taking all necessary care that they should not be attacked unawares. This care was necessary; for, before morning appeared, the Mexicans, elated with their late victory and under the auspices of those gods whom they believed they had rendered propitious by the human blood which washed their altars, and animated by the sound of the consecrated trumpet, sallied out to attack the Spaniards in their quarters. The attack was violent, but repelled at length with an incredible slaughter of the Mexicans.

Digitized by Google

Guatimozin was not disheartened. He prepared for new assaults, and had his ruined works repaired, to endure those assaults which should be made against himself. Not relying solely on force, he spread a report amongst all the neighboring nations that Cortes was killed; to them he sent the heads of the Spaniards, who had been sacrificed, informing them, that the god of war, appeased by a sacrifice so agreeable to him, had audibly declared in favor of the Mexicans, threatened vengeance on those who resisted them, and foretold that in eight days time the Spaniards should be all destroyed. The credit of this oracle amongst all the Indians, and the determinate time ascertained for its completion, gave it the air of truth; for falsehood delights in general terms and equivocations, whereas the precise manner of speaking truth, is one of the marks by which we guess at it. In fact, this stratagem had its effect; many tribes of Indians, who were upon the point of joining Cortes, embraced the Mexican interest; the more prudent suspended their resolution; but Guatimozin did not want emissaries even in the Spanish camp, who terrified the Indian allies with this prophecy. Even the Tlascalans were upon the point of deserting him, when Cortes counteracted this stratagem in the wisest manner possible. He resolved to suspend all manner of operations against the city for these eight days, to demonstrate the falsity of this oracle, and to hinder it from being ever again used as an instrument to work upon the credulity of his confederates. He prevailed upon the Tlascalans to wait the determination. In the mean time he strongly fortified his camp.

Guatimozin was sensible that the effect of his policy must be weakened every day, and with that idea employed every hour of the day or night to assault Cortes's camp, but always with ill success. This great commander was always on his guard; and his troops, advantageously posted, bid defiance to every thing of an Indian attack. At last the eight days expired, and with them the terror of the confederate Indians. The stratagem now operated as powerfully against those who contrived it, insomuch that all the neighboring nations, before

Digitized by Google

suspended by the uncertain event of these mighty struggles, declared in favor of Cortes, who by this fortunate turn in a little time found himself at the head of two hundred thousand men. This was the last hope of the Mexicans. All that followed was only the departing agony of that state. The city was assaulted with redoubled vigor, and now, reduced by slaughters, fatigue, and famine, the Mexicans saw the superior star of Cortes gain the ascendant. The town was penetrated upon all sides, yet the besieged defended every street; and their incessant showers of darts and stones from the tops of the houses, made the progress of the besiegers slow and bloody. In this extremity, Guatimozin did every thing that could justify the hopes of the Mexicans when they called him to the throne, every thing that was worthy of one resolved to die a king. But when he found that all hope of dislodging the enemy was utterly at an end, his troops half famished, exhausted in numbers and in strength, and no part tenable, he determined to leave the city to obtain the best terms it could from the conquerors, and to seek himself a more prosperous opportunity at a distance. For this purpose he renewed the treaty with the Spaniards, and took the opportunity of this cessation of arms to put himself and his family, with some of the bravest and most faithful of his nobility, on board some periaguas, attempting to escape to the continent; but Cortes, apprehending this very thing, stationed his fleet in such a manner, that he was intercepted, and soon out of a condition of making any defence. He went on board the Spanish commander, with an air of dignity and composure, betraying neither fear nor surprise, and desired no favor, but that the honor of his wife and her attendants might be spared. The Spanish captain attended but little to him, endeavoring to prevent the escape of the nobility; but Guatimozin desired him not to be anxious about them. "Not one of these men will fly," says he, "do not fear it, they are come to die at the feet of their sovereign." The captain, admiring the constancy of the man, and the fidelity of his subjects, conducted him to Cortes. The ruins of the city of

Digitized by Google

Mexico were now delivered up to the Spaniards. With it fell that empire, and the liberty of all the Indian nations, which filled that vast country now called New Spain, who either slid gradually from alliance to subjection, or, defending themselves without success, were made and treated as slaves.

The curiosity of the reader will doubtless be interested to know the fates of the captains of the conquering and conquered parties in this war. For some time the treatment of Guatimozin was such as fitted an unfortunate brave man, in the hands of those who could estimate virtue by other standards than its fortune; and such was his treatment, whilst the authority of Cortes was sufficient to protect him. But the infernal avarice of his troops, which at once excited and disgraced their courage, not satisfied with the plunder of this opulent city, believed that there were some latent treasures, within the knowledge of the emperor, which far exceeded all the rest that they had yet possessed. They often solicited the captive emperor with promises and threats to make a discovery, but to no purpose; at last a number of villians, Juan de Alderete at their head, a name deserving to be remembered to its everlasting infamy, seized upon him, and proceeding to the most abominable cruelty, laid him upon burning coals to extort a discovery of his wealth. But their wickedness could neither extort a discovery of his wealth, nor the satisfaction even of a declaration that he had none to discover. His countenance did not betray the least yielding or weakness under the torture; some of his principal counsellors suffered along with him, and with equal constancy. At last, one of those unhappy men, overcome by the force of torments, almost superior to human strength, turned his eyes, fainting with anguish, upon his master, and uttered a doleful cry; but Guatimozin answered him only by saying, "Do you think I lie upon roses?" The sufferer, struck dumb with these words and stifling every murmur that might dishearten the others or disturb Guatimozin, expired in an act of obedience to his prince. This wickedness was committed without the knowledge of Cortes. He was no sooner apprized of what

Digitized by Google

was doing, than he rushed in upon the villains, and rescued their prey, mangled as it was, from their further fury. However, this was but a short respite. This prince, conscious of his own dignity and sensible of the base usage he received, either endeavored to stir up commotions, or was suspected of such a design; and Cortes, being obliged to submit the humanity of his nature to the cruel necessity of politics, ordered him to be executed.

As for Cortes himself, neither his great success, nor the vast treasures which he sent into Spain, could secure him from his enemies, by whose unwearied zeal for his ruin, he saw himself superseded in the government of a country, conquered by himself with so much toil and danger, and which in any other hands had never been effected. He died in Spain, having received a title and some other rewards from Charles the Fifth, for whom he had acquired an empire; but by his own desire he was carried to Mexico, and buried there. It was the policy of Spain at that time to give great encouragement and extensive grants to all adventurers; but when any great discovery was made, or conquest achieved, they always sent another to reap the benefit of the first adventurer's labors. This was a policy undoubtedly good with regard to one object, the security of the conquered country; but, like all unjust policy, it had altogether as ill an effect another way; the new governors, hungry and rapacious, and scarce considering the Indians as human creatures, murdered vast numbers of them; and, exhausting them by an intolerable slavery, in hopes of a sudden gain, they depopulated the country in such a manner, as to abate very much the advantages which Spain might have derived from so extensive a conquest. Cortes himself was not free from the imputation of cruelty; the bishop of Chiapa, a good man, who was sent purposely to make an inquiry into complaints of this kind, gives a very unfavorable representation of his conduct. He accuses him of having destroyed four millions of people in New Spain. It is certain, whether by his connivance or not, but partly by the necessity of war, and partly by the avarice

Digitized by Google

and insolence of the conquerors, vast numbers of the Indians perished: but, on the other hand, it appears that the bishop of Chiapa was an enemy to Cortes; which, though a good man otherwise, must detract from his credit not a little, especially as other historians differ from him in this point. Besides, I am well satisfied, that great allowance must be made for exaggerations in the number of inhabitants these countries are said to have contained. More populous, I believe, they were than the entirely uncivilized parts of North or South America; but it can hardly be thought they were so full of people as they are represented to have been, if we can trust to any of the rules by which we usually judge in this matter, nor consequently could they have suffered such losses in so short a time, without being utterly depopulated, which certainly they were not.

Since I am on the subject of these cruelties, and since they are things so frequently mentioned, I cannot help observing, that the accounts are by no means founded upon any tolerable methods of calculation, but thrown down at random in a declamatory way, with a design yet further to blacken the Spanish adventurers; men certainly wicked enough, though represented without any heightening colors. The truth is, that great numbers, perhaps almost as great as are charged, have really perished; but then it was in a series of years, by being reduced to slavery in the mines, and other laborious occupations, to which the Americans are of all people by their constitutions the most unequal, and by being disheartened by a state of unpolitical and desperate slavery, the greatest enemy in the world to an increase.

There is a notion likewise pretty common, that these cruelties were committed partly, if not wholly, upon a religious account, and at the instigation of the priests; but in reality it was quite otherwise. This unfortunate people found their only refuge in the humanity which yet remained in the clergy, and the influence they had on the Spaniards; though the clergy who went on these adventures were generally not the most zealous for religion, and were, as the Spanish clergy

Digitized by Google

commonly are, ignorant enough, and so little principled in the spirit of the religion they professed, or indeed in the nature of the human mind, that they could boast, as a very glorious thing, that one of them had baptized several thousands of Indians in one day, without the help of any miracle for their conversion, and with a degree of good life, which, to say the best, was nothing more than common. But of any murders committed by them, or at their instigation, I find little or no proof at all.

CHAPTER XV.

THE SCHEME OF PIZARRO AND ALMAGRO FOR THE CONQUEST OF PERU—THEIR CHARACTERS—THE STATE OF THE EMPIRE OF PERU AT THAT TIME—THE TAKING OF THE YNCA ATABALIPA.

Besides Mexico, there was but one country in America which in any sort deserved the name of a civilized kingdom, and that was Peru. During the latter part of the Mexican war, the Spaniards became acquainted with the fame and wealth of this country. After Pedraria was appointed governor over the conquests of Balboa, his lieutenants reduced all that large tract which is now called Terra Firma, committing barbarities worthy the man under whose authority they acted. Amongst all the adventurers who acted under his commission, none have made themselves so famous as those of whom we are going to speak.

As if it were destined that every thing in this new world should be carried on in a new and extraordinary manner, three citizens of Panama, private men, and advanced in years, undertook the conquest of Peru, a country known to them only by report, but by the same report said to be rich, extensive, populous, and powerful. The names of these adventurers were, Francis Pizarro, Almagro, and Ferdinand Lucques, a priest, and a man of considerable fortune. They entered into

Digitized by Google

this engagement in the most solemn manner. Lucques said mass, an oath of mutual fidelity was plighted, the sacrament was divided into three parts, Lucques took one, and delivered the other two to his confederates. The first expedition, in consequence of this confederacy, was made under extraordinary difficulties and with very little success. Pizarro, who commanded, spent two years in the short navigation between Panama and the northern extremity of Peru, a voyage now made frequently in two weeks, since the winds and currents are known. He landed, and found that the wealth of the country was as great as he imagined; and that the resistance he was like to meet in endeavoring to possess himself of it would be full as considerable. This he put to the proof very early, by taking the rash step of attacking the inhabitants at his first landing; and thus letting them see all at once the worst of his intentions. The difficulties he met with, and the resistance his ill conduct occasioned in the country, obliged him to return without effecting any thing considerable. But neither he nor his associates, after such a length of time or such greatness of expense, were deterred from the prosecution of their scheme. It was agreed that Pizarro should go into Spain, to obtain an exemption from the government of Pedraria, and to get for themselves the grant of whatever they should conquer. Pizarro (who, though not the monied man, was the soul of the enterprise,) was to be chief governor, with the property of two hundred leagues along the sea-coast. Almagro they agreed should be adelantado, or king's lieutenant; and Lucques, who was a priest, was to be first bishop and protector of the Indians. The other profits of the enterprise were to be equally divided. But as this was an enterprise of ambitious avarice, there was little faith observed. Pizarro solicited only his own suit in Spain, and obtained for himself alone the property of the land, the government, the lieutenancy, every thing which he was capable as a layman of taking; Almagro was forgot, and to Lucques was left his eventual bishopric.

On his return, this too early discovery of breach of faith

Digitized by Google

was like to ruin all; but Pizarro, who knew how to retreat as well as to advance, yielded up to Almagro every thing he could reasonably desire; and nothing now obstructed the embarkation, which after all did not exceed one hundred and eighty men.

Before we proceed, it may not be unnecessary to say something of the persons who had the conduct of this great undertaking. Francis Pizarro was the bastard son of a gentleman of good family. His education was as irregular as his birth, he could not even read; but then he had a great deal of that capacity and fitness for the world, which is obtained by much struggling in it, and by being early made dependent on a man's own industry. Hardened to life, dexterous in affairs, never setting his heart upon a part of his designs whilst the total was at stake, of a penetrating sagacity into the nature of man, artful, bold, dissembling, and cruel. Almagro had likewise enough of that desperate bravery and toughness of body and mind, so necessary in a design of this sort. In their birth there was no considerable difference. Pizarro was a bastard, Almagro a foundling. Pizarro owed nothing to education; Almagro depended wholly upon his natural parts. But Almagro, bred from his infancy in the camp, had all the soldierly qualities, patient, laborious, and temperate; far from the craft and dissimulation of Pizarro, he was all openness and generosity, knew not what avarice was, and his cruelty, the common distemper of all the adventurers of this part of the world, was much mitigated by the intercourse he had with an Indian woman, who, by degrees, softened the rigor of a veteran seasoned to blood, into some compassion to her unhappy countrymen.

The empire of Peru was governed by a race of kings, which they called yncas. The twelfth in succession was then upon the throne. The first of this race, named Mango Capac, was a prince of great genius, with that mixture of enthusiasm, which fits a man to make great changes, and to be the legislator of a forming nation. He observed that the people of Peru were naturally superstitious, and had principally a veneration

Digitized by Google

for the sun. He therefore pretended that he was descended from that luminary, whose authority he was designed to bear, and whose worship he was by that authority to enforce. By this persuasion, easily received by a credulous people, he brought a large territory under his jurisdiction; a larger was subdued by his arms; but he made use both of the deceit and the force for the most laudable purposes. He united and civilized the dispersed and barbarous people; he bent them to laws and arts; he softened them by the institutions of a benevolent religion; in short, there was no part of America in which agriculture and the arts were so much and so well cultivated, nor where the people were of a milder nature, and more ingenuous manners. The yncas, descended as they imagined, from so sacred an original, were themselves respected as divinities. In none, even of the Asiatic countries, was there so entire an obedience to the royal authority. But here it was rather filial than slavish. As to the character of the Peruvians themselves, they seem to have had a strong resemblance to the ancient Egyptians: like them, under a sky constantly serene, they were a people industrious and ingenious; cultivating the arts, but without bringing them to perfection; inclined to superstition, and of a soft, unwarlike temper.

The ynca Guaiana Capac having conquered the province of Quito, which now makes a part of Spanish Peru, to secure himself in the possession, married the daughter of the natural prince of the country. By her he had a son called Atahualpa, or Atabalipa. By a former marriage he had a son named Huescar, heir of his other dominions. On his death Huescar, his eldest son, claims his whole dominions, both hereditary and acquired. Atabalipa, the youngest, without pretending to the rest, would keep Quito as his right by the double title of son to the conqueror, and to her whose inheritance that kingdom was, fortified besides by the will which the dying ynca had made in his favor. This dispute kindled a civil war, which, after several turns of fortune, ended at last in favor of Atabalipa; he not only routed his brother's armies

Digitized by Google

and overrun his dominions, but actually held him a prisoner in the tower of Cusco.

Such was the face of affairs when the Spaniards arrived in Peru, whose remarkable appearance and surprising feats of arms were every where spread about the country, and caused a general alarm. As usual in frightful rumors, new superstitions begin, or old ones are revived, to increase the confusion. There subsisted a tradition amongst the Peruvians, that one of their ancient princes had a dream which he ordered carefully to be recorded. He imagined that he saw a man clothed all over, even to his feet, with a long beard, and leading in his hand an animal, such as he had never seen before; and that at the same time he was clearly informed of the will of the gods, that such a man should rule that country. A Spaniard, whom Pizarro had sent upon an embassy to Atabalipa, as soon as he was discovered leading his horse upon some occasion that made him dismount, agreed so well with this dream, that it is incredible how soon it spread into the remotest parts of the country, and with how great a terror it struck the whole nation.

Atabalipa, newly seated upon a precarious throne, was not the least alarmed at this event; for a new-erected power has every thing to fear from whatever sets the people's minds, still unsettled, upon a new motion. He resolved, if possible, that his enemies should take no advantage of the arrival of those strangers, by engaging them by all means to his own interest. He therefore received the ambassadors, which Pizarro had sent, with the greatest marks of honor, though their discourse, consisting itself of very impertinent matter, was very ill interpreted to him, as was his to them. He even went out to meet Pizarro with a vast number of attendants, to whom he gave the strictest charge upon no account to offer the least injury to the strangers, as they were those of whom his predecessor had foretold, and of the same divine original, children of the sun. But Pizarro, who advanced with other notions to the interview, soon convinced him that a contrary caution was more necessary. They met near a celebrated temple,

Digitized by Google

the Spaniards drawn up in order of battle, and a party in ambuscade. This circumstance leaves us in no doubt as to the design of Pizarro. The first person who addressed himself to the ynca, was Father Vincent, a friar, who was not ashamed to make his character the instrument of so base a crime. He advanced with a cross in his hand, and began a most unseasonable discourse upon the birth and miracles of Christ, exhorting him to become a Christian, on the pain of eternal punishment. Then he spoke with equal eloquence of the Emperor of the Romans, pressing him with the same strength of argument to become a subject to that emperor; threatening him, in case of obstinacy, that God would harden his heart as he did Pharaoh's, and then punish him with the plagues of Egypt; with other miserable stuff, worse interpreted. The ynca, though utterly astonished at a matter so unaccountable, behaved with decency and gravity, telling him, that he believed that he and his companions were children of the sun; recommended himself and his subjects to their protection; and made no doubt but they would behave to them in a manner worthy the offspring of so beneficent a deity.

Whilst these discourses continued, the Spanish soldiers, whose least business to Peru was to listen to sermons, observing a considerable quantity of gold in the neighboring temple, had their zeal immediately stirred up, and a party of them began to pillage it. The priests made some opposition. A disturbance ensued, and a great noise, which so alarmed our adventuring apostle, that he let fall his cross and breviary in his fright, and turned his back upon his intended proselyte. Those Spaniards who were not concerned in the pillage seeing him fly, either that they judged the heathens had offered their priest some violence, or that Pizzaro made use of this signal to them to fall on, immediately drew their swords attacked the guards and attendants of the ynca, defenceless through a religious obedience to their sovereign's command, and with every circumstance of the most deliberate and shocking barbarity, slaughtered five thousand, which was near the whole

Digitized by Google

number of the Indians, who fell without any anxiety for their own lives, pressing forward with all the zeal and officiousness of a most heroic loyalty to the chair of their prince, to expire at his feet; and as fast as one set of his supporters were slain, the others succeeded with eagerness to supply their places, and share their fate. The ynca at last was dragged down, and made a prisoner, by an act of the most unparalleled treachery, executed with a cruelty that has hardly an example, and can admit of no excuse. The plunder of his camp, rich beyond the idea of any European of that time, was their reward.

The unfortunate prince was not wanting to himself in his captivity. Seeing that his liberty had fallen a sacrifice to their avarice, he hoped to relieve himself by working upon the same disposition. He began to treat of his ransom, and promised such sums as astonished the Spaniards into an agreement; nor was the performance unequal. On this occasion, not only the ancient ornaments and valuable furniture, amassed by a long line of magnificent kings, were brought out; but the hallowed treasures of the most venerated temples were given without scruple, to save him who was the support of the kingdom and the religion. Whilst these were preparing, three Spaniards, who were sent to Cusco to superintend in the work, had means of conferring with Huescar, who, quickly finding their foible and the use his brother had made of it, complained bitterly of the injuries he had suffered; begging the Spaniards, as the patrons of the oppressed, to embrace his cause, promising threefold the treasure for their assistance, which Atabalipa was to pay for his ransom. He received a very favorable answer. Meantime the Spaniards treated the ynca with all manner of civility, admitted his attendants to him, but no talk of his liberty. As soon as he had been apprized of Huescar's negotiation with the Spaniards and Almagro's arrival with an additional force he began to be under great apprehensions. To ease himself upon one side, he sent immediate orders to have Huescar put to death.

The arrival of Almagro, on the other hand, caused some

Digitized by Google

embarrassment in Pizarro's affairs. This commander, finding that Pizarro had seized the ynca with immense treasures, and having already experienced his ill faith, consulted with his principal officers about leaving Pizarro's part to himself and seeking their fortune elsewhere. Whilst this was in agitation, his secretary, moved by some resentment to his master, gave Pizarro notice of the design. In an instant Pizarro saw how disadvantageous such a step must prove to him, with so small a force, all resources at a distance, and the country exasperated by the detestable action he had lately committed. He saw that all depended upon removing every suspicion from the breast of Almagro. For this purpose, and as something of an ill mind appeared in his most masterly actions, he began by sacrificing the secretary. He informed Almagro of his treachery. Next, though gold was the great object of his undertakings, yet he knew how to relinquish some part to secure the rest. He agreed to divide the spoil equally between Almagro and himself, and to make no distinction between the soldiers of either in the distribution. This made an entire and hearty reconciliation; which was no sooner concluded than the ynca's ransom came in.

But this vast treasure, the capital object of all their labors and villanies, no sooner came into their possession, but in its consequences it was very near being the utter ruin of their affairs. It is said, and not improbably, that the whole exceeded the sum of one million five hundred thousand pounds sterling, a sum vast at the present time; then it was a prodigy. On the dividend, after deducting a fifth for the emperor, and the shares of the chief commanders and officers, each private soldier had above two thousand pounds English money. They had now made a fortune even beyond their imaginations; but the soldiery were ruined, the greatest part of the army insisted upon being discharged, that they might enjoy their fortunes in quiet. This proposal ill suited with the ambitious views of the commanders. Almagro was for proceeding in the usual way to enforce obedience by the severity of military discipline; but Pizarro opposed him. "Let them go," says he,

Digitized by Google

"they cannot do us better service; here we shall have them mutinous and cowardly soldiers, at home they will act for us as recruiting officers with great success; for when it shall be seen that common soldiers, of so little merit as they, have made such large fortunes, we shall not long want better men to supply their places." The desire of the soldiers was complied with, and as many as chose to go, who were no inconsiderable number, departed. In due time, the sagacious prophecy of Pizarro was accomplished, and their army never wanted reinforcements.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE MURDER OF THE YNCA—A DISPUTE BETWEEN PIZARRO AND ALMAGRO—THEY WERE RECONCILED—ALMAGRO'S EXPEDITION TO CHILI—THE PERUVIANS RENEW THE WAR, AND BESIEGE CUSCO—ALMAGRO RETURNS AND DEFEATS THEM—ALMAGRO RENEWS THE QUARREL WITH PIZARRO, BUT IS DEFEATED AND PUT TO DEATH.

In the mean time the unfortunate Atabalipa, the greatness of whose ransom only convinced the Spaniards of the necessity of never releasing him, endeavored to take advantage of his captivity, to know the genius and manners of this people. Amongst all their accomplishments, there was nothing he so much admired as the art of reading and writing. This appeared almost incomprehensible to him, though he saw clearly the use of it. He was at a loss to know whether he should consider it as a natural endowment, or as an acquisition of art. To discover this, he one day desired a soldier to write the name of God upon his nail: he carried this about the army, desiring several to explain it, which they all did, to his wonder and satisfaction. At last he showed it to Pizarro, but Pizarro, blushed, and could make nothing of it. The ynca then perceived it was no natural gift, but owing to education; the want of which he thus discovered in Pizarro,

Digitized by Google

and slighted him for it. This mortified the general, and his disgust, joined to his natural cruelty and a policy he thought he saw in the proceeding, made him hasten the fate he had some time before determined for his unhappy prisoner. That nothing might be wanting to the boldness and atrociousness of their barbarity, they proceeded against him by way of trial and by the forms of law.

A charge was exhibited, digested under several heads. 1st, For being an idolater. 2dly, For having many concubines. 3dly, For wasting the treasures of the kingdom, and raising taxes since the coming in of the Spaniards. And lastly, For the murder of his brother Huescar. An attorney-general was appointed to manage the accusation, and an advocate appointed from amongst themselves assigned for his defence. In vain did the more numerous and better part of the army protest against this proceeding, and lodge an appeal to Spain; in vain did they allege their want of power to judge a foreign prince for any crimes, and the absurdity of the crimes with which this prince was charged. Before such judges, and with such an advocate to defend him, the ynca was condemned to be burned alive. To complete this violation and mockery of all laws, human and divine, the same Father Vincent, who had so signalized himself upon a former occasion, was sent to comfort and instruct him in his last moments. The chief argument which he used to convert him to Christianity was, that, on his embracing the faith, instead of being burned, his sentence should be mitigated to strangling. This Prince submitted to baptism, and was immediately strangled in prison. Pizarro gave the final stroke to his hardened and shameless villany, by giving him a magnificent funeral, and going into mourning.

The death of the ynca was no sooner spread abroad, than the principal nobility at Cusco set up the brother of Huescar; Pizarro set up a son of Atabalipa; and two generals of the Peruvians set up for themselves. Thus was this wretched country torn to pieces at once by foreigners and by a domestic war amongst themselves. Yet such is the preference of any

Digitized by Google

sort of spirit roused within a nation, to a lethargic inactivity, that the Peruvians gained some considerable advantages over the Spaniards, even in this distracted condition, and took several prisoners, amongst which was the attorney-general, whom they put to the death he deserved without any great formality. The rest of the prisoners, as soon as they were informed of their having protested against the emperor's death, they generously released. These advantages gained by the Peruvians made the Spaniards listen to a treaty; for Pizarro was equally ready at all times to make a peace, or to break it, as his affairs required. He made use of this interval to settle the Spaniards in the country. It was now that he laid the foundations of the famous city of Lima. But as soon as he judged himself in a condition to prosecute it, he renewed the war with the Indians, and, after many difficulties, made himself master of Cusco, then the capital of the empire.

But, whilst he was thus by force and fraud establishing himself every where, the whole fabric of his designs was shaken by a fresh dispute between him and his colleague Almagro. These commanders had little mutual affection, and less confidence in each other's honor and integrity; for similarity of manners is no ground of friendship, but where the manners are good in themselves. Their common necessities, it is true, obliged them for a time to keep a fair appearance; but each, satisfied of the other's ill intentions, watched an opportunity of being beforehand in some sinister advantage. New grants and supplies had lately arrived from Spain. Pizarro obtained two hundred leagues along the sea-coast, to the southward of his former government. Almagro had a grant of two hundred more to the southward of Pizarro's. Judging, or pretending he judged, that the wealthy and important city of Cusco was not included within Pizarro's grant, he immediately ceased to act in subordination to him, and claimed this city as his property. Pizarro's brother, who commanded for him, absolutely refused to deliver up the place. Almagro insisted on it with equal obstinacy; and they were on the point of deciding the dispute by the sword, when

Digitized by Google

Pizarro, the moment he had notice of the quarrel, set out from Lima, where he was at that time indisposed, and, notwithstanding his infirmity, with incredible expedition arrived at Cusco. He told his colleague, that he was not unable nor afraid to support the justice of his claim by arms; but he chose rather to convince him by reason; that the ties which subsisted between them, and their common necessities, would always touch him with concern when he should be compelled to violent courses; which however they might end with regard to the competitors, would certainly be much more in favor of the common enemy. He demonstrated to him that Cusco was indubitably within his (Pizarro's) government, and ended in assuring him, that, as he would defend his own right with all his force, so he was equally willing to employ all that force, with all his treasure, and all his counsel, and whatever assistance he could give, to put Almagro into possession of whatever was really his right; that this lay yet more to the southward than Cusco, and was a country no way inferior in its riches, and the easiness of its conquest.

This timely appearance of Pizarro, his dexterous management, and judicious mixture of firmness and flexibility, made such an impression upon Almagro, that he was once more reconciled; and, adding as many of Pizarro's troops to his own as he judged necessary, he penetrated with great danger and difficulty into Chili, losing many of his men whilst he passed over mountains of an immense height, and always covered with snow. He succeeded notwithstanding in a good measure in his designs, for he reduced a valuable and considerable part of that country.

There was undoubtedly in the four hundred leagues, which Pizarro had solicited for himself, enough of land to supply any reasonable ambition, and something to spare, to secure the quiet possession of the rest; but his eagerness after a large territory made him blind to the folly of dividing his troops, and sending Almagro upon a wild distant expedition; and yet he considered this as a masterpiece of policy. A little time, however, convinced him to the contrary. No sooner did the

Digitized by Google

ynca perceive this division of the Spanish troops, than he desired leave from Pizarro's brother, who managed affairs for him at Cusco, to assist at a solemn festival of his nation, which was to be held at some distance. This feast was in reality a sort of an assembly of the states of the kingdom. The ynca, having obtained permission to assist at it, made use of this opportunity to represent to his subjects, in the most pathetic manner, the misery to which the nation was reduced; the settlement of the Spaniards, the cities they had built, the garrison they kept at Cusco, and the guard they had on his own person. That, for their sakes, he was now resolved to hazard that person and every thing that was dear to him; that now was the time to make an effort with success, when their enemies, divided amongst themselves, had separated in search of other kingdoms, to satisfy an ambition that nothing could satiate. The whole assembly united in these sentiments; they roused the country every where, and the Spaniards who remained in Peru were not able to prevent the ynca from laying siege to Cusco, with an army of two hundred thousand men. Though the garrison under Ferdinand Pizarro consisted of no more than seventy men, yet, with their artillery, the sallies made with their horse, and assisted by the ignorance of the Peruvians in carrying on a siege, their defence was as successful as it was brave.

News was brought to Almagro of the dangers to which Cusco was exposed, and the universal insurrection of the Peruvians. Relinquishing his new conquests, he hastened back to preserve his old with great expedition; though on his return he suffered as much from drought and heat, as in his progress he had endured from cold. At his approach the Indians raised the siege, and he was joyfully received into Cusco by Ferdinand Pizarro, and the garrison, almost exhausted by the length of the defence.

After all these long and laborious marches, Almagro was extremely fatigued, and thought it hard, that now in the wane of his life he should be driven with infinite toil upon new conquests, while Pizarro sat down at ease to enjoy alone

Digitized by Google

the fruits of their common labors. He resolved to renew his claim to Cusco; he had now a sort of right to it by having raised the siege, and he had a strength sufficient to support that right. Ferdinand and Gonzalo, the two brothers of Pizarro, making some opposition, were thrown into prison, and their little army either joined him, or shared the same fate.

Pizarro, unacquainted with the arrival of Almagro or the step he had taken, had got together an army for the relief of Cusco, who were near the town before they found they had an enemy of any other sort than the Indians to contend with. Almagro, after having tried in vain to seduce their fidelity, engaged and routed them. On this advantage, his friends represented to him, that now was the happy hour of his fortune, and that he ought to employ it to establish himself beyond all possibility of being removed. That he ought to put the Pizarros, his prisoners, to death, and march directly to Lima, to seize upon his rival, who never could be heartily reconciled to him, and whilst he remained in possession of the sea-coast, could never want means of making his enmity terrible. Almagro had humanity enough to reject the first part of this counsel, and weakness enough not to hearken to the last. If he marched into another's government, he trembled at the name of a rebel; and, for fear of the name, exposed himself to suffer the punishment of the thing; not considering that, having once imbrued his hands in civil blood, he ought never to stop till his end was gained; that conquest alone could decide the question of their right; and that he who had the greater force would have the best means of protection, if he was in the wrong. Whilst he deliberated what course to take, Gonzalo Pizarro made his escape with an hundred of those who were affected to his cause.

It was the interest of Pizarro, who found himself in no immediate condition to carry on the war, yet possessed all the means of being reinforced, to keep matters from coming to an extremity; it was Almagro's to bring them to a speedy issue; and, in this knowledge of the management of time, when to

Digitized by Google

lie by to gain it and when to use the present moment, the great skill in business, so little understood, depends almost entirely. Pizarro had recourse to the old way of treaty; he promised largely, he offered a seaport, and agreed to submit the decision of all their disputes to the royal audience; but, as a preliminary, he insisted on the release of his brother Ferdinand. Experienced as Almagro was in Pizarro's faith, he gave up the only pledge that could secure it. The moment Ferdinand was released, he was put at the head of the reinforcements Pizarro had long expected, and now received; and, as he was a man of capacity, he prepared to act with vigor. The treaty was forgot.

The country which held for Almagro was separated from that which Pizarro possessed, by vast mountains passable only in some steep and dangerous defiles. Almagro's counsellors advised him by all means to post his troops in such a manner as to oppose his enemies in those passes; but so infatuated was he with a false security, that he refused to send any troops to occupy those important posts, which were seized by the enemy without the least opposition. He had, however, one resource left, and that a good one. The town of Cusco was well fortified, had a good garrison, and the enemy was ill provided for carrying on the siege. But, as he had prejudiced his affairs before by dilatory measures, he now completely ruined them by precipitation and temerity. He turned his back upon the advantages of his situation, and resolved, contrary to the opinion of all his officers, to hazard his fortune in the field; confident of his own superiority, and full of contempt of the enemy whom he believed to be raw troops. But he found, too late, that they were veterans of great bravery, and exact discipline. The engagement was warm; in which Almagro and his troops behaved in such a manner as not to disgrace their former exploits; but, after a gallant struggle, they were in the end entirely defeated. Almagro himself was taken prisoner, and fell, at the age of seventy-three years, a victim to a rashness scarce excusable in a young soldier; but to the last degree blamable in an experienced

Digitized by Google

commander, who, being supposed to have long established his reputation for courage beyond all doubt, ought to model his conduct only by his own experience, and the circumstances of the affair in which he is engaged.

Pizarro, having got the rival who had caused him so many apprehensions into his hands, resolved to show him no mercy. In spite of Almagro's age, which, as it might remove his fears, ought to have given room for pity; in spite of their common warfare, their dangers and triumphs; in spite of every sentiment of gratitude for what this unfortunate man had contributed to his greatness, and in spite of his late mercy to his brother; all which were pathetically and strongly urged by Almagro, to suffer an old man, and a prisoner too, after so many fruitless toils, to die quietly in his bed; Pizarro was deaf to every thing but a barbarous policy, which made him submit every virtue to securing the meanest part of his designs. Almagro was formally tried, sentenced, and then strangled in prison. His body was afterwards beheaded publicly on a scaffold, and for a long time denied burial. A negro slave interred it by stealth. Amidst the pity which this barbarous execution caused, people could not forbear recollecting the unhappy fate of Atahualpa, and the share which Almagro had in it.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE FINAL DISPERSION OF THE PERUVIAN ARMY—THE CONSPIRACY AGAINST PIZARRO—HE IS MURDERED.

Whilst this civil war raged, the ynca took a very extraordinary resolution. He disbanded his troops and retired to the mountains; "Because," said he, "whilst we are in arms, their fear of us will be a means of uniting the Spaniards; but if we disperse they will certainly destroy each other." A resolution this, which at first view had something masterly,

Digitized by Google

but it was only when viewed in one light. When their natural prince is fled, the people who must be governed may give the reins of government into the hands of the enemy. An army once dispersed is got together again with great difficulty; and, on the other hand, a civil war is by no means a certain destruction to those who are engaged in it: and indeed, by the reason of the thing and by the event, it was an ill-judged step, the scheme of a barbarous prince, who was far from being a consummate politician.

It was very ruinous to the Peruvians, that, happening to be divided amongst themselves when the Spaniards came in, they suffered them to interfere in their parties; but it was of yet worse consequence that, when the Spaniards were afterwards divided, they interfered themselves in the Spanish parties. Almagro and Pizarro had armies of Indians, by which those people were habituated to obey them, and to be interested in their success; this, joined to the want of any regular plan of defence on the part of their king and commanders, subdued that empire to Pizarro with small trouble, if we consider the greatness of the object. But having achieved so great a conquest, it only made Pizarro acquainted with other great tracts which were rich, and might be added to them. He followed the tracks of Almagro into Chili, and reduced a considerable part of the country. Orellana, one of his commanders, passed the Andes, and sailed down to the mouth of the river of Amazons; an immense navigation, which discovered a rich and delightful country; but, as it is mostly flat, and therefore not abounding in minerals, the Spaniards then, and ever since, neglected it.

The death of Almagro, and the influence it had upon the conduct of Pizarro, is a striking example how necessary it is for a great man to have an awe upon him from some opposition, that may keep his prudence alive, and teach him to have a watch upon his passions. Not content with a territory upwards of eight hundred leagues long, and of a prodigious breadth, riches such as none of the kings of his country had ever possessed, a jurisdiction little less than royal, and an ab-

Digitized by Google

solute security for the extinction of the only person who had any pretensions against him, either through a jealousy which often haunts the happiest fortune, or through a pride which cannot bear even the appearance of any who had once withstood his power, he took a resolution entirely to cut off all that had ever adhered to his rival; he did not know when the issue of blood ought to be stopped; nor that examples of severity on a few create terror and submission, but that threats of general destruction produce nothing but despair and desperate resolutions. He was not satisfied with putting many to death, but issued a proclamation, inhibiting, under the same penalty, that any person should harbor or even relieve an Almagrian with the necessaries of life. This party was yet numerous, though dispersed and lurking about the country. The heads of them, finding Pizarro implacable, entered into a conspiracy to murder him. They did not want adherents in the city, so that they found means of concealing themselves until their plot should be ripe for execution; but by some means Pizarro discovered their designs, and suffered them to know he had discovered them. Alarmed at this information, they saw nothing could happen but death at any side. Twelve of the chiefs marched into the streets at noon-day, with their swords drawn, crying out, "Long live the king! but let the traitor die;" and, crossing the great square of Lima, made directly to Pizarro's palace; the rest followed in different parties. The people all the while suspended, and in that inactive amazement which the execution of a bold and sudden enterprise generally inspires, made no opposition. The conspirators secured the avenues; and Pizarro, not alarmed until he was surrounded by his enemies, fell under their swords after having sold his life dearly.

Thus died Pizarro, by an event extremely memorable. A great conqueror, in the city he had himself built, in his own palace, amidst his guards, murdered at noon-day by the hands of a small number of fugitives. The Peruvians had the satisfaction to see the second of their conquerors cut off by the same sword that had afflicted themselves.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER XVIII.

YOUNG ALMAGRO MADE GOVERNOR—THE NEW VICEROY VACA DI CASTRO ARRIVES—PUTS TO DEATH YOUNG ALMAGRO—PUTS AN END TO THE FACTIONS, AND SETTLES THE PROVINCE—HE IS RECALLED—GONZALO PIZARRO RAISES A REBELLION, AND USURPS THE GOVERNMENT—PETER DE LA GASCA MADE VICEROY—DEFEATS THE TROOPS OF PIZARRO, AND PUTS HIM TO DEATH.

When Pizarro had fallen in consequence of those cruel and ill-judged steps which he took for his security, the Almagrians, elate with their success, and growing into a formidable body, seized upon the city, and proclaimed the natural son of old Almagro governor; a youth not twenty years of age, but of a courage and capacity not absolutely unequal to a charge of such importance, undertaken in circumstances so critical. But though the Almagrians succeeded beyond their hopes, by the consternation caused by the suddenness of the attempt, and the general dislike to the cruel procedure of Pizarro; the major part of the Spaniards were far from acquiescing in this irregular nomination of a governor. A considerable number, and those of the best men, declared, that, without interesting themselves in the quarrel of either party, they would wait for the emperor's determination, which they expected hourly, and to which alone they were resolved to conform themselves.

In this state of things the new governor, Vaca di Castro, arrived. This man was of a good family, and by profession a lawyer; but, through a more rigid adherence to the strictest idea of right and justice than is suitable to the coarseness of practice, he did not make that figure in his profession to which his great capacity entitled him. But what kept him backward at the bar, recommended him first to the knowledge, and afterwards to the esteem, of his master the Emperor Charles the Fifth, who was a man of too much discern-

Digitized by Google

ment not to be struck with a character so singular as was that of one who was a lawyer without exercising the trade of law, and lived at court without being a courtier. Therefore, without any solicitation of his own, without any recommendation from a minister or favorite, this man's plain unostentatious virtue placed him in an employment of so great a trust. When he arrived in the Indies, he still preserved his character. He acted like one who came neither to acquire friends nor fortune, but solely to do his duty; and he showed favor or disapprobation to all in proportion as they performed theirs. Indian or Spaniard was entirely alike to the equality of his justice. He flattered nobody, he threatened nobody; and whilst he lived with all the modesty of a private man he supported all the dignity of a governor.

He was hardly landed, when young Almagro sent him an embassy, explaining the reasons of his conduct, and proposing terms; but Castro answered him, that he was come under the emperor's authority, solely to do him and every body justice, of which, if a good subject, he could have no room to complain; if a bad one, he must prepare to feel it: he knew no other terms. This was new language to governors in this part of the world, who almost forgot they had a superior. Almagro therefore was resolved to abide the fortune of war, rather than submit without such terms as might ensure him the government of his father's province at least. On the other hand, Castro would hear of no terms between a king and his subjects, and therefore set himself at the head of his troops, which were composed of those who had refused to obey Almagro and gave him battle. The victory was on his side, but not without a bloody dispute.

Several of Almagro's officers, in hopes of procuring favor for themselves, betrayed his cause in the battle; but Castro was far from thinking their treachery to their leader could be reckoned a service to the crown, and therefore spared none of them in the numerous executions he found it necessary to make on this occasion. None of the sufferers was more pitied than Almagro, who behaved with the utmost gallantry

Digitized by Google

in the engagement, as he had done with much humanity and honor upon most occasions. He was taken and beheaded.

The severity of this procedure, whilst it terrified every body, drew no odium upon the governor, who acted clearly without prejudice or self-interest. They looked on these executions like judgments from Heaven, which afflict us bitterly, but leave no room for murmur or complaint against the hand that inflicts them. To the followers of Pizarro, who valued themselves on their late service, and murmured that they were not rewarded better than he thought they deserved, he showed little favor. He told them he could well distinguish between what was done out of a spirit of party, and what proceeded from a principle of loyalty to their sovereign; that they might look upon themselves as very happy that he suffered their last action to obliterate the memory of all their others. In short, he proceeded with such constancy, that the Spaniards were reduced to an entire subjection, and the Indians treated by them as fellow-subjects and fellow-creatures. The clergy he made to attend diligently to the duty of their function, and to the conversion of the Indians, rather than to the acquisition of their gold. He modeled the administration of justice in the exactest manner. He founded several towns, and established schools and colleges in them, and placed the royal revenues on such a footing, that the conquest of Peru became immediately a great public advantage, which formerly was little more than an object of private plunder. But, whilst he remained himself poor among some of the richest confiscations that ever were made, and whilst he enriched the royal treasury with most prodigious remittances, the great men at court received no presents. This induced them to get a number of judges appointed, whose authority overruled that of Castro. The end was answered. Disputes arose; the colony was unsettled; appeals and complaints innumerable came home, and presents from all sides. But what answered the present end of the courtiers was near stopping up the spring of bribery for the future. In the confusion that arose, from such clashing jurisdictions and the

Digitized by Google

schemes of men intent upon their own interests, it was not hard for Gonzalo, the brother of the famous Pizarro, to avail himself of the general discontent, and to set himself at the head of a party.

It was now no longer a dispute between governors about the bounds of their jurisdictions; Gonzalo Pizarro only paid a nominal submission to the emperor. He strengthened daily, and even went so far as to behead a viceroy who was sent to curb him. There was a fleet at this time in the South Seas, and he had address enough to gain the admiral to his interests; by which means he was able to overawe the coast of Mexico, and prevent any force coming against him from that part. He even entertained hopes of gaining the Spaniards in that kingdom to join in his revolt.

The court, justly alarmed at this progress, having felt the ill effect of sending men who were recommended to their posts by importunity and cabal, as they had experienced the beneficial consequences of employing persons whose character only pleaded for them, sent a licentiate in divinity, called Peter de la Gasca, a man differing only from Castro, by being of a milder and more insinuating behavior; but with the same love of justice, the same greatness of soul, and the same disinterested spirit. This mildness of character suited the circumstances of the times, as well as the rigid justice of Castro did those in which he was appointed; for, as the revolt was now almost general, he could find no friends but such as he could make; because, though he was invested with the amplest authority from Spain, he neither carried men to enforce it, nor money; and the whole success of the expedition rested solely in his own capacity.

When he arrived in Mexico, he declared that his was a peaceable possession; that he came not to exercise severities, but to heal by gentle measures the effects of those which were formerly exercised. He even wrote a very obliging letter to Pizarro, persuading him to submit, and offering him a free pardon for himself and his associates. In the mean time, he was not wanting in more vigorous measures; but, by his

Digitized by Google

engaging address and the reputation of his probity, raised large sums of money and some hundreds of men. Pizarro, puffed up by his success, received the ambassador with great haughtiness, and sent his answer, which was likewise that of his associates, by the admiral; it was, in effect, that neither would he yield up his government, nor would they submit to have any other government. The admiral had instructions to try what bribery would do, and, if that failed, to fire the city of Panama, and bring off the new viceroy prisoner. However, during their conferences, the affair took absolutely another turn, and the admiral, instead of conveying Gasca a prisoner to Peru, transported him thither with all his forces, returning to his allegiance himself, and persuading all his adherents to be hearty in the royal cause. The viceroy did not at all alter the professions and behavior he had used in Mexico; but, every where proclaiming peace and pardon at the head of a powerful force, he drew the cities of Lima and Cusco from the party of Pizarro; who, finding himself obliged to evacuate the most considerable places of strength, with very unequal forces hazarded a battle, in which he was made prisoner. He was soon after condemned and executed, with those who had been the chief instruments of his rebellion.

Such an ill star governed all those who had a share in the reduction of Peru! Almagro beheaded; his son sharing the same fate; Pizarro murdered in his own palace; his brother Ferdinand kept a prisoner twenty-three years; and his other brother Gonzalo, as we have just seen, suffering death as a traitor. The new governor, having by necessary severities quieted his province, took effectual care to heal its disorders by the arts of peace, and to complete what Castro had been obliged to leave unfinished. He settled the civil government, the army, and the mines, upon such a basis as made the province worthy to be plundered by future viceroys. He carried over two millions to the royal treasury, paid all his debts, and sat down as poor in Spain as he had left it.

The reduction of the great empires of Peru and Mexico makes almost the only thing very much worth insisting upon

Digitized by Google

in the American history. A few skirmishes with a savage people, and some voyages and discoveries exactly resembling each other, changing only the names and situations, is the matter, which, in my opinion, unprofitably fills so many volumes, and contains very little of either curiosity or instruction. However, when I come to treat of the several European settlements particularly, I shall not omit to mention any thing in their history that contains either the one or the other.

Digitized by Google

PART II.

THE MANNERS OF THE AMERICANS.

CHAPTER I.

THE PERSONS OF THE AMERICANS—THEIR DRESS AND WAY OF LIVING—THEIR MANNER OF CONVERSING—THEIR HOSPITALITY—THEIR TEMPER—THEIR RELIGION AND SUPERSTITIONS—THEIR MEDICINE.

The aborigines of America, throughout the whole extent of the two vast continents which they inhabit, and amongst the infinite number of nations and tribes into which they are divided, differ very little from each other in their manners and customs; and they all form a very striking picture of the most distant antiquity. Whoever considers the Americans of this day, not only studies the manners of a remote present nation, but he studies, in some measure, the antiquities of all nations; from which no mean lights may be thrown upon many parts of the ancient authors, both sacred and profane. The learned Lafitau has labored this point with great success, in a work which deserves to be read amongst us much more than I find it is.

The people of America are tall, and straight in their limbs beyond the proportion of most nations: their bodies are strong; but of a species of strength rather fitted to endure much hardship, than to continue long at any servile work, by which they are quickly consumed; it is the strength of a beast of prey,

Digitized by Google

rather than that of a beast of burthen. Their bodies and heads are flattish, the effect of art; their features are regular, but their countenances fierce; their hair long, black, lank, and as strong as that of a horse. No beards. The color of their skin a reddish brown, admired amongst them, and improved by the constant use of bear's fat and paint.

When the Europeans first came into America, they found the people quite naked, except those parts, which it is common for the most uncultivated people to conceal. Since that time they have generally a coarse blanket to cover them, which they buy from us. The whole fashion of their lives is of a piece; hardy, poor, and squalid; and their education from their infancy is solely directed to fit their bodies for this mode of life, and to form their minds to inflict and to endure the greatest evils. Their only occupations are hunting and war. Agriculture is left to the women. Merchandise they contemn. When their hunting season is past, which they go through with much patience, and in which they exert great ingenuity, they pass the rest of their time in an entire indolence. They sleep half the day in their huts, they loiter and jest among their friends, and they observe no bounds or decency in their eating and drinking. Before we discovered them, they had no spirituous liquors; but now, the acquirement of these is what gives a spur to their industry, and enjoyment to their repose. This is the principal end they pursue in their treaties with us; and from this they suffer inexpressible calamities; for, having once begun to drink, they can preserve no measures, but continue a succession of drunkenness as long as their means of procuring liquor lasts. In this condition they lie exposed on the earth to all the inclemency of the seasons, which wastes them by a train of the most fatal disorders; they perish in rivers and marshes; they tumble into the fire; they quarrel, and frequently murder each other; and, in short, excess in drinking, which with us is rather immoral than very destructive, amongst this uncivilized people, who have not art enough to guard against the consequence of their vices, is a public calamity. The few amongst them, who

Digitized by Google

live free from this evil, enjoy the reward of their temperance in a robust and healthy old age. The disorders which a complicated luxury has introduced, and supports in Europe, are strangers here.

The character of the Indians is striking. They are grave even to sadness in their deportment upon any serious occasion; observant of those in company; respectful to the old; of a temper cool and deliberate; by which they are never in haste to speak before they have thought well upon the matter, and are sure the person who spoke before them has finished all he had to say. They have therefore the greatest contempt for the vivacity of the Europeans, who interrupt each other, and frequently speak altogether. Nothing is more edifying than their behavior in their public councils and assemblies. Every man there is heard in his turn, according as his years, his wisdom, or his services to his country, have ranked him. Not a word, not a whisper, not a murmur, is heard from the rest while he speaks. No indecent condemnation, no ill-timed applause. The younger sort attend for their instruction. Here they learn the history of their nation; here they are inflamed with the songs of those who celebrate the warlike actions of their ancestors; and here they are taught what are the interests of their country, and how to pursue them.

There is no people amongst whom the laws of hospitality are more sacred, or executed with more generosity and goodwill. Their houses, their provision, even their young women, are not enough to oblige a guest. To those of their own nation they are likewise very humane and beneficient. Has any one of them succeeded ill in his hunting? has his harvest failed? or is his house burned? He feels no other effect of his misfortune, than that it gives him an opportunity to experience the benevolence and regard of his fellow-citizens, who for that purpose have all things almost in common, But to the enemies of his country, or to those who have privately offended, the American is implacable. He conceals his sentiments, he appears reconciled, until by some treachery or surprise he has an opportunity of executing a horrible re-

Digitized by Google

venge. No length of time is sufficient to allay his resentment; no distance of place great enough to protect the object; he crosses the steepest mountains, he pierces the most impracticable forests, and traverses the most hideous bogs and deserts for several hundreds of miles, bearing the inclemency of the seasons, the fatigue of the expedition, the extremes of hunger and thirst, with patience and cheerfulness, in hopes of surprising his enemy, on whom he exercises the most shocking barbarities, even to the eating of his flesh. To such extremes do the Indians push their friendship or their enmity; and such indeed in general is the character of all strong and uncultivated minds.

Notwithstanding this ferocity, no people have their anger, or at least the show of their anger, more under their command. From their infancy they are formed with care to endure scoffs, taunts, blows, and every sort of insult patiently, or at least with a composed countenance. This is one of the principal objects of their education. They esteem nothing so unworthy a man of sense and constancy, as a peevish temper, and a proneness to a sudden and rash anger. And this so far has an effect, that quarrels happen as rarely amongst them when they are not intoxicated with liquor, as does the chief cause of all quarrels, hot and abusive language. But human nature is such, that, as virtues may with proper management be engrafted upon almost all sorts of vicious passions, so vices naturally grow out of the best dispositions, and are the consequence of those regulations that produce and strengthen them. This is the reason that, when the passions of the Americans are roused, being shut up, as it were, and converging into a narrow point, they become more furious; they are dark, sullen, treacherous, and unappeasable.

A people who live by hunting, who inhabit mean cottages, and are given to change the place of their habitation, are seldom very religious. The Americans have scarce any temples. We hear indeed of some, and those extremely magnificent, amongst the ancient Mexicans and Peruvians; but the Mexicans and Peruvians were comparatively civilized nations.

Digitized by Google

Those we know at present in any part of America are no way comparable to them. Some appear to have very little idea of God. Others entertain better notions; they hold the existence of the Supreme Being, eternal and incorruptible, who has power over all. Satisfied with owning this, which is traditionary amongst them, they give him no sort of worship. There are indeed nations in America, who seem to pay some religious homage to the sun and moon; and, as most of them have a notion of some invisible beings, who continually intermeddle in their affairs, they discourse much of demons, nymphs, fairies, or beings equivalent. They have ceremonies too, that seem to show they had once a more regular form of religious worship; for they make a sort of oblation of their first fruits; observe certain ceremonies at the full moon; and have in their festivals many things that very probably came from a religious origin, though they perform them as things handed down to them from their ancestors, without knowing or inquiring about the reason. Though without religion, they abound in superstitions; as it is common for those to do, whose subsistence depends, like theirs, upon fortune. Great observers of omens and dreams, and pryers into futurity with great eagerness, they abound in diviners, augurs, and magicians, whom they rely much upon in all affairs that concern them, whether of health, war, or hunting. Their physic, which may rather be called magic, is entirely in the hands of the priests. The sick are naturally prone to superstition, and human help in such cases is generally found so weak, that it is no wonder that, in all countries and ages, people have amused themselves, in that dismal circumstance of human nature, with the hope of supernatural assistance.

Their physicians generally treat them, in whatever disorder, in the same way. That is, they first enclose them, in a narrow cabin, in the midst of which is a stone red hot; on this they throw water, until the patient is well soaked with the warm vapor and his own sweat; then they hurry him from the bagnio, and plunge him suddenly into the next river. This is repeated as often as they judge necessary; and by

Digitized by Google

this method extraordinary cures are sometimes performed. But it frequently happens too, that this rude method kills the patient in the very operation, especially in the new disorders brought to them from Europe; and it is partly owing to this manner of proceeding, that the smallpox has proved so much more fatal to them than to us. It must not be denied that they have the use of some specifics of wonderful efficacy; the power of which they however attribute to the magical ceremonies with which they are constantly administered. And it is remarkable, that purely by an application of herbs they frequently cure wounds, which with us refuse to yield to the most judicious methods.

CHAPTER II.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE AMERICANS—THEIR COUNCILS—THEIR ORATORS—THEIR FEASTS—THEIR MANNER OF ADMINISTERING JUSTICE.

Liberty, in its fullest extent, is the darling passion of the Americans. To this they sacrifice every thing. This is what makes a life of uncertainty and want supportable to them; and their education is directed in such a manner as to cherish this disposition to the utmost. They are indulged in all manner of liberty; they are never upon any account chastised with blows; they are rarely even chidden. Reason, they say, will guide their children when they come to the use of it; and before that time their faults cannot be very great: but blows might abate the free and martial spirit which makes the glory of their people, and might render the sense of honor duller, by the habit of a slavish motive to action. When they are grown up, they experience nothing like command, dependence, or subordination; even strong persuasion is industriously forborne by those who have influence amongst them, as what may look too like command, and appear a sort of violence offered to their will.

Digitized by Google

On the same principle, they know no punishment but death. They lay no fines, because they have no way of exacting them from free men; and the death, which they sometimes inflict, is rather a consequence of a sort of war declared against a public enemy, than an act of judicial power executed on a citizen or subject. This free disposition is general; and, though some tribes are found in America with a head whom we call a king, his power is rather persuasive than coercive, and he is reverenced as a father, more than feared as a monarch. He has no guards, no prisons, no officers of justice. The other forms, which may be considered as a sort of aristocracy, have no more power. This latter is the more common in North America. In some tribes there are a kind of nobility, who, when they come to years of discretion, are entitled to a place and vote in the councils of their nation: the rest are excluded. But amongst the Five Nations, or Iroquois, the most celebrated commonwealth of North America, and in some other nations, there is no other qualification absolutely necessary for their head men, but age, with experience and ability in their affairs. However, there is generally in every tribe some particular stocks which they respect, and who are considered in some sort as their chiefs, unless they show themselves unworthy of that rank; as among the tribes themselves there are some, who, on account of their number or bravery, have a preëminence over the rest; which, as it is not exacted with pride and insolence, nor maintained by tyranny on the one hand, so it is never disputed on the other when it is due.

Their great council is composed of these heads of tribes and families, with such whose capacity has elevated them to the same degree of consideration. They meet in a house, which they have in each of their towns for the purpose, upon every solemn occasion, to receive ambassadors, to deliver them an answer, to sing their traditionary war songs, or to commemorate their dead. These councils are public. Here they propose all such matters concerning the state, as have already been digested in the secret councils, at which none but the

Digitized by Google

head men assist. Here it is that their orators are employed, and display those talents which distinguish them for eloquence and knowledge of public business; in both of which some of them are admirable. None else speak in their public councils: these are their ambassadors, and these are the commissioners who are appointed to treat of peace or alliance with other nations. The chief skill of these orators consists in giving an artful turn to affairs, and in expressing their thoughts in a bold figurative manner, much stronger than we could bear in this part of the world, and with gestures equally violent, but often extremely natural and expressive.

When any business of consequence is transacted, they appoint a feast upon the occasion, of which almost the whole nation partakes. There are lesser feasts upon matters of less general concern, to which none are invited but they who are engaged in that particular business. At these feasts it is against all rule to leave any thing; so that if they cannot consume all, what remains is thrown into the fire; for they look upon fire as a thing sacred, and in all probability these feasts were anciently sacrifices. Before the entertainment is ready, the principal person begins a song, the subject of which is the fabulous or real history of their nation, the remarkable events which have happened, and whatever matters may make for their honor or instruction. The others sing in their turn. They have dances too, with which they accompany their songs, chiefly of a martial kind; and no solemnity or public business is carried on without such songs and dances. Every thing is transacted amongst them with much ceremony; which in a barbarous people is necessary; for nothing else could hinder all their affairs from going to confusion; besides that the ceremonies contribute to fix all transactions the better in their memory.

To help their memory, they have bits of small shells or beads of different colors, which have all a different meaning, according to their color or arrangement. At the end of every matter they discourse upon, when they treat with a foreign state, they deliver one of these belts. If they should omit

Digitized by Google

this ceremony, what they say passes for nothing. These belts are carefully treasured up in each town, and they serve for the public records of the nation; and to these they occasionally have recourse, when any contests happen between them and their neighbors. Of late, as the matter of which these belts are made is grown scarce, they often give some skin in the place of the wampum, for so they call these beads in their language, and receive in return presents of a more valuable nature; for neither will they consider what our commissioners say to be of any weight, unless some present accompanies each proposal.

The same council of their elders which regulates whatever regards the external policy of the state, has the charge likewise of its internal peace and order. Their suits are few and quickly decided, having neither property nor art enough to render them perplexed or tedious. Criminal matters come before the same jurisdiction, when they are so flagrant as to become a national concern. In ordinary cases the crime is either revenged or compromised by the parties concerned. If a murder is committed, the family which has lost a relation prepares to retaliate on that of the offender. They often kill the murderer, and when this happens, the kindred of the last person slain look upon themselves to be as much injured, and think themselves as much justified in taking vengeance, as if the violence had not begun amongst themselves. But, in general, things are determined in a more amicable manner. The offender absents himself; his friends send a compliment of condolence to those of the party murdered; presents are offered, which are rarely refused: the head of the family appears, who in a formal speech delivers the presents, which consists often of above sixty articles, every one of which is given to cancel some part of the offence and to assuage the grief of the suffering party. With the first he says, "By this I remove the hatchet from the wound, and make it fall out of the hands of him that is prepared to revenge the injury:" with the second, "I dry up the blood of that wound;" and so on, in apt figures, taking away one by one, all the ill conse-

Digitized by Google

quences of the murder. As usual, the whole ends in mutual feasting, songs, and dances. If the murder is committed by one of the same family, or cabin, that cabin has the full right of judgment, without appeal, within itself, either to punish the guilty with death, or to pardon him, or to force him to give some recompense to the wife or children of the slain. All this while the supreme authority of the nation looks on unconcerned, and never rouses its strength, nor exerts the fulness of a power more revered than felt, but upon some signal occasion. Then the power seems equal to the occasion. Every one hastens to execute the orders of their senate; nor ever was any instance of disloyalty or rebellion known amongst this people. Governed as they are by manners, not by laws; example, education, and the constant practice of their ceremonies, give them the most tender affection for their country, and inspire them with a most religious regard for their constitution, and the customs of their ancestors. The want of laws, and of an universal strong coercive power, is not perceived in a narrow society, where every man has his eye upon his neighbor, and where the whole bent of every thing they do is to strengthen those natural ties by which society is principally cemented. Family love, rare amongst us, is a national virtue amongst them, of which all partake. Friendships there are amongst them, fit to vie with those of fabulous antiquity; and where such friendships are seen to grow, the families concerned congratulate themselves as upon an acquisition that promises to them a mutual strength, and to their nation the greatest honor and advantage.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER III.

THEIR MOURNINGS FOR THEIR DEAD—THE FEAST OF SOULS—THE AMERICAN WOMEN, THEIR OCCUPATIONS—THEIR MARRIAGES AND DIVORCES.

The loss of any one of their people, whether by a natural death, or by war, is lamented by the whole town he belongs to.* In such circumstances no business is taken in hand, however important, nor any rejoicing permitted, however interesting the occasion, until all the pious ceremonies due to the dead are performed. These are always discharged with the greatest solemnity. The dead body is washed, anointed, and painted, so in some measure to abate the horrors of death. Then the women lament the loss with the most bitter cries, and the most hideous howlings, intermixed with songs, which celebrate the great actions of the deceased, and those of his ancestors. The men mourn in a less extravagant manner. The whole village attends the body to the grave, which is interred, habited in their most sumptuous ornaments. With the body of the deceased are placed his bow and arrows, with what he valued most in his life, and provisions for the long journey he is to take; for they hold the immortality of the soul universally, but their idea is gross. Feasting attends this, as it does every solemnity. After the funeral, they who are nearly allied to the deceased conceal themselves in their huts for a considerable time, to indulge their grief. The compliments of condolence are never omitted, nor are presents wanting upon this occasion. After some time, they revisit the grave; they renew their sorrow; they new clothe the remains of the body, and act over again the solemnities of the first funeral.

* The towns are small, and, except the affairs of war or state they have no business to employ them, for the greatest part of the year, after the hunting season is over.

Digitized by Google

Of all their instances of regard to their deceased friends, none is so striking as what they call the feast of the dead, or the feast of souls. The day of this ceremony is appointed in the council of their chiefs, who give orders for every thing which may enable them to celebrate it with pomp and magnificence. The riches of the nation are exhausted on this occasion, and all their ingenuity displayed. The neigboring people are invited to partake of the feast, and to be witnesses of the solemnity. At this time, all who have died since the last solemn feast of that kind, are taken out of their graves. Those who have been interred at the greatest distance from the villages are diligently sought for, and brought to this great rendezvous of carcases. It is not difficult to conceive the horror of this general disinterment. I cannot paint it in a more lively manner than it is done by Lafitau.

"Without question," says he, "the opening of these tombs displays one of the most striking scenes that can be conceived; this humbling portrait of human misery, in so many images of death, wherein she seems to take a pleasure to paint herself in a thousand various shapes of horror, in the several carcases, according to the degree in which corruption has prevailed over them, or the manner in which it has attacked them. Some appear dry and withered; others have a sort of parchment upon their bones; some look as if they were baked and smoked, without any appearance of rottenness; some are just turning towards the point of putrifaction; whilst others are all swarming with worms, and drowned in corruption. I know not which ought to strike us most, the horror of so shocking a sight, or the tender piety and affection of these poor people towards their departed friends; for nothing deserves our admiration more, than that eager diligence and attention with which they discharge this melancholy duty of their tenderness; gathering up carefully even the smallest bones; handling the carcases, disgustful as they are, with every thing loathsome; cleansing them from the worms, and carrying them upon their shoulders through tiresome journeys of several days, without being discouraged by their insup-

Digitized by Google

portable stench, and without suffering any other emotions to arise, than those of regret, for having lost persons who were so dear to them in their lives, and so lamented in their death."

This strange festival is the most magnificent and solemn which they have: not only on account of the great concourse of natives and strangers, and of the pompous reinterment they give to their dead, whom they dress in the finest skins they can get, and after having exposed them some time in this pomp; but for the games of all kinds which they celebrate upon the occasion, in the spirit of those which the ancient Greeks and Romans celebrated upon similar occasions.

In this manner do they endeavor to soothe the calamities of life, by the honors they pay their dead; honors, which are the more cheerfully bestowed, because in his turn each man expects to receive them himself. Though amongst these savage nations this custom is impressed with strong marks of the ferocity of their nature; an honor for the dead, a tender feeling of their absence, and a revival of their memory, are some of the most excellent instruments for smoothing our rugged nature into humanity. In civilized nations ceremonies are less practised, because other instruments for the same purposes are less wanted; but it is certain a regard for the dead is ancient and universal.

Though the women in America have generally the laborious part of the economy upon themselves, yet they are far from being the slaves they appear, and are not at all subject to the great subordination in which they are placed in countries where they seem to be more respected. On the contrary, all the honors of the nation are on the side of the women. They even hold their councils, and have their share in all deliberations which concern the state; nor are they found inferior to the part they act. Polygamy is practised by some nations, but it is not general. In most they content themselves with one wife; but a divorce is admitted, and for the same causes that it was allowed amongst the Jews, Greeks, and Romans. No nation of the Americans is without a reg-

Digitized by Google

ular marriage, in which there are many ceremonies; the principal of which is, the bride's presenting the bridegroom with a plate of their corn.

Incontinent before wedlock, after marriage the chastity of their women is remarkable. The punishment of the adulteress, as well as that of the adulterer, is in the hands of the husband himself; and it is often severe, as inflicted by one who is at once the party and the judge. Their marriages are not fruitful, seldom producing above two or three children, but they are brought forth with less pain than our women suffer upon such occasions, and with little consequent weakness. Probably, that severe life, which both sexes lead, is not favorable to procreation. And the habit unmarried women have of procuring abortions, in which they rarely fail, makes them the more unfit for bearing children afterwards. This is one of the reasons of the depopulation of America; for whatever losses they suffer, either by epidemical diseases or by war, are repaired slowly.

CHAPTER IV.

THE INDIAN MANNER OF PREPARING FOR WAR—THE SONGS AND DANCES—THEIR TAKING THE FIELD—THEIR METHOD OF DISCOVERING AND ATTACKING THE ENEMY—THEIR CRUEL TREATMENT OF THEIR PRISONERS OF WAR.

Almost the sole occupation of the American is war, or such an exercise as qualifies him for it. His whole glory consists in this; and no man is at all considered until he has increased the strength of his country with a captive, or adorned his house with a scalp of one of its enemies. When the ancients resolve upon war, they do not always declare what nation it is they are determined to attack; that the enemy, upon whom they really intend to fall, may be off his guard. Nay, they even sometimes let years pass over with-

Digitized by Google

out committing any act of hostility, that the vigilance of all may be unbent by the long continuance of the watch, and the uncertainty of the danger. In the mean time they are not idle at home. The principal captain summons the youth of the town to which he belongs; the war kettle is set on the fire; the war songs and dances commence; the hatchet is sent to all the villages of the same nation, and to all its allies; the fire catches; the war songs are heard in all parts; and the most hideous howlings continue without intermission day and night over that whole tract of country. The women add their cries to those of the men, lamenting those whom they have either lost in war or by a natural death, and demanding their places to be supplied from their enemies; stimulating the young men by a sense of shame, which women know how to excite in the strongest manner, and can take the best advantage of when excited.

When by these, and every other means, the fury of the nation is raised to the greatest height, and all long to embrue their hands in blood, the war captain prepares the feast, which consists of dogs' flesh. All that partake of this feast receive little billets, which are so many engagements which they take to be faithful to each other, and obedient to their commander. None are forced to the war; but when they have accepted this billet, they are looked upon as listed, and it is then death to recede. All the warriors in this assembly have their faces blackened with charcoal, intermixed with dashes and streaks of vermilion, which give them a most horrid appearance. Their hair is dressed up in an odd manner, with feathers of various kinds. In this assembly, which is preparatory to their military expedition, the chief begins the war song; which having continued for some time, he raises his voice to the highest pitch, and, turning off suddenly to a sort of prayer, addresses himself to the god of war, whom they call Areskoni: "I invoke thee," says he, "to be favorable to my enterprise! I invoke thy care upon me and my family! I invoke ye likewise, all ye spirits and demons good and evil! All ye that are in the skies, or on the earth, or

Digitized by Google

under the earth, to pour destruction upon our enemies, and to return me and my companions safely to our country." All the warriors join him in this prayer with shouts and acclamations. The captain renews his song, strikes his club against the stakes of his cottage, and begins the war dance, accompanied with the shouts of all his companions, which continue as long as he dances.

The day appointed for their departure being arrived, they take leave of their friends; they change their clothes, or whatever movables they have, in token of mutual friendship; their wives and female relations go out before them, and attend at some distance from the town. The warriors march out all drest in their finest apparel and most showy ornaments, regularly one after another, for they never march in rank. The chief walks slowly on before them, singing the death song, whilst the rest observe the most profound silence. When they come up to their women, they deliver up to them all their finery, put on their worst clothes, and then proceed as their commander thinks fit.

Their motives for engaging in a war are rarely those views which excite us to it. They have no other end but the glory of the victory, or the benefit of the slaves which it enables them to add to their nation, or sacrifice to their brutal fury; and it is rare that they take any pains to give their wars even a color of justice. It is no way uncommon among them for the young men to make feasts of dogs' flesh, and dances, in small parties, in the midst of the most profound peace. They fall sometimes on one nation, and sometimes on another, and surprise some of their hunters, whom they scalp and bring home as prisoners. Their senators wink at this, or rather encourage it, as it tends to keep up the martial spirit of their people, inures them to watchfulness and hardship, and gives them an early taste for blood.

The qualities in an Indian war are vigilance and attention, to give and to avoid a surprise; and patience and strength to endure the intolerable fatigues and hardships which always attend it. The nations of America are at an immense dis-

Digitized by Google

tance from each other, with a vast desert frontier, and hid in the bosom of hideous, and almost boundless forests. These must be traversed before they meet an enemy, who is often at such a distance as might be supposed to prevent either quarrel or danger. But notwithstanding the secrecy of the destination of the party that first moves, the enemy has frequent notice of it, is prepared for the attack, and ready to take advantage in the same manner of the least want of vigilance in the aggressors. Their whole art of war consists in this: they never fight in the open field, but upon some very extraordinary occasions; not from cowardice, for they are brave; but they despise this method, as unworthy an able warrior, and as an affair in which fortune governs more than prudence. The principal things which help them to find out their enemies, are the smoke of their fires, which they smell at a distance almost incredible; and their tracks, in the discovery and distinguishing of which, they are possessed of a sagacity equally astonishing; for they will tell in the footsteps, which to us would seem most confused, the number of men that have passed, and the length of time since they have passed; they even go so far as to distinguish the several nations by the different marks of their feet, and to perceive footsteps, where we could distinguish nothing less. A mind diligently intent upon one thing, and exercised by long experience, will go lengths at first view scarcely credible.

But as they who are attacked have the same knowledge, and know how to draw the same advantages from it, their great address is to baffle each other in these points. On the expedition they light no fire to warm themselves, or prepare their victuals, but subsist merely on the miserable pittance of some of their meal mixed with water; they lie close to the ground all day, and march only in the night. As they march in their usual order in files, he that closes the rear diligently covers his own tracks, and those of all who preceded him, with leaves. If any stream occurs in their route, they march in it for a considerable way to foil their pursuers. When they halt to rest and refresh themselves, scouts are sent out

Digitized by Google

on every side to reconnoitre the country, and beat up every place where they suspect an enemy may lie perdue. In this manner they often enter a village, whilst the strength of the nation is employed in hunting, and massacre all the helpless old men, women, and children, or make prisoners of as many as they can manage, or have strength enough to be useful to their nation.

They often cut off small parties of men in their huntings; but when they discover an army of their enemies, their way is to throw themselves flat on their faces amongst the withered leaves, the color of which their bodies are painted to resemble exactly. They generally let a part pass unmolested; and then, rising a little, they take aim, for they are excellent marksmen, and setting up a most tremendous shout, which they call the war-cry, they pour a storm of musket bullets upon the enemy; for they have long since laid aside the use of arrows: the party attacked returns the same cry. Every man in haste covers himself with a tree, and returns the fire of the adverse party, as soon as they raise themselves from the ground to give the second fire.

After fighting some time in this manner, the party which thinks it has the advantage rushes out of its cover, with small axes in their hands, which they dart with great address and dexterity; they redouble their cries, intimidating their enemies with menaces, and encouraging each other with a boastful display of their own brave actions. Thus being come hand to hand, the contest is soon decided; and the conquerors satiate their savage fury with the most shocking insults and barbarities to the dead, biting their flesh, tearing the scalp from their heads, and wallowing in their blood like wild beasts.

The fate of their prisoners is the most severe of all. During the greatest part of their journey homewards they suffer no injury. But when they arrive at the territories of the conquering state, or at those of their allies, the people from every village meet them, and think they show their attachment to their friends by their barbarous treatment of the unhappy prisoners; so, that when they come to their station, they are

Digitized by Google

wounded and bruised in a terrible manner. The conquerors enter the town in triumph. The war captain waits upon the head men, and in a low voice gives them a circumstantial account of every particular of the expedition, of the damage the enemy has suffered, and his own losses in it. This done, the public orator relates the whole to the people. Before they yield to the joy which the victory occasions, they lament the friends which they have lost in the pursuit of it. The parties most nearly concerned are afflicted apparently with a deep and real sorrow. But, by one of those strange turns of the human mind, fashioned to any thing by custom, as if they were disciplined in their grief, upon the signal for rejoicing, in a moment all tears are wiped from their eyes, and they rush into an extravagance and frenzy of joy for their victory.

In the mean time the fate of the prisoners remains undecided, until the old men meet, and determine concerning the distribution. It is usual to offer a slave to each house that has lost a friend: giving the preference according to the greatness of the loss. The person who has taken the captive attends him to the door of the cottage to which he is delivered, and with him gives a belt of wampum, to show that he has fulfilled the purpose of the expedition, in supplying the loss of a citizen. They view the present which is made them for some time; and, according as they think him or her, for it is the same, proper or improper for the business of the family, or as they take a capricious liking or displeasure to the countenance of the victim, or in proportion to their natural barbarity or their resentment for their losses, they destine concerning him, to receive him into the family, or sentence him to death. If the latter, they throw away the belt with indignation. Then it is no longer in the power of any one to save him. The nation is assembled as upon some great solemnity. A scaffold is raised, and the prisoner tied to the stake. Instantly he opens his death song, and prepares for the ensuing scene of cruelty with the most undaunted courage. On the other side, they prepare to put it to the utmost proof, with every torment which the mind of man ingenious in mischief can invent.

Digitized by Google

They begin at the extremities of his body, and gradually approach the trunk. One plucks out his nails by the roots, one by one; another takes a finger into his mouth, and tears off the flesh with his teeth; a third thrusts the finger, mangled as it is, into the bowl of a pipe made red hot, which he smokes like tobacco. Then they pound his toes and fingers to pieces between two stones; they cut circles about his joints, and gashes in the fleshy parts of his limbs, which they sear immediately with red-hot irons, cutting and searing alternately; they pull off this flesh thus mangled and roasted, bit by bit, devouring it with greediness, and smearing their faces with the blood, in an enthusiasm of horror and fury. When they have thus torn off the flesh, they twist the bare nerves and tendons about an iron, tearing and snapping them; whilst others are employed in pulling and extending the limbs themselves, in every way that can increase the torment. This continues often five or six hours together. Then they frequently unbind him, to give a breathing to their fury, to think what new torments they shall inflict, and to refresh the strength of the sufferer, who, wearied out with such a variety of unheard of torments, often falls immediately into so profound a sleep, that they are obliged to apply the fire to awaken him, and renew his sufferings.

He is again fastened to the stake, and again they renew their cruelty; they stick him all over with small matches of wood that easily takes fire, but burns slowly; they continually run sharp reeds into every part of his body; they drag out his teeth with pincers, and thrust out his eyes; and lastly, after having burned his flesh from the bones with slow fires; after having so mangled the body that it is all but one wound; after having mutilated his face in such a manner as to carry nothing human in it; after having peeled the skin from the head, and poured a heap of red-hot coals or boiling water on the naked skull; they once more unbind the wretch, who, blind and staggering with pain and weakness, assaulted and pelted upon every side with clubs and stones, now up, and now down, falling into their fires at every step, runs hither

Digitized by Google

and thither, until one of the chiefs, whether out of compassion or weary of cruelty, puts an end to his life with a club or a dagger. The body is then put into the kettle, and this barbarous employment is succeeded by a feast as barbarous.

The women, forgetting the human as well as the female nature, and transformed into something worse than furies, act their parts, and even outdo the men in this scene of horror. The principal persons of the country sit round the stake smoking and looking on without the least emotion. What is most extraordinary, the sufferer himself, in the little intervals of his torments, smokes too, appears unconcerned, and converses with his torturers about indifferent matters. Indeed, during the whole time of his execution, there seems a contest between him and them which shall exceed, they in inflicting the most horrid pains, or he in enduring them with a firmness and constancy almost above human. Not a groan, not a sigh, not a distortion of countenance, escapes him; he possesses his mind entirely in the midst of his torments; he recounts his own exploits, he informs them what cruelties he has inflicted upon their countrymen, and threatens them with the revenge that will attend his death; and, though his reproaches exasperate them to a perfect madness of rage and fury, he continues his reproaches even of their ignorance in the art of tormenting, pointing out himself more exquisite methods, and more sensible parts of the body to be afflicted. The women have this part of courage as well as the men; and it is as rare for any Indian to behave otherwise, as it would be for an European to suffer as an Indian.

I do not dwell upon these circumstances of cruelty, which so degrade human nature, out of choice; but, as all who mention the customs of this people have insisted upon their behavior in this respect very particularly, and as it seems necessary to give a true idea of their character, I did not choose to omit it. It serves to show too, in the strongest light, to what an inconceivable degree of barbarity the passions of men let loose will carry them. It will point out to us the advantages of a religion that teaches a compassion to our

Digitized by Google

enemies, which is neither known nor practised in other religions; and it will make us more sensible, than some appear to be, of the value of commerce, the art of a civilized life, and the lights of literature; which, if they have abated the force of some of the natural virtues by the luxury which attends them, have taken out likewise the sting of our natural vices, and softened the ferocity of the human race without enervating their courage.

On the other hand, the constancy of the sufferers in this terrible scene shows the wonderful power of an early institution, and a ferocious thirst of glory, which makes men imitate and exceed what philosophy, or even religion, can effect.

The prisoners who have the happiness to please those to whom they are offered have a fortune altogether opposite to that of those who are condemned. They are adopted into the family, they are accepted in the place of the father, son, or husband, that is lost; and they have no other mark of their captivity, but that they are not suffered to return to their own nation. To attempt this would be certain death. The principal purpose of the war is to recruit in this manner; for which reason a general who loses many of his men, though he should conquer, is little better than disgraced at home; because the end of the war was not answered. They are therefore extremely careful of their men, and never choose to attack but with a very undoubted superiority, either in number or situation.

The scalps which they value so much are the trophies of their bravery; with these they adorn their houses, which are esteemed in proportion as this sort of spoils is more numerous. They have solemn days appointed, upon which the young men gain a new name or title of honor from their head men; and these titles are given according to the qualities of the person, and his performances; of which these scalps are the evidence. This is all the reward they receive for the dangers of the war, and the fatigues of many campaigns, severe almost beyond credit. They think it abundantly sufficient to have a name given by their govenors; men of merit themselves, and judges

Digitized by Google

of it; a name respected by their countrymen, and terrible to their enemies. There are many other things fit to engage the curiosity, and even afford matter of instructive reflection, in the manners of this barbarous people; but these seem to be the most striking, and fittest to be insisted on in a work which is to give a general idea of America. The present settlements, their commerce and productions, ought to be allowed their proper room. In which I propose to treat, first of the Spanish colonies, as the first discovered and largest object, and that in which the rest of Europe, though excluded, is the most concerned. The Portuguese, as nearest in place and rank, shall be second. The French shall next be considered. The English shall be reserved to the last, as the most important to ourselves.

Digitized by Google

PART III.

SPANISH AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

A GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF AMERICA.

HAVING described, with as much conciseness as the subject would bear, the manners of the original inhabitants of America, as we had before that related the most remarkable adventures of its discoverers and conquerors, it will be necessary to view more minutely what and how advantageous a country these conquests and discoveries have added to the world; and what are the views, interests, and characters of those who at present possess the greatest part of that extensive region.

America extends from the north pole to the fifty-seventh degree of south latitude; it is upwards of eight thousand miles in length; it sees both hemispheres; it has two summers and a double winter; it enjoys all the variety of climates which the earth affords; it is washed by the great oceans. To the eastward it has the Atlantic Ocean, which divides it from Europe and Africa. To the west it has another ocean, the great South Sea, by which it is disjoined from Asia. By these seas it may, and does, carry on a direct commerce with the other three parts of the world. It is composed of two vast continents, one on the north the other upon the south, which are joined by the great kingdom of Mexico, which forms a sort of isthmus fifteen hundred miles long, and in one part, at Darien,

Digitized by Google

so extremly narrow, as to make the communication between the two oceans by no means difficult. In the great gulf, which is formed between this isthmus and the northern and southern continents, lie an infinite multitude of islands, many of them large, most of them fertile, and capable of being cultivated to very great advantage.

America in general is not a mountainous country, yet it has the greatest mountains in the world. The Andes, or Cordilleras, run from north to south along the coast of the Pacific Ocean. Though for the most part within the torrid zone, they are perpetually covered with snow, and in their bowels contain inexhaustible treasures. In the province of St. Martha in South America are likewise very great mountains, which communicate with the former. In North America we know of none considerable, but that long ridge which lies to the back of our settlements, which we call the Apalachian, or Alleghany, mountains; if that may be at all considered as a mountain, which upon one side indeed has a very great declivity, but upon the other is nearly on a level with the rest of the country.

Without comparison, America is that part of the world which is the best watered; and that not only for the support of life, but for the convenience of trade, and the intercourse of each part with the others. In North America the great river Mississippi, rising from unknown sources, runs an immense course from north to south, and receives the vast tribute of the Ohio, the Wabash, and other immense rivers, scarcely to be postponed to the Rhine or the Danube, navigable almost to their very sources, and laying open the inmost recesses of this continent. Near the heads of these are five great lakes, or rather seas of fresh water, communicating with each other, and all with the main ocean, by the river St. Lawrence, which passes through them. These afford such an inlet for commerce as must produce the greatest advantages, whenever the country adjacent shall come to be fully inhabited, and by an industrious and civilized people. The eastern side of North America, which is our portion, besides the noble rivers Hud-

Digitized by Google

son, Delaware, Susquehanna, Potomac, supplies several others of great depth, length, and commodious navigation. Many parts of our settlements are so intersected with navigable rivers and creeks, that the planters may be said, without exaggeration, to have each a harbor at his own door.

South America is, if possible, in this respect, even more fortunate. It supplies much the two largest rivers in the world, the river of Amazons, and the Rio de la Plata. The first, rising in Peru, not far from the South Sea, passes from west to east, almost quite through the continent of South America, navigable for some sort or other of vessels all the way, and receiving into its bosom a prodigious number of rivers, all navigable in the same manner, and so great that Monsieur Condamine found it often almost impossible to determine which was the main channel. The Rio de la Plata, rising in the heart of the country, shapes its course to the south-east, and pours such an immense flood into the sea, that it makes it taste fresh a great many leagues from the shore; to say nothing of the Oronoco, which might rank the foremost amongst any but the American rivers. The soil and products, in such a variety of climates cannot satisfactorily be treated of in a general description; we shall in their places, consider them particularly.

All America is in the hands of four nations. The Spaniards, who, as they first discovered it, have the largest and richest share. All that part of North America, which composes the isthmus of Mexico, and what lies beyond that towards the river Mississippi on the east, the Pacific Ocean to the west and north-west; and they possess all South America, excepting Brazil, which lies between the mouth of the river of Amazons and that of Plata along the Atlantic Ocean; this belongs to Portugal. That part of North America which the Spaniards have not is divided between the English and French. The English have all the countries which encircle Hudson's Bay, and thence in a line all along the eastern shore to the thirtieth degree of north latitude. France claims the country which lies between this and the Spanish settlements to the

Digitized by Google

west, and secures an intercourse with them by the mouths of the Mississippi, the Mobile, and of the river St. Lawrence, which are the only avenues of navigation to this very extensive country. The multitude of islands, which lie between the two continents, are divided amongst the Spaniards, French, and English. The Dutch possess three or four small islands, which, in any other hands would be of no consequence. The Danes have one or two; but they hardly deserve to be named amongst the proprietors of America.

CHAPTER II.

THE CLIMATE AND SOIL OF NEW SPAIN—ANIMALS—ITS VEGETABLE PRODUCE.

The order which I intend to observe in treating of the Spanish colonies, is, after having set forth their situation, their climate, and the nature of the soil, to describe those commodities in which they trade; to give a clear and concise account of their method of manufacturing them; and then to lay open the manner of their dealing in them, as well as that by which they carry on their foreign commerce. Last of all, I shall say something of the genius and temper of the inhabitants; of such customs of theirs as are remarkable, and of their civil policy, and of their military, so far as they are come to my knowledge, or as they are worthy the attention of the reader. The exact division of the provinces, the courses of the rivers, the distances of places, the dimensions of harbors and their soundings; all these, as they are infinitely better known from maps and charts, so it would be impertinent and tedious to fill up this short work with them, which proposes to give, even short as it is, a description of every thing that may tend to a just notion of America; and therefore cannot sacrifice matters of more moment to the description of things, of which a far better idea may be acquired by other means to those whom

Digitized by Google

they concern; and those whom they do not interest, who are far the majority, must be tedious and uninstructive.

The first country which the Spaniards settled upon the continent of America was Mexico; and it still continues their principal settlement, whether we consider its number of inhabitants, its natural wealth, or its extended traffic. As it lies for the most part within the torrid zone, it is excessively hot; and on the eastern coast, where the land is low, marshy, and constantly flooded in the rainy seasons, it is likewise extremely unwholesome; neither is that coast pleasant in any respect; encumbered for the most part with almost impenetrable woods of mangrove trees, of a bare and disagreeable aspect, and which extend into the water for a considerable way. The inland country assumes a more agreeable aspect, and the air is of a better temperament; here the tropical fruits grow in great abundance; the land is of a good variety, and would not refuse any sort of grain, if the number or industry of the inhabitants were any way proportioned to the goodness of the soil. But on the western side the land is not so low as on the eastern, much better in quality, and full of plantations.

It is probable the Spaniards choose to leave the eastern coast in its present state of rudeness and desolation, judging that a rugged and unwholesome frontier is a better defence against an European enemy, than fortifications and armies, to be maintained at a vast expense; or than the strength of the inhabitants, made by the climate effeminate and pusillanimous, and kept so by policy: and indeed it would be next to impossible to make any considerable establishment on that coast, that could effectually answer the purposes of any power in Europe, without struggling with the greatest difficulties; and as for a sudden invasion, the nature of the country itself is a good fortification. In general, few countries, under the same aspect of the heavens, enjoy more of the benefits of nature and the necessaries of life; but, like all the tropical countries, it rather is more abundant in fruits than in grain. Pine apples, pomegranates, oranges, lemons, citrons, figs, and cocoa nuts, are here in the greatest plenty and perfection. Vines and apples require temperate climates.

Digitized by Google

The number of their horned cattle is in a manner infinite; some private persons are said to have possessed forty thousand head; many are wild, and a very considerable trade is driven in their hides and tallow, but the extreme heat prevents their turning the flesh to any account in commerce. Swine are equally numerous, and their lard is much in request all over this country, where it is used instead of butter. Sheep are numerous in Mexico, but I do not find that wool is an article of any great consideration in their trade; nor is it probable that it is of a good kind, as it is scarce ever found useful between the tropics, where it is hairy and short, except only in Peru; and that is the produce of sheep of a species very different from that in the rest of America; as Peru is itself remarkably different in climate from all other countries under the torrid zone. But cotton is here very good, and in great plenty. It is manufactured largely, for, as it is very light and suitable to the climate, and all other clothing being extravagantly dear, it is the general wear of the inhabitants; the woolens and linens of Europe being rather luxuries, and worn only by persons of some condition. Some provinces produce silk, but not in that abundance or perfection to make a remarkable part of their exports; not but that the country is very fit for that and many other things valuable, which are but little cultivated; for the gold and silver, which make the glory of this country, and in the abundant treasures of which it exceeds all the world, engage almost the whole attention of the inhabitants, as they are almost the only things for which the Spaniards value their colonies, and what alone receive the encouragement of the court; therefore I shall insist most largely upon these articles. After that, I shall speak of those commodities, which are produced here of most importance in foreign commerce, and rest upon them in proportion to their importance. These are cochineal, indigo, and cacao, of which chocolate is made. As for sugar and tobacco and indigo, though no part of the world produces better than Mexico; and as for logwood, though it be in a manner peculiar to this country, yet, as the first is largely raised and manufactured

Digitized by Google

elsewhere, and as our own commerce in the two last is what chiefly interests an English reader, I shall reserve them to be treated of in the division I allot to the English colonies.

CHAPTER III.

THE GOLD AND SILVER MINES—THE MANNER OF PURIFYING THOSE METALS—SOME THOUGHTS ON THE GENERATION OF METALS—OF THE QUANTITY OF THOSE METALS PRODUCED IN THE SPANISH WEST INDIES.

It is not known with certainty, whether all or some provinces only of New Spain produce mines of gold and silver. It is, however, allowed that the chief mines of gold are in Veragua and New Granada, confining upon Darien and Terra Firma. Those of silver, which are much more rich as well as numerous, are found in several parts, but in none so much as in the province of Mexico. But all the mines, whether of gold or silver, are generally found in the mountainous and barren parts; Nature often making amends one way for her failures in another.

Gold is found either in the sand of rivers, native, and in small grains, or it is dug out of the earth in the same condition in small bits, almost wholly metallic, and of a tolerable purity; or it is found, like the ore of other metals, in an aggregate opaque mass, in a mixture of earth, stone, sulphur, and other metals. In this state it is of all colors, red, white, blackish, and making little or no ostentation of the riches it contains. Sometimes it forms a part of the ornament of some beautiful stones, which are of various lively colors, intersected with filaments of this metal, quite native. Lapis lazuli is one of these, which has always some small portions of gold; but this golden streaking is often extremely fallacious, and has betrayed many into ruinous expenses; for in several stones these fine veins have been nothing more than marcasite: how-

Digitized by Google

ever, such marcasites or fire stones are found in mines which contain real gold. But gold, howsoever found, whether native or in what is called the ore, is seldom or never without the mixture of other metals, generally silver or copper.

The gold mines, though they contain the richest of all metals, it is remarkable, most frequently disappoint the hopes and ruin the fortunes of those who engage in them; though neither the laboring of the mine, nor the purifying of the metal, is attended with such an expense as what those are obliged to, who work mines of the inferior metals. For the vein is, of all others, the most unequal; sometimes very large, full, and rich; then it often decays by a quick gradation, and is sometimes suddenly lost. But the ends of the veins are, on the other hand, often extremely rich; they are called the purse of the vein; and when the miner is so happy as to light on one of these purses, his fortune is made immediately.

When the ore is dug out, the most usual method is to break it to pieces in a mill, exactly resembling those large ones we use for grinding apples, wherein a millstone set on end is made to turn in a circular channel of stone. When the ore is thus broke, and the gold somewhat separated from the impure mass, they add to the whole a quantity of quicksilver. Quicksilver has, of all other bodies, the greatest attraction with gold, which therefore immediately breaks the links which held it to the former earth, and clings close to this congenial substance. Then a rapid stream of water is let into the channel, which, scouring away (through a hole made for the purpose) the lighter earth, by the briskness of its current, leaves the gold and mercury precipitated by its weight at the bottom. This amalgama, or paste, is put into a linen cloth, and squeezed so as to make the quicksilver separate and run out. To complete this separation, it is necessary to fuse the metal, and then all the mercury flies off in fumes.

But in many parts of Spanish America, another way of getting and purifying gold is practised. When by sure tokens they know that gold lies in the bed of a rivulet, they turn the current into the inward angles which time and the stream

Digitized by Google

have formed; whilst this runs, they dig and turn up the earth, to make it the more easily dissolved and carried off. When the surface is thus completely washed away, and they are come to a sort of stiff earth, which is the receptacle of gold, they return the stream into its former channel, and dig up the earth as they find it, which they carry to a little bason somewhat in the form of a smith's bellows. Into this they turn a small but a lively stream, to carry off the foreign matter, whilst they facilitate the operation by stirring the mass with an iron hook, which dissolves the earth, and gathers up the stones, which are carefully thrown out that they may not interrupt the passages that carry off the earth. By this means the gold, loosened from the gross matter which adhered to it, falls to the bottom, but mixed so intimately with a black heavy sand, that none of the gold can be perceived, unless it happens to be a pretty large grain. To separate it from this sand, it is put into a sort of wooden platter, with a little hollow of about the depth of half an inch at bottom. This platter they fill with water, and turning the mass about briskly with their hands for some time, the sand passes over the edges, and leaves the gold in small grains, pure, and of its genuine color, in the hollow at the bottom. Thus is gold refined without fire or mercury, merely by washing. The places where this is performed are called therefore Lavaderos by the Spaniards. There are many more methods of extracting and purifying this precious metal; but these are the most common ways used by the Spaniards in their Indies.

Silver is their metal next in rank, but first in consequence in the Spanish traffic, as their mines yield a much greater quantity of the latter than the former. It is found in the earth under different forms, as indeed the ore of all metal is. Such is the diversity of ores in this respect, that nothing but a long experience in this particular branch can exactly ascertain the species of the metal, which almost any ore contains at first view. I have seen specimens wherein the silver almost pure, twined itself about a white stone, penetrating into the interstices in the same manner that the roots of trees enter

Digitized by Google

into the rocks, and twist themselves about them. Some are of an ash-colored appearance, others spotted of a red and blue, some of changeable colors, and many almost black, affecting somewhat of a pointed regular form like crystals. I cannot find that it is ever found in grains of sand, native, as gold is.

The manner of refining silver does not differ essentially from the process which is employed for gold. They are both purified upon the same principle; by clearing away as much of the earth as can be, with water; by uniting or amalgamating it with mercury; and afterwards by clearing off the mercury itself, by straining and evaporation. But the management of silver in this respect is much more difficult than that of gold; because this metal is much more intimately united with the foreign matters with which it is found in the mine; and its attraction with mercury is much weaker; therefore there is great care taken in the amalgamation, and it is a long time before they are perfectly mixed. A quantity of sea salt is likewise added. No silver is had by mere washing.

The chemists have talked very freely of the production of these and other metals in the earth; of the salt, sulphur, and mercury that compose them; and the manner in which these substances are united and changed, so as to form metals and minerals of every species. Some have recourse to the sun as the great agent in this process, especially in gold and silver, as the most worthy such an operator. Others call in the aid of subterraneous fires and central heat. But in reality, they have advanced very little that is satisfactory upon this subject. They have never, by any method of joining the matters which they have assigned as the constituent parts of metals, in any proportions whatsoever, nor by any degrees of their great agent fire, been able to make metal of that which was not metal before. Neither have they found what they allot as the component parts of all metals in such a manner in all, as to enable them to fix any common principle for their generation. Some they cannot analyze by any art, as gold; they indeed define it a composition of a very subtile mercury, and a sulphur as subtile.

Digitized by Google

But how this comes to be known, when no process hitherto discovered has been able to extract either of these from gold, they who have advanced such things ought to tell. It is reasonable to believe, that there is some plastic principle in nature, perhaps something analogous to the seminal principle in plants and animals, whatever that is, which does not, as we know, resemble any known body, nor is composed of any combination of known bodies; but powerful of itself to combine and vary such a part of the common stock of matter as it is fitted to operate upon, which it draws to itself, and causes to form an animal or a plant, or a mineral, or a metal, of this or that nature, according to the original nature of the seed. Suppose a plant subjected to all the torture of the chemical question: you find it contains various matters; an earth, water, oil, salt, spirit, and in the three last perhaps something specific, and differing from other plants. But neither the same quantities of similar matter, nor these very matters themselves, can ever come to form a plant like the original, or any thing like a plant at all, because the seminal virtue is wanting; nor is it perhaps discoverable. And as for the other matters, they are the inert parts of the plant; without power themselves they are the materials with which, and on which, the seminal virtue acts, to organize the mass, to spread the branches, to shoot out the gems, to mature the fruit, and in short to perform all the functions of a complete plant. The same may be said of animals. And why not of minerals, though of a less nice organization? Why should they not have the seminal principle too, which, operating, by its own power and in a way of its own, upon the elements of air, earth, water, oil, and salt, is capable of producing iron, copper, gold, silver, and other metals. The want of this will always hinder us from being able to produce any metal from other than metalline ingredients, though we should take such things as resemble the ingredients, they yield upon an analysis, and in the same quantities in which we find them. This I do not say as favoring the notion that stones and metals vegetate exactly like plants. That these are often found

Digitized by Google

where they had formerly been exhausted, and that they are known to extend their dimensions, is pretty certain; but that they assimilate the heterogeneous matter which increases their bulk, in a manner analogous to plants, I cannot venture to propose. It must be allowed that silver has been found, and I have so seen it, extending itself among the interstices of stones, not unlike ivy and other parasite plants; yet, as a metal no way differing from it, or at all inferior, is extracted from ores, which have an appearance altogether different, and which too is the usual way, it is probable the manner in which they grow is not the same.

What I had to say of gold and silver, as both are found, and the latter in vast quantities, in Mexico, I thought proper, for the sake of avoiding repetitions, to bring under this head, though all the rest of the Spanish territories produce largely of both.

Of the plenty of gold and silver, which the mines of Mexico afford, great things have been said, and with justice; as this, with the other Spanish colonies in America, in a manner furnish the whole world with silver; and bear a great proportion in gold to the whole of what the world produces. A late very judicious collector of voyages says, that the revenues of Mexico can hardly fall short of twenty-four millions of our money. He founds this upon a return made by the bishops of their tenths, which, without doubt, were not overrated; and that these amounted to one million and a half sterling; that these are about a fourth of the revenues of the clergy; and that the estates of the clergy are about the fourth part of the whole revenues of the kingdom, which at this rate amount to twenty-four millions English. He takes another method of computing the wealth of this province, which is, by the fifth paid to the king of the gold and silver dug out of their mines. This, he observes, in the year 1730, amounted to one million of marks in silver, each mark equivalent to eight ounces; so that if we compute this silver at five shillings per ounce, then the inhabitants receive from their mines ten millions in money. What a prodigious idea must this calculation give us

Digitized by Google

of the united product of all the American mines! How much must be allowed in this accouut for the exaggeration of travelers, and the ostentation of Spaniards, I will not pretend to determine. The plate circulated in trade, or lying dead as the ornaments of churches and houses, though a great deal is undoubtedly employed in all these ways, did not seem to me to justify so vast a computation; but, as the gentleman who has considered this point with uncommon attention is of another opinion, I wave any further observation upon it.

CHAPTER IV.

OF COCHINEAL AND CACAO.

COCHINEAL, the next commodity for value which they export, is used in dyeing all the several kinds of the finest scarlet, crimson, and purple. After much dispute about the nature of this curious drug, it seems at last agreed, that it is of the animal kind; an insect of the species of the gall-insects. This animal is found adhering to various plants, but there is only one which communicates to it the qualities which make it valuable in medicine and manufactures. This plant is called Opuntia by the botanists. It consists wholly of thick succulent oval leaves, joined end to end, and spreading out on the sides in various ramifications. The flower is large, and the fruit in shape resembling a fig; this fruit is full of a crimson juice, and to this juice it is that the cochineal insect owes its color.

When the rainy seasons come on, they who cultivate this plant, cut off those heads which abound most with such insects, as are not yet at their full growth; and preserve them very carefully from the weather and all other injuries. These branches, though separated from their parent stocks, preserve their freshness and juices a long time; and this enables the insect not only to live out the rains, but to grow to its full

Digitized by Google

size, and be in readiness to bring forth its young, as soon as the inclemency of the season is over. When this time comes on, they are brought out, and placed upon the proper plants, disposed in little nests of some mossy substance. As soon as they feel the enlivening influence of the fresh air, they bring forth in three or four days from their exposure at farthest. The young, scarce bigger than a mite, runs about with wonderful celerity, and the whole plantation is immediately peopled; yet, what is somewhat singular, this animal, so lively in its infancy, quickly loses all its activity, and, attaching itself to some of the least exposed and most succulent part of the leaf, it clings there for life, without ever moving, not wounding the leaf for its sustenance, but sucking with a proboscis, with which it is furnished for this purpose.

What is not less remarkable than the way of life of this animal, is the nature of the male, which has no appearance of belonging to the same species; far from being fixed to a spot, he has wings, and is, like the butterfly, continually in motion; they are smaller than the cochineal, and constantly seen amongst them, and walking over them without being suspected by those who take care of the insect, of being a creature of the same kind, though they believe that the cochineals are impregnated by them. But it is the female cochineal only which is gathered for use.

They make four gatherings in a year, which are so many generations of this animal. When they are sufficiently careful, they brush off the insects one by one with a sort of hair pencils, and take them as they fall; but they often brush the whole plant in a careless manner, so that fragments of it are mixed with the cochineals and themselves mixed, the old and young together, which carelessness abates much of the value; but what chiefly makes the goodness of this commodity is, the manner of killing and drying the cochineals, which is performed three ways; the first is by dipping the basket in which it is gathered into boiling water, and afterwards drying them in the sun; this the Spaniards call *renegrida*. The second method is by drying them in ovens made for the pur-

Digitized by Google

pose; this from its grey color, veined with purple, is called *jaspeade.* The third manner is, when the Indians dry them on their cakes of maize which are baked on flat stones; this last is the worst kind, as it is generally overbaked, and something burned. They call it *negra.*

This drug has a very uncommon good quality, and the more extraordinary, as it belongs to the animal kingdom and to the most perishable of that kind, that it never decays. Without any other care than having been put by in a box, some have been known to keep sixty, some even upwards of a hundred years, and as fit for the purposes of medicine, or manufacture, as ever it was. It is used in medicine as a cordial and sudorific, in which intentions few things answer better. And indeed, as it answers such good purposes in medicine, is so essential in trade, and produced only in this country, it may be considered in all markets as equivalent to gold or silver, by the certainty and quickness of the sale. It is computed they annually export no less than nine hundred thousand pounds weight of this commodity.

The cocao, or cacao, of which chocolate is made, is a considerable article in the natural history and commerce of New Spain. It grows upon a tree of a middling size; the wood is spungy and porous, the bark smooth, and of a cinnamon color: the flower grows in bunches between the stalks and the wood, of the form of roses, but small, and without any scent. The fruit is a sort of pod, which contains the cacao, much about the size and shape of a cucumber. Within there is a pulp of a most refreshing acid taste, which fills up the interstices between the nuts before they are ripe, but when they fully ripen, these nuts are packed up wonderfully close, and in a most regular and elegant order; they have a pretty tough shell, and within this is the oily rich substance of which chocolate is made. This fruit grows differently from our European fruits, which always hang upon the small branches; but this grows along the body of the great ones, principally at the joints. None are found upon the small, which, though it is a manner of vegetation unknown here, prevails in several

Digitized by Google

other plants within the tropics. This cacao is a very tender tree, equally impatient of the wind, heat or cold, and will flourish only in the shade; for which reason, in the cacao walks, they always plant a palm-tree for every one of cacao. I need say little of the use of this fruit; it is general amongst ourselves, and its virtues well known; but, however the great external call for it may be, the internal consumption is much greater: so that in Mexico and Terra Firma, in some provinces of which latter it is found in the greatest perfection, their foreign and domestic commerce in this article is immense, and the profits so great, that a small garden of the cacaos is said to produce twenty thousand crowns a year; though I believe this to be exaggerated: it shows, however, in what a light of profit this commodity is considered. At home it makes the principal part of their diet, and is found wholesome, nutritious, and suitable to the climate. This fruit is often confounded with the cocoa nut, which is a species wholly different.

CHAPTER V.

THE TRADE OF MEXICO—SOME ACCOUNT OF THAT CITY—THE FAIRS OF ACAPULCO AND LA VERA CRUZ—THE FLOTA AND REGISTER SHIPS.

The trade of Mexico may be considered as consisting of three great branches by which it communicates with the whole world; the trade with Europe by La Vera Cruz; the trade with the East Indies by Acapulco; and the commerce of the South Sea by the same port. The places in New Spain, which can interest a stranger, are therefore three only, La Vera Cruz, Acapulco, and Mexico.

Mexico, the capital of the kingdom, the residence of the viceroy, the seat of the first audience or chamber of justice, and an archbishopric, is certainly one of the richest and most

Digitized by Google

splendid cities, not only in America, but in the whole world. Though no seaport town, nor communicating with the sea by any navigable river, it has a prodigious commerce, and is itself the centre of all that is carried on between America and Europe on one hand, and between America and the East Indies on the other; for here the principal merchants reside, the greatest part of the business is negotiated; and the goods sent from Acapulco, to La Vera Cruz, or from La Vera Cruz to Acapulco, for the use of the Philippines, and in a great measure for the use of Peru and Lima, all pass through this city, and employ an incredible number of horses and mules in the carriage. Hither all the gold and silver come to be coined, here the king's fifth is deposited, and here is wrought all that immense quantity of utensils and ornaments in plate, which is every year sent into Europe. Every thing here has the greatest air of magnificence and wealth; the shops glitter upon all sides with the exposure of gold, silver, and jewels, and surprise yet more by the work of the imagination upon the treasures which fill great chests piled up to the ceilings, whilst they wait the time of being sent to Old Spain. It is said that the negro wenches, who run by the coaches of the ladies there, wear bracelets of gold, pearl necklaces, and jewels in their ears, whilst the black footboys are all over covered with lace and embroidery. It cannot exactly be ascertained what number of people are in this city. It is certainly very considerable, by many not made less than seventy or eighty thousand. This city itself is well and regularly built, though the houses are not lofty; the monasteries are numerous and richly endowed, and the churches extravagantly rich in their ornaments, though comparatively poor in the taste of their architecture.

The port nearest to this city is Acapulco, upon the South Sea, upwards of two hundred miles distant from the capital. Acapulco itself has one of the deepest, securest, and most commodious harbors, in the South Sea, and indeed almost the only one which is good upon the western coast of New Spain. The entrance of the harbor is defended by a castle of tolera-

Digitized by Google

ble strength; the town itself is but ill built, and makes every way a miserable figure, except at the time of the fairs, when it entirely changes its appearance, and becomes one of the most considerable marts in the world. About the month of December, the great galleon, which makes the whole communication that is between America and the Philippines, after a voyage of five months, and sailing three thousand leagues without seeing any other land than the Little Ladrones, arrives here loaded with all the rich commodities of the east; cloves, pepper, cinnamon, nutmegs, mace, china, japan wares, calicoes plain and painted, chintz, muslins of every sort, silks, precious stones, rich drugs, and gold dust. At the same time the annual ship from Lima comes in, and is not computed to bring less than two millions of pieces of eight in silver, besides quicksilver, cacao, drugs, and other valuable commodities, to be laid out in the purchase of the commodities of the East Indies. Several other ships from different parts of Chili and Peru meet upon the same occasion; and, besides the traffic for the Philippine commodities, this causes a very large dealing for every thing those countries have to exchange with one another, as well as for the purchase of all sorts of European goods. The fair lasts sometimes for thirty days. As soon as the goods are disposed of, the galleon prepares to set out on her voyage to the Philippines with her returns, chiefly in silver, but with some European goods too, and some other commodities of America. I speak here, as though there were but one vessel on the trade with the Philippines; and in fact there is only nominally one trading vessel, the galleon itself, of about twelve hundred tons; but another attends her commonly as a sort of convoy, which generally carries such a quantity of goods as pretty much disables her from performing that office. The galleon has often above a thousand people on board, either interested in the cargo, or merely passengers; and there is no trade in which so large profits are made; the captain of the vessel, the pilots, their mates, and even the common sailors, making in one voyage, what in their several ranks may be considered as easy fortunes. It is said, by the

Digitized by Google

writer of Lord Anson's voyage, that the Jesuits have the profits of this ship to support their missions; and if so, their gains must be extremely great, and must add much to the consequence of a society which has as great a reputation for its riches as its wisdom.

This commerce to so vast a value, though carried on directly between the king of Spain's own dominions, enriches them in proportion but very little; the far greater part of every thing that comes from the Philippines being the produce, or the fabric, of other countries; the Spaniards add none of the artificial value of labor to any thing. The Chinese are largely interested in this cargo, and it is to them they are indebted for the manufacturing of such of their plate, as is wrought into any better fashion than rude ingots or inelegant coins. When this fair is over, the town is comparatively deserted; however, it remains for the whole year the most considerable port in Mexico, for the trade with Peru and Chili, which is not very great. The East-India goods brought hither are carried on mules to Mexico, from whence what exceeds their own consumption is sent by land carriage to La Vera Cruz, to pass over the Terra Firma, to the islands, and some even to Old Spain, though in no great quantity.

From the port of La Vera Cruz it is that the great wealth of Mexico is poured out upon all the old world; and it is from this port alone, that they receive the numberless luxuries and necessaries that the old world yields them in return. To this port the annual fleet from Cadiz, called the flota, arrives about the latter end of November, after a passage of nine weeks. This fleet, which sails only from Cadiz, consists of about three men of war as a convoy, and fourteen or fifteen large merchant ships, from four hundred to one thousand tons burthen. They are loaded almost with every sort of goods which Europe produces for export; all sorts of woolens, linens, silks, velvets, laces, glass, paper, cutlery, all sorts of wrought iron, watches, clocks, quicksilver, horse furniture, shoes, stockings, books, pictures, military stores, wines, and fruits; so that all the trading parts of Europe are highly interested in the cargo of

Digitized by Google

this fleet. Spain itself sends out little more than the wine and fruit. This, with the freight and commissions to the merchant and the duty to the king, is almost all the advantage which that kingdom derives from her commerce with the Indies. It is strictly prohibited to load any commodities on board this fleet without entering the goods, the value, and the owner's name, in the India-house at Seville; and when they return, they must bring a certificate, from the proper office there, that the goods were duly landed, and in the proper port. They are not permitted to break bulk upon any account until they arrive at La Vera Cruz, nor are they suffered to take in any other than Spanish passengers, nor them without a license first obtained at the India-house.

Jealousy is the glaring character of the court of Spain in whatever regards their American empire; and they often sacrifice their prosperity to an excessive regard to the security of their possessions. They attend in this trade principally to two objects; the exclusion of all strangers from any share in it, and the keeping up of the market for such goods as they send; and they think both these ends best answered by sending out only one annual fleet, and that from one only port in Spain, and to one port only in Mexico. These views, which would be impolitic in any power in Europe besides, are judicious enough in Spain; because, the goods they send belonging mostly to strangers, and the profits upon the sale in the Indies being the only thing that really accrues to themselves, it is certainly right to consult primarily how they shall get the greatest returns upon the smallest quantity of goods. It would be quite otherwise, if all, or most of what they send abroad, were their own produce or manufacture. They are undoubtedly right too in keeping the trade very carefully to themselves, though perhaps the means taken to attain this end will not be thought so rational. By suffering all the trade to be carried on only between two ports, they discourage in the old world all their towns from that emulation, which would not only enable them to traffic in foreign commodities, but in time to set up fabrics of their own; whereas now, with regard

Digitized by Google

to the export of their commodities, they stand upon the level of strangers; they cannot carry their produce directly to the best market; and it is very certain, that even trifling discouragements operate very powerfully where the commercial spirit is weak, and the trade in its infancy. Again; in the new world, this confinement of the trade encourages interlopers, and an illicit commerce, too gainful for any regulation to prevent, and which may afford such bribes as will disarm the most rigid justice and lull the most attentive vigilance. So that in reality it may greatly be doubted, whether the precautions, so systematically pursued, and improved from time to time with so much care and foresight, are at bottom of most advantage or prejudice to that nation. It was probably some consideration of this kind, that first gave rise to the custom of register ships: it was found that this confined commerce supplied its extensive object very imperfectly; and that those who were at watch to pour in contraband goods would take advantage of this want of a regular supply from Spain. When therefore a company of merchants of Cadiz or Seville judge that goods must be wanting at any certain port in the West Indies, the course is, to petition the council of the Indies for license to send a ship of three hundred tons, or under, to that port. They pay for this license forty or fifty thousand dollars, besides presents to the officers, in proportion to the connivance necessary to their design; for though the license runs to three hundred tons at the utmost, the vessel fitted out is seldom really less than six hundred. This ship and cargo is registered at the pretended burthen. It is required too, that a certificate be brought from the king's officer at the port to which the register ship is bound, that she does not exceed the size at which she is registered; all this passes of course; these are what they call register ships, and by these the trade of Spanish America has been carried on principally for some years past, some think, as much to the prejudice of their trade, as contrary to all their former maxims in carrying it on. But to return to the flota.

When all the goods are landed and disposed of at La Vera

Digitized by Google

Cruz, the fleet takes in the plate, precious stones, cochineal, indigo, cacao, tobacco, sugar, and hides, which are their returns for Old Spain. Sometimes in May, but more frequently in August, they are ready to depart. From La Vera Cruz they sail to the Havanna in the isle of Cuba, which is the place of rendezvous where they meet the galleons; another fleet, which carries on all the trade of Terra Firma by Carthagena, and of Peru by Panama and Porto-bello, in the same manner that the flota serves for that of New Spain. When they arrive at this port, and join the galleons and the register ships that collect at the same port from all quarters, some of the cleanest and best sailing of their vessels are despatched to Spain, with advice of the contents of these several fleets, as well as with treasure and goods of their own, that the court may judge what *indulto* or duty is proper to be laid on them, and what convoy is necessary for their safety. These fleets generally make some stay at the Havanna before all the ships that compose them are collected and ready to sail. As soon as this happens, they quit the Havanna, and beat through the gulf of Florida, and, passing between the Bahama islands, hold their course to the north-east, until they come to the height of St. Augustin, and then steer away to Old Spain. When the flota has left La Vera Cruz, it has no longer the appearance of a place of consequence; it is a town in a very unhealthy situation, inhabited scarcely by any but Indians, Meztezes, or negroes. All the merchants of any consequence reside at some distance, at a place called Los Angelos. This town may contain about three thousand inhabitants.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER VI.

THREE SORTS OF PEOPLE IN NEW SPAIN—THE WHITES, INDIANS, AND NEGROES; THE CHARACTERS OF THOSE—THE CLERGY, THEIR CHARACTERS—THE CIVIL GOVERNMENT, ITS CHARACTER.

The inhabitants of New Spain are composed of people of three different races; Whites, Indians, and Negroes, or the several mixtures of those. The Whites are either born in Old Spain, or they are Creoles; those who are native Spaniards are mostly in offices, or in trade, and have the same character and manners with the Spaniards of Europe; the same gravity of behavior, the same natural sagacity and good sense, the same indolence, and yet a greater share of pride and stateliness; for here they look upon the being natives of Old Spain as a very honorable distinction, and are in return looked upon by the Creoles with no small share of hatred and envy. The latter have little of that firmness and patience which makes one of the finest parts of the character of the native Spaniard. They have little courage, and are universally weak and effeminate. Living as they do in a constant enervating heat, surfeited with wealth, and giving up their whole time to loitering and inactive pleasures, they have nothing bold or manly to fit them for making a figure in active life; and few or none have any taste for the satisfaction of a learned retirement. Luxurious without variety or elegance, and expensive with great parade and little conveniency, their general character is no more than a grave and specious insignificance.

They are temperate at their tables and in their cups, but, from idleness and constitution, their whole business is amour and intrigue; these they carry on in the old Spanish taste, by doing and saying extravagant things, by bad music, worse poetry, and excessive expenses. Their ladies are little celebrated for their chastity or domestic virtues: but they are still

Digitized by Google

a good deal restrained by the old-fashioned etiquette, and they exert a genius, which is not contemptible, in combating the restraints which that lays them under.

The clergy are extremely numerous, and their wealth and influence cannot be doubted amongst so rich and superstitious a people. It is said, that they actually possess a fourth of the revenues of that whole kingdom; which, after all abatements, certainly amounts to several millions. And as to their numbers, it is not extravagant to say, that priests, monks, and nuns of all orders, are upwards of one fifth of all the white people, both here and in the other parts of Spanish America. But, the clergy here being too ignorant in general to be able instructers by their preaching, and too loose and debauched in their own manners to instruct by their example, the people are little the better for their numbers, wealth, or influence. Many of them are no other than adventurers from Old Spain, who, without regard to their character or their vows, study nothing but how to raise a sudden fortune, by abusing the ignorance and extreme credulity of the people. A great deal of attention is paid to certain mechanical methods of devotion. Moral duties are little talked of. An extreme veneration for saints, lucrative to the orders they have founded or are supposed to patronize, is strongly inculcated, and makes the general subject of their sermons designed rather to raise a stupid admiration of their miracles, than an imitation of the sanctity of their lives. However, having said this, it must be considered as all general observations, with the reasonable allowances; for many of the dignified clergy, and others among them, understand, and practise, the duties of their station; and some whole orders as that of the Jesuits, are here, as they are elsewhere, distinguishable for their learning and the decency of their behavior. And certainly, with all their faults, in one respect their zeal is highly commendable; that they are the cause of several charitable foundations; and that they bring the Indians and blacks into some knowledge of religion, and in some measure mitigate their slavery. This too has a good political effect; for those slaves are more faith-

Digitized by Google

ful than ours, and, though indulged with greater liberty, are far less dangerous. I do not remember that any insurrection has been ever attempted by them; and the Indians are reduced to more of a civilized life than they are in the colonies of any other European nation.

This race of people are now, whatever they were formerly, humble, dejected, timorous, and docile; they are generally treated with great indignity. The state of all people subjected to another people is infinitely worse than what they suffer from the pressure of the worst form, or the worst administration, of any government of their own.

The blacks here, as they are imported from Africa, have the same character as the blacks of our colonies; stubborn, hardy, of an ordinary understanding, and fitted for the gross slavery they endure.

Such are the characters of the people, not only of New Spain, but of all Spanish America. When any thing materially different occurs, I shall not fail to mention it.

The civil government is administered by tribunals, which here are called audiences, consisting of a certain number of judges, divided into different chambers, more resembling the parliaments in France than our courts. At the head of the chief of these chambers the viceroy himself presides when he sees fit. His employment is one of the greatest trust and power the king of Spain has in his gift; and is perhaps the richest government entrusted to any subject in the world. All employments here are held only by native Spaniards, and by them but for a certain limited time; most not above three years. Jealousy, in this respect, as in all others relative to the Indies, is the spirit that influences all their regulations; and it has this very bad effect; that every officer, from the highest to the lowest, has the avidity which a new and lucrative post inspires; ravenous because his time is short, he oppresses the people and defrauds the crown; another succeeds him with the same dispositions: and no man is careful to establish any thing useful in his office, knowing that his successor will be sure to trample upon every regulation which is

Digitized by Google

not subservient to his own interests; so that this enslaved people has not the power of putting in use the fox's policy, of letting the first swarm of bloodsuckers stay on, but is obliged to submit to be drained by a constant succession of hungry and impatient harpies.

There are some troops kept in New Spain, and a good revenue appropriated for their maintenance, and for the support of the fortifications there; but the soldiers are few; ill clothed, ill paid, and worse disciplined; the military here keep pace with the civil and ecclesiastical administration, and every thing is a job.

CHAPTER VII.

NEW MEXICO—ITS DISCOVERY—CLIMATE—PRODUCTS—THE ENGLISH CLAIM TO CALIFORNIA.

New Mexico lies to the north and north-east of New Spain. Its bounds to the north are not ascertained. Taking in California, it has the great South Sea to the west, and to the east it is bounded by the French pretensions on the Mississippi. This country lies for the most part within the temperate zone, and has a most agreeable climate, and a soil in many places productive of every thing for profit or delight. It has rich mines of silver, and some of gold, which are worked more and more every day; and it produces precious stones of several kinds; but it has no direct intercourse with any part of Europe. The country is but little known at all to Europeans; and the Spanish settlements there are comparatively weak; however, they are every day increasing in proportion as they discover mines; which are here not inferior to any that have been discovered in the other parts of America. The inhabitants are mostly Indians, but in many places lately reduced, by the Spanish missionaries, to Christianity, to a civilized life, to follow trades, and to raise corn and wine,

Digitized by Google

which they now export pretty largely to Old Mexico. This useful change was principally effected at the expense of a Spanish nobleman, the Marquis Velasco, whom the reverend author of Lord Anson's voyage calls, for that reason, a munificent bigot.

The famous peninsula of California is a part, and far from an inconsiderable part, of this country. It is a place finely situated for trade, and has a pearl fishery of great value. It was discovered by the great conqueror of Mexico, Hernando Cortes. Our famous admiral and navigator Sir Francis Drake landed there, and took possession of it in 1578; and he not only took possession but obtained the best right in the world to the possession; the principal king having formally invested him with his principality. However, I do not find that we have thought of asserting that right since his time; but it may probably employ, in some future age, the pens of those lawyers who dispute with words what can only be decided by the sword, and will afford large matter upon the right of discovery, occupancy, and settlement.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CLIMATE AND SOIL OF PERU—ITS PRODUCE—THE MINES, THE COCA AND HERB OF PARAGUAY.

The conquest of Peru, achieved in so extraordinary a manner, brought into the power of Spain a country not less wealthy and nearly as extensive as Mexico; but far beyond it for the conveniency of habitation and the agreeableness of the climate. Like Mexico, it is within the torrid zone; yet, having on one side the South Sea, and on the other the great ridge of the Andes through its whole length, the joint effects of the ocean and the mountains temper the equinoctial heat in a manner equally agreeable and surprising. With a sky for the most part cloudy, which shields them from the rays of the

Digitized by Google

vertical sun, it never rains in this country. But every night a soft benign dew broods upon the earth, and refreshes the grass and plants so as to produce in some parts the greatest fertility; what the dew wants in perfecting this, is wrought by the vast number of streams, to which the frequent rains and the daily melting of the snow on those astonishing mountains give rise; for those mountains though within the tropics, have their tops continually covered with snow, which is an appearance unparalleled in the same climate. Along the sea-coast, Peru is generally a dry barren sand, except by the banks of the rivers and streams we have mentioned, where it is extremely fertile, as are all the valleys in the hilly country.

The cause of the want of rain in all the flat country of Peru is difficult to be assigned; though the agents in it are not improbably the constant south-west wind that prevails there for the greatest part of the year; and the immense height of the mountains cold with a constant snow. The plain country between, refreshed as it is on the one hand by the cool winds that blow without any variation from the frigid regions of the south, and heated as uniformly by the direct rays of the equinoctial sun, preserves such an equal temper, that the vapor once elevated can hardly ever descend in rain: but in the mountainous part of the country, by the alternate contraction and dilatation of the air from the daily heats and the succeeding colds, which the snows communicate in the absence of the sun, as well as from the unequal temper of the air which prevails in all hilly places, the rain falls very plentifully; the climate in the mountainous countries is extremely changeable, and the changes sudden.

All along the coast of Peru, a current sets strongly to the north; further out to sea, it passes with equal rapidity to the south. This current probably moves eddywise; for, having run as far as its moving cause impels it, it naturally passes back again where it has least resistance. The ignorance of this double current made the navigation in the South Seas originally very uncertain and fatiguing; but now the course is, for those who pass from Chili to Peru, to keep in to the

Digitized by Google

shore in their passage to Callao, and on their return to stand out a great many leagues to sea, and take the southern current homewards. The same method, but reversed, is observed in the voyages between Panama and all the other northern countries and the ports of Peru.

The commodities of Peru, for export, may be reduced to these articles. First, silver and gold; secondly, wine, oil, and brandy; thirdly, Vigonia wool; fourthly, Jesuits' bark; fifthly, Guinea or Jamaica pepper. Of the first of these articles we have already treated in our description of Mexico. The mines of gold in Peru are almost all in the northern part, not very remote from Lima; those of silver almost wholly in the southern. The voyagers who treat of this country are generally pretty diffuse in their accounts of the principal places, where mines are found; but it does not therefore give us encouragement to insist much on these particulars, because they contain very little instruction in themselves; and if they were things in their own nature instructive, it would be little to the purpose to dwell upon what is continually changing. New mines are daily opened, and the old exhausted or deserted. The towns shift with the mines. A rich mine is always the founder of a town in proportion to its produce; the town which it subsists, when the mine is exhausted, disappears. Indeed the great mines of Potosi in the province of Los Charcas are the inheritance of ages; and, after having enriched the world for centuries, still continue the inexhaustible sources of new treasure. They are not however quite so valuable now as formerly; not so much from any failure of the vein, as from the immense depth to which they have pursued it, which, by the greater labor necessary, lessens the profit on what it yields in proportion as they descend; besides, new mines are daily opened which are worked at less expense: so that the accounts we have had of the great number which inhabited the city of Potosi, when Mr. Frezier was in that country, must have since suffered some abatement. It had then upwards of seventy thousand souls, Spaniards and Indians; of which the latter were six to one.

Digitized by Google

The Spaniards oblige this unfortunate people to send annually a certain number from the villages of the adjacent country, who are compelled to work for a limited time; afterwards they may return. But, having lost the sweetness of their former connections, they that survive this slavery commonly settle in the city of Potosi. It is incredible how these mines (the most terrible scourge with which God could afflict the inhabitants) have contributed to depopulate this country. Worse they are than sword or pestilence; equally fatal to their lives; and where those escape, they are embittered by the circumstance of an ignominious slavery without any prospect of end or mitigation. The effects of this servitude would be yet more fatal, if it were not for the use of an herb which the inhabitants call coca, to which they ascribe the most extraordinary virtues, and which they constantly use. Its qualities seem to be of the opiate kind, and to have some resemblance to those of tobacco; for it produces a kind of stupid composure. It is an antidote against poisons and poisonous effluvia, and makes those who use it subsist a long time without food. Though necessary to those only who work in the mines, it is used for pleasure by all the Indians, who chew it constantly, though it makes those who use it stink in a most offensive manner. This herb is gathered by the Indians with many superstitious ceremonies, to which they attribute its virtues; for which reason it is, in many parts of Peru, with equal superstition, strictly forbidden; the Spaniards, as well as the Indians, giving the credit of its effects to magic, and allowing to these more than they deserve; for they think the Indians' superiority in strength owing principally to them. However, notwithstanding the severity of the inquisition, which is established in all the Spanish dominions with great terror, necessity makes them wink at the practice where the mines are worked.

They make use of another preservative, an infusion of the herb of Paraguay; something of the nature of tea. The consumption of this in Peru by all ranks of people is prodigious. Above 18,000 hundred weight is annually brought into Chili

Digitized by Google

and Peru, and is worth, when the duty is paid, not less than 80,000 pounds sterling. The finest of this species of tea comes from the country of the Jesuits.

CHAPTER IX.

THE WINES OF PERU—THE WOOL—THE LAMAS AND VICUNNAS, SHEEP OF PERU—JESUITS' BARK—GUINEA PEPPER—THE DUNG OF IQUIQUA—QUICKSILVER MINES.

The southern part of Peru, which lies without the tropic of Capricorn, produces wine in great plenty, but not in a perfection proportionable. The Spaniards dislike and leave it to the Indians and negroes, choosing rather what may seem odd, to regale in the brandy of the same wine, which is likewise made and exported in large quantities, not only to all parts of Peru, but to Panama, and the ports of New Spain. The greatest quantity is made near a place otherwise of no consequence, called Moquaga; here, it is said, they make annually of wine and brandy one hundred thousand jars, which Mr. Frezier reckons at three million two hundred thousand Paris pints. A vast quantity in a small territory. The value of this produce is four hundred thousand pieces of eight. Other places trade in wine, such as Pisco, but of a goodness not superior. Oil is likewise had in Peru; but both the wine and oil are mostly the produce of those places that lie beyond the southern tropic.

Wool makes one of the most valuable commodities of the growth of this country. And it is not more remarkable for its fine long staple, than for the singularity of the animal which carries it. It is sheered from a sort of sheep, which they call lamas and vicunnas; the lamas have small heads, resembling in some measure both a horse and a sheep; the upper lip is cleft like that of the hare, through which, when they are enraged, they spit, even to ten paces distance, a sort

Digitized by Google

of envenomed juice, which, when it falls on the skin, causes a red spot and great itching. The neck is long like that of a camel; the body resembles that of a sheep, but the legs are much longer in proportion. This animal has a disagreeable smell, but its flesh is good; and it is extremely useful, not only for the wool, which is very long and fine, but as it is a beast of burthen, strong, patient, and kept at a very easy expense. It seldom carries above one hundred and fifty pounds weight, but then it carries that weight a vast way without tiring, eats very little, and never drinks. As soon as night comes, the lama lies down; and no blows can get him to move one foot after the time he destines for his rest and food.

The vicunna is an animal resembling the lama, pretty much as the dromedary does the camel. He is smaller and swifter, with a far finer wool, but otherwise exactly like the lama in all respects. The wool of these creatures is almost as fine as silk. Probably the famous sheep of Cachmire, of whose wool they make the little white cloths so much valued in India, is of this species. I cannot ascertain what quantity of this wool is exported, manufactured or raw, out of Peru, either to New or Old Spain; but I have reason to believe it is not inconsiderable.

The fourth great article of their commerce is Jesuits' bark, so well known in medicine as a specific in intermitting disorders, and the many other great purposes which experience daily finds it to answer. The tree which produces this valuable bark grows principally in the mountainous parts of Peru, and that most and best in the province of Quito. Condamine informs us, that it grows on the hither side of the Andes no way inferior to the Peruvian in quantity and goodness; the best is produced on the high and rocky grounds; and it is not singular in this, for it seems in a good measure to be the case of all plants, whose juices are much more strong and effective when elaborated in such situations. The tree which bears it is about the size of a cherry-tree; its leaves are round and indented; it bears a long reddish flower, from

Digitized by Google

whence arises a sort of husk, which envelopes a flat and white kernel, not unlike an almond. This bark was first introduced in France by the Cardinal Lago, a Jesuit, about the year 1650. Hence it had its name of Jesuits' bark. It is said to have been discovered by the accident of an Indian's drinking in a fever of the water of a lake into which some of these trees had fallen, and by which he was cured. This medicine, as usual, was held in defiance for a good while by the faculty; but, after an obstinate defence, they have thought proper at last to surrender. Notwithstanding all the mischiefs at first foreseen in its use, every body knows that it is at this day innocently and efficaciously prescribed in a great variety of cases; for which reason it makes a considerable and valuable part of the cargo of the galleons.

Guinea pepper, agi, or, as it is called by us, Cayenne pepper, is a very great article in the trade of Peru, as it is used all over Spanish America in almost every thing they eat. This is produced in the greatest quantity in the vale of Arica, a district in the southern parts of Peru, from whence they export it to the annual value of six hundred thousand crowns. The district which produces this pepper in such abundance is but small and naturally barren; its fertility in pepper, as well as in grain and fruits, is owing to the advantage of a species of a very extraordinary manure, brought from an island called Iquiqua. This is a sort of yellowish earth, of a fetid smell. It is generally thought to be the dung of birds, because of the similitude of the scent; feathers having been found very deep in it, and vast numbers of sea fowls appearing upon that and all the adjacent coasts. But, on the other hand, whether we look upon this substance as the dung of these sea fowls or a particular species of earth, it is almost equally difficult to conceive how the small island of Iquiqua, not above two miles in circumference, could supply such immense quantities; and yet, after supplying upwards of twelve ship loads annually for a century together for the distant parts, and a vastly larger quantity for the use of the neighborhood, it cannot be observed that it is in the least diminished, or that the height

Digitized by Google

of the island is at all lessened. But these are matters which, to handle properly, require a more exact knowledge of all the circumstances relating to them than can be gathered from travelers.

Quicksilver is a remarkable article in their trade, because the purification of their gold and silver depends upon it. I do not find that any other part of the Spanish America produces it; so that Mexico and Terra Firma are supplied from Old Spain with all they want of that mineral, which is brought them on the king's account only; except that some arrives from Peru in a contraband manner. In Peru likewise it is monopolized by the crown. The principal mine of this extraordinary substance is at a place called Guancavelica, where it is found in a whitish mass resembling brick ill burned; this they pound and put into a furnace vaulted at the top; it is laid upon an iron grate covered with earth. Through this the fire passes, and, volatilizing the mineral, it is raised in a smoke, which, finding no passage but through a little hole contrived for that purpose, rushes through into a succession of little round vessels united to each other by the necks; here the smoke circulates, and it condenses by means of a little water at the bottom of each vessel, into which the quicksilver falls in a pure heavy liquid. The men who work in the mines of this mineral are yet more subject to diseases than those who toil in the others; and they make use of the same preservatives of Paraguay, tea, and coca.

CHAPTER X.

THE CHARACTER OF THE PERUVIANS—THEIR DIVISIONS—THE INDIAN FESTIVAL—HONORS PAID TO A DESCENDANT OF THE YNCA.

The manners of the Spaniards and creolians of Peru resemble, with little difference, those of the Spaniards and creolians of Mexico, other than that the natives of Peru seem to

Digitized by Google

be of a more liberal turn, and of greater ingenuity; but they are for the greater part equally destitute of all cultivation. The slavery of the Indians is here yet more severe. The magistrate and the priest devour their whole substance; and every Spaniard, as some authors report, insults them with impunity. The traveler takes as much of their provisions as he pleases, and decides for himself what he shall pay, or whether he shall pay any thing at all. Complaints are answered with new indignities, and with blows, which it is a crime to return. This cruel irregular bondage contributes to dispeople this country even more then the methodical tyranny of the government. To avoid the plunder he is hourly subject to, the master of the family often raises no more grain than what just suffices for the sustenance of his family; this he buries, and keeps the secret of his hoard to himself, only drawing out daily just so much as serves for the use of the day. If he chances to die suddenly, the family starves; if a bad season comes, the calculated produce falls short, and they are all reduced to beggary. Yet worse, they are even the slaves of slaves; for the Spaniards encourage their negroes to treat them with the greatest insolence; and they politically keep up a rancor, now grown inveterate, between these two races of people. They are forbidden, under the severest penalties, to marry, or to have an unlawful intercourse together. Division is the great instrument in which the Spaniards trust for the preservation of their colonies. The native Spaniard has alone all the lucrative offices, civil, ecclesiastical, and military. He despises the creolian. The creolian hates and envies him. Both contemn and maltreat the Indians, who, on their side, are not insensible to the indignities they suffer. The blacks are encouraged to trample on the Indians, and to consider their interests as altogether opposite; whilst the Indians in their nominal freedom look with an envious disdain upon the slavery of the negroes, which makes them their masters.

What is extraordinary, the Spaniards, not content with reducing this unhappy nation under so cruel a yoke, as if they thought it nothing unless they were thoroughly sensible of its

Digitized by Google

weight, suffer the Indians to celebrate an annual festival, in which plays are represented commemorating the overthrow of their own state. These are acted with all the horrid and aggravating circumstances which attend this event; and the people are at this time so enraged, that the Spaniards find it dangerous to go abroad. In the city of Lima there is annually celebrated a festival of this kind, with a grand procession, wherein they carry in a sort of triumph the remaining descendant of the yncas of Peru and his wife; who at that time receive all imaginable honors in the most melancholy pomp, from a race bowed down with the sense of the common bondage of prince and people. This throws the most affecting gloom over the festival that renews the image of their former freedom. To this remaining ynca the viceroy of Peru does homage when he enters upon his government. The ynca sits upon a lofty stage, and the viceroy makes his obeisance upon a horse, who is taught to kneel upon the occasion. This manner of proceeding may be thought of as the most refined strain of insolent tyranny, and to be as unpolitic as it is insulting; but it is not impossible that those vents, which they suffer the indignation of the people to take, may carry off a spirit that might otherwise break out in a much more fatal manner. Whether by the division they keep up, or by these vents, or by the management of the clergy, or by whatever means, the Spaniards preserve their conquests with very little force; the Indians are even armed, and make a considerable part of their militia; it is true, they are interdicted the use of weapons without license; but license is procured without much difficulty. They have likewise a large number of free blacks, and they too are formed into companies in their militia. Certain it is, that, both in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, they find slavery compatible enough with great license in some respects, and both with the security of the masters. Things deserving our consideration, as we do not seem to excel in the conciliating arts of government in our colonies, nor to think that any thing is to be effected by other instruments than those of terror and rude force.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER XI.

THE CITIES OF PERU, LIMA, CUSCO, AND QUITO; A DESCRIPTION OF THEM—CALLAO, ITS TRADE AND DESTRUCTION—THE VICEROY OF PERU—HIS JURISDICTION AND REVENUES.

THERE are three cities in Peru famous for their opulence and trade; Lima, Cusco, and Quito. Lima lies in the northern part of Peru, in the latitude of 12° south, and 299° longitude from Teneriffe. It stands about two leagues from the sea, upon a river called Rimac, small and unnavigable. This city is the capital of Peru, and of all South America; it extends in length about two miles, and in breadth about one and a quarter; its distant appearance, from the multitude of spires and domes, is extremely majestic; and when you enter it you see the streets laid out with the greatest regularity, cutting each other at equal distances and right angles; the houses, on account of the equality of the climate, are slightly roofed, as they are built low and of light materials, to avoid the consequences of earthquakes, frequent and dreadful in this country. But they are elegantly plastered and painted on the outside, so as to have all the appearance of freestone. To add to the beauty and convenience of this city, most houses have a garden watered by cuts drawn from the river; each man commands a little running stream for his own use; in a hot and dry country as this is, no small matter of convenience and delight. Here is a grand walk by the river side, two hundred fathoms long, consisting of five rows of fine orange trees. To this the company resorts at five in the evening drawn in their coaches and calashes.* Such is the opu-

* The calash resembles that sort of coach which is called a vis-a-vis, but is drawn only by a single horse or mule, and goes on a single pair of wheels; yet sometimes by the gilding and other decorations the price of a calash amounts to a thousand crowns.

Digitized by Google

lence of this city, that, exclusive of coaches, there are kept in it upwards of five thousand of these carriages.

Lima has fifty-four churches, taking in the cathedral, the parochial, and conventual; thirteen monasteries of men, (besides six colleges of Jesuits,) one of which contains seven hundred, and another five hundred friars and servants; twelve nunneries, the principal of which has not less than three hundred nuns; and twelve hospitals, besides foundations for the portioning of poor girls. The number of whites is not less than 10,000; and the whole of the inhabitants of all casts and colors are said not to fall short of 60,000 souls.

They tell a very remarkable fact that may help us to some idea of the vast wealth of this city. When their viceroy the Duke de la Palata made his public entry in 1682, they caused two of the principal streets to be paved with ingots of silver, that had paid the fifth to the king, of between twelve and fifteen inches long, four or five in breadth, and two or three in thickness; the whole of which could not amount to less than sixteen or seventeen millions sterling. But nothing can give a true idea of the vast wealth of Lima, except the churches, which the most judicious travelers speak of with astonishment, and seem incapable of describing, on account of that amazing profusion of gold, silver, and precious stones with which every thing, even the walls, is in a manner totally covered. The tide of this vast wealth is fed from sources as copious; this city being the great magazine for almost all the plate of Peru, which is coined here; for the large manufactures and natural products of that kingdom; for those of Chili; and for all the luxuries and conveniences brought from Europe and the East Indies.

The trade of the French to Peru, during the general war in Europe which was caused by the disputes about the Spanish succession, made this city decay not a little, by diffusing the commerce, of which before it was the centre, amongst the other towns which lie along the coast; but, as that privilege has been since taken away, Lima began to revive again and continued in great splendor until the year 1747, when a

Digitized by Google

most tremendous earthquake, which entirely devoured Callao, the port belonging to it, laid three fourths of this city level with the ground. The destruction of Callao was the most perfect and terrible that can be conceived; no more than one of all the inhabitants escaping, and he by a providence the most singular and extraordinary imaginable. This man was on the fort that overlooked the harbor, going to strike the flag, when he perceived the sea to retire to a considerable distance; and then swelling mountain high, it returned with great violence. The inhabitants ran from their houses in the utmost terror and confusion; he heard a cry of *Miserere* rise from all parts of the city; and immediately all was silent; the sea had entirely overwhelmed this city, and buried it for ever in its bosom; but the same wave which destroyed the city drove a little boat by the place where the man stood, into which he threw himself and was saved. What is remarkable too in this affair, Mr. Frezier, who was in Peru in the year 1714 and from whom I have part of my materials, on considering the situation of this town and the nature of the country, ventured to prophesy for it the destruction which we have seen accomplished in our days. Whilst this town subsisted, it contained about 3000 inhabitants of all kinds, had five convents, and possessed the finest port in all Peru. Here were the rich warehouses furnished with all the goods of Europe, which being landed by the galleons at Porto-bello were brought over land to Panama, and thence transported hither by the armadilla, or fleet, with a convoy of three men-of-war reserved for this purpose. To this port arrived the annual ship from Acapulco loaded with all the products of the East; from Chili it received vast quantities of corn, dried beef and pork, leather, tallow, plank, and several sorts of woollen goods, particularly carpets like those of Turkey. From the southern ports of Peru were brought sugars, wine and brandy, naval stores, cacao, Vigonia wool, and tobacco. From Mexico it had pitch and tar, woods for dying, and that balsam, which we improperly call of Peru, since it comes from Guatimala. As the port of Callao is so excellent, and as it is

Digitized by Google

that by which the trade of Lima wholly, and that of all Peru in a great measure, must be carried on, we cannot doubt but that a new city is already built there; and that Lima is restored to its former lustre; especially as this latter is the centre of so vast a trade, and the seat of so great a government. For to the viceroy of Peru both Chili and Terra Firma are subject. His settled salary is 40,000 pieces of eight yearly; his perquisites are great; as often as he goes to Callao, he is entitled to 3000 pieces of eight for that little airing; he has 10,000 for every progress into more distant parts; he has the sole disposal of above a hundred great magistracies; and, in short, the granting of all triennial employments both civil and military throughout the extent of his ample jurisdiction. It cannot therefore be doubted that his perquisites, even his lawful ones (for there are many others) at least double the value of his salary. And certainly, whatever the king of Spain may lose by the bad economy in his affairs, no prince in the world has such means of rewarding the services of his subjects, without any immediate burden upon his own revenues.

Cusco, the capital of the ancient empire, is still a very considerable city; it is at a good distance from the sea, and situated in the mountainous part of the country; it has not less than forty thousand inhabitants, three parts Indians, who are very industrious and ingenious. Though little instructed in the art, a taste for painting prevails, and some performances of the Indians of Cusco and Quito have met with applause in Italy. An incredible quantity of pictures are painted here, and are dispersed all over Peru and Chili. They have here likewise manufactures of baize and cotton, and they work largely in leather in most of the ways in which it is used.

Quito is likewise an inland town situated in the most northern part of Peru; it is a very considerable place, and equal to any in Peru for the number of inhabitants, which are between fifty and sixty thousand; and it carries on a very extensive trade with Lima, in manufactures of wool, cotton, and flax, which are wrought in the city and its district, and supply the greater part of the consumption of the poorer sort all

Digitized by Google

over this kingdom. Few mines are worked in this district, though thought to abound in minerals; they receive plate in return for their own manufactures, and send it to Carthagena in return for those of Europe.

It is not easy to calculate the number of inhabitants in Peru, because we have none of those data which are necessary to ground such a calculation. There are several very large and populous towns dispersed through that country; but in many places it is little better than a desert; partly for want of water, but much more generally through the pride of one part of the people, the miserable subjection of the other, and the sloth of all. The mines undoubtedly contribute largely to depopulate the country, by turning the inhabitants from agriculture and manufactures, employments that prolong life and provide for it, to the working of metals extremely pernicious to health, and which makes them depend upon others for their necessary sustenance. The nations which are poor in respect of gold, and industrious from that poverty, have not the least reason to envy the wealth of the Peruvians; who, amidst all that extravagant glare that dazzles the eye, live penuriously and sordidly; and are often in extreme want in a country which in many places is one of the most fertile in the world. In fact, the countries which employ their men in the arts and in agriculture, and receive their return in gold and silver from the countries which abound in those metals, may be considered as the real proprietors of the mines; the immediate possessors only as their stewards to manage, or as their slaves to work them, whilst they are employed themselves at an easy labor, friendly to life, and necessary to their well being.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER XII.

THE TEMPERATURE OF THE AIR IN CHILI—THE SOIL—ITS FERTILITY—A DESCRIPTION OF THE PRINCIPAL TOWNS—THE TRADE OF CHILI.

IMMEDIATELY to the southward of Peru lies Chili, extending itself in a long narrow slip along the coast of the South Sea in the south temperate zone. The air here is remarkably clear and serene. Scarce any changes happen for three parts of the year. Very little rain falls during that period. But the benign dews every night, and the many rivulets which the neighborhood of the Andes supplies them, fertilize the plain country, and make it produce as much corn, wine, oil, and fruits, as the number of the inhabitants, which is very small, or their industry, which is but moderate, will suffer them to cultivate. If it were under a more favorable government, and better peopled, there is hardly any part of the world which could enter into competition with this. For at the same time that it enjoys a very healthful air, and is warmed by a heat no way oppressive, it bears many of the tropical fruits that would thrive nowhere else out of the torrid zone. It is luxuriant on the surface with every thing for profit and delight; and beneath it is rich to profusion with veins of gold, silver, copper, lead, quicksilver, and iron. Those of gold are the most wrought; and indeed there is scarce a rivulet in the country in which gold is not found in smaller or greater plenty; but want of people, which is here more felt than in the other Spanish settlements, hinders them from working all their mines; and, what is worse, from improving the surface of their country to any thing like the degree of perfection to which it might be brought. For in this whole extent of country, upwards of twelve hundred miles in length, and from three hundred to five hundred miles in breadth, it is not reckoned they have much above twenty

Digitized by Google

thousand whites fit to bear arms, and about three times that number of Indians, blacks, and mulattoes. Yet, with so few hands, and those not the most industrious, they export annually from the ports of Chili, to Callao, and other parts of Peru, corn enough to support sixty thousand men, for no country in the world is more prolific in grain of every species; they export besides great quantities of wine, hemp (which is raised in no other part on the south seas,) hides, tallow, and salted provisions; to say nothing of the gold, and other minerals, which form their principal wealth. The people are much employed in pasturage; and cattle are here in such plenty, that an ox fatted may be had for four dollars; a great proof of the fertility of a country where there is no scarcity of money. But as they have a considerable trade in dried and salted beef, hides and tallow, they constantly drive great numbers of horned cattle from the other side of the Andes, from the province of Tucuman in Paraguay. Chili has but a very few beasts of prey, and those timorous; and although toads, snakes, and scorpions, are here as numerous as in other hot countries, they are found entirely harmless.

There are in Chili four towns of some note, either on the sea or near it; St. Jago, which is the capital and contains about 4000 families, La Conception, Coquimbo or La Serena, and Baldivia. The three first of these towns are laid out in a manner exactly resembling each other, the streets, like those of Lima, cutting one another so as to form squares like those of a draught board. They have all gardens between the houses, and running waters drawn from the neighboring rivers to fertilize them; but the houses are so low and meanly built (mud walls and thatch in some) that they rather resemble agreeable country villages than cities of business and grandeur. However, some of the houses are well furnished, and it is said, that in St. Jago there are many which have the meanest utensils of the kitchen of gold and silver. As for Baldivia, it is not more remarkable for being the strongest fortress in the south seas, than for the manner in which it is peopled; for hither the criminals from Peru and the other

Digitized by Google

parts of Chili are transported, either for a time or for life, and obliged to labor upon the fortifications and other public works. What is singular, these criminals are at once the prisoners and the jailors, for the garrison of the place, the whole corps, soldiers and officers, is formed of no other. The town contains about two thousand souls, and all of them banished people, or the descendants of such.

The maritime trade of Chili is entirely confined to what they carry on with Peru, one or two ports of New Spain, and Panama. Their ships rarely penetrate the straits of Magellan, or pass Cape Horn. But they have a considerable inland commerce with Tucuman, Buenos Ayres, and other parts of Paraguay, from which they get the herb of Paraguay, beeswax, and cattle.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE SPANIARDS IN THIS PROVINCE BUT FEW—THE AMERICANS, THEIR CHARACTER—SOME FREE.

As in Chili they are weak in men, have a large body of independent Indians ill-affected to them on their borders, as the Dutch once attempted an establishment here, and as other people have nourished projects of the same nature, they are extremely cautious and watchful on the coast, and the country is immediately in arms upon every alarm, which is given when any ship appears off the coast that is not Spanish built: yet, notwithstanding all their caution, their security is rather owing to the system of Europe, of which it is a part to keep the Spanish possessions in the hands of the present proprietors, and to the difficult and dangerous passage of the straits of Magellan or Cape Horn for any European armament of force, than either to their own strength or vigilance.

The Indian inhabitants of Chili are a brave and warlike people, who defended their liberties vigorously, made several

Digitized by Google

successful insurrections, killed Peter Baldivia the conqueror of the country, and maintained a war against the whole Spanish power in that part of the world for several years; which was only terminated, on the part of several of the nations near the mountains, by an honorable peace, which is preserved to this day. None can be more jealously watchful than this people of their freedom. They traffic indeed with the Spaniards, but with so much caution and under limitations so strict, that they can take very little advantage of this communication. As for those who are obliged to submit, it is to a yoke nothing near so heavy as that which oppresses the people who inhabit the other Spanish provinces; partly from the better terms which were procured, and partly from the fear of a nation, whom they have experienced to be brave, and know to be surrounded with many, who are of the same blood, and have defended their freedom with better success. A good example, even in the unfortunate, how much a brave defence of liberty may contribute to procure, if nothing else, yet a more tolerable servitude. The Indians of this country have more resemblance to those of North America, though more humane and civilized in their manners, than to the Peruvians and Mexicans. Here they have less superstition naturally; and, far from having that excessive veneration which those nations had for their kings, they have no kings at all, and very little form of government; each family being sovereign within itself and independent. The business which concerns them all is transacted in the assemblies of all, and the plurality of voices decides. They are much given to liquor, and they practice polygamy, which in America is not common. However, the Spanish missionaries have now made considerable progress amongst these free nations; they have a college for the education of the Indian youth, and their influence is a great means of preserving peace between the Spanish settlements and the free Indians on their borders, which, without their assistance, would be difficult. For, though they listen to the Spanish priests, they preserve a very just terror of falling under their government, and no small hatred to the people.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CLIMATE OF PARAGUAY—ITS RIVERS—THE PROVINCE OF LA PLATA—THE TOWN OF BUENOS AYRES—ITS TRADE.

The country of Paraguay, or La Plata, shuts up the eastern side of a considerable part of Chili and Peru; whence extending over a tract of country, about a thousand miles broad, it bounds Brazil upon the west, and upon the south buts upon the Atlantic Ocean; being fifteen hundred miles at least in length, from the mouth of the great river Plata to its northern boundary the country of the Amazons. This vast territory is far from being wholly subdued or planted by the Spaniards. There are many parts in a great degree unknown to them, or to any other people of Europe. In such a vast country, and lying in climates so different, for it lies on the northern frontier under the equinoctial line, and on the south advances to the thirty-seventh degree of latitude, far into the south temperate zone, we must expect to meet great diversity of soil and product. However, in general, this great country is fertile; the pastures particularly are so rich that they are covered with innumerable herds of black cattle, horses, and mules; in which hardly any body thinks it worth his while to claim a property. Any person takes and breaks them according to his occasions.

This country, besides an infinite number of smaller rivers, is watered by three principal ones, which unite near the sea, to form the famous Rio de la Plata. The first is Paraguay, from whence the country is denominated; this forms the main channel. It has its origin from a great lake in the centre of South America, called the lake of Xarayes, and runs in a course nearly north and south. Parana, which rises amongst the mountains on the frontiers of Brazil, runs a sloping course to the south-west, until it joins the Paraguay at a great distance from the ocean about the twenty-seventh degree of

Digitized by Google

south latitude. Uraguay rises likewise upon the same side, and runs almost an equal course before it meets those united rivers at no great distance from the ocean, with which it mixes along with them.

The principal province which concerns us, in this vast tract, is that which is called Rio de la Plata, towards the mouth of the above mentioned rivers. This province, with all the adjacent parts, is one continued level interrupted by not the least hill for several hundreds of miles every way; extremely fertile in most things; but, contrary to the general nature of America, destitute of woods; this want they endeavor to supply by plantations of every kind of fruit trees; all which thrive here to admiration. The air is remarkably sweet and serene, and the waters of the great river are equally pure and wholesome; they annually overflow their banks; and, on their recess, leave them enriched with a slime, which produces the greatest plenty of whatever is committed to it.

The principal town is Buenos-Ayres, on the south side of the river; it was so called upon account of the excellence of the air. This town is the only place of traffic to the southward of Brazil; yet its trade, considering the rich and extensive country to which it is the avenue, is very inconsiderable. No regular fleet comes here as to the other parts of Spanish America; two, or at most three, register ships make the whole of their regular intercourse with Europe. Their returns are very valuable, consisting of gold, silver, sugar, and hides. I cannot learn that they have opened any considerable mines in this province: but it is probable there are rich ones in the provinces which lie to the eastward of the Andes; besides, it is certain that a good deal of gold is returned from Chili, for the mules, cattle, and tea, which are sent thither; and that silver from the province of Los Charcas in Peru is sent upon the same account, for the most part by land carriage. There is besides a tolerable water carriage; for a large river, called Pilcomayo, rises not far from the mines of Potosi, which, winding amongst the openings of the Cordillera, discharges itself at last into the Paraguay; and this river is navigable to

Digitized by Google

the very source, allowing for the interruption of some falls, which is the case of the river of Plata itself. By this way it is, I judge, that a great quantity of silver comes to Buenos-Ayres. Indeed it is in great plenty in that province; and those who have now and then carried on a contraband trade to this country have found it far more advantageous than any other whatsoever. The benefit of this contraband is now wholly in the hands of the Portuguese, who keep magazines for that purpose in the adjacent parts of Brazil.

CHAPTER XV.

THE TERRITORY OF THE JESUITS IN PARAGUAY—THEIR MANNER OF SETTLING AND GOVERNING IT—THE OBEDIENCE OF THE PEOPLE—SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE LATE TRANSACTIONS THERE.

The trade of Paraguay and the manners of the people are so much the same with those of the rest of the Spanish colonies in South America, that nothing further can be said on those articles; but it would be inexcusable to quit the country without saying something of that extraordinary species of commonwealth which the Jesuits have erected in the interior parts.

About the middle of the last century those fathers represented to the court of Madrid, that their want of success in their missions was owing to the scandal which the immorality of the Spaniards never failed to give, and to the hatred which their insolent behavior caused in the Indians wherever they came. They insinuated, that, if it were not for that impediment, the empire of the Gospel might, by their labors, have been extended into the most unknown parts of America; and that all those countries might be subdued to his catholic majesty's obedience, without expense and without force. This remonstrance was listened to with attention; the sphere of their labors was marked out; an uncontroled liberty was given

Digitized by Google

to the Jesuits within these limits; and the governors of the adjacent provinces had orders not to interfere, nor to suffer any Spaniard to enter into this pale without license from the fathers. They on their part agreed to pay a certain capitation tax in proportion to their flock; and to send a certain number to the king's works whenever they should be demanded, and the missions should become populous enough to supply them.

On these terms, the Jesuits entered upon the scene of action, and opened their spiritual campaign. They began by gathering together about fifty wandering families, whom they persuaded to settle; and they united them into a little township. This was the slight foundation upon which they have built a superstructure which has amazed the world, and added so much power, at the same time that it has brought on so much envy and jealousy, to their society. For when they had made this beginning, they labored with such indefatigable pains, and with such masterly policy, that, by degrees, they mollified the minds of the most savage nations, fixed the most rambling, and subdued the most averse to government. They prevailed upon thousands of various dispersed tribes of people to embrace their religion, and to submit to their government; and when they had submitted, the Jesuits left nothing undone that could conduce to their remaining in this subjection, or that could tend to increase their number to the degree requisite for a well ordered and potent society; and their labors were attended with success.

It is said, that, from such inconsiderate beginnings, several years ago, their subjects amounted to three hundred thousand families. They lived in towns; they were regularly clad; they labored in agriculture; they exercised manufactures. Some even aspired to the elegant arts. They were instructed in the military with the most exact discipline; and could raise sixty thousand men well armed. To effect these purposes, from time to time, they brought over from Europe several handicraftmen, musicians, and painters. These, I am told, were principally from Germany and Italy.

Digitized by Google

We are far from being able to trace, with the exactness they deserve, all the steps which were taken in the accomplishment of so extraordinary a conquest over the bodies and minds of so many people, without arms or violence; and differently from the methods of all other conquests; not by cutting off a large part of the inhabitants to secure the rest, but by multiplying their people, whilst they extended their territory. Their own accounts are not very ample, and they are partial to themselves without doubt. What some others have written is with a glaring prejudice against them. The particulars which seem best agreed upon by both sides are the only ones to be mentioned.

It is agreed then, that in each mission or district (the country is divided into forty-seven districts) a Jesuit presides in chief. But magistrates are settled in every town, answerable to those in the Spanish cities; these are always Indians, elected by the people, and approved by the presiding Jesuit: on solemn occasions they appear in rich robes of ceremony, attended with a suitable retinue, and every thing which may make for the dignity of their government. The people which compose this commonwealth are composed chiefly of two nations or tribes, one called Garanies, the other Chiquitos. The latter are active, lively, and ingenious, therefore their economy is more left to themselves; and they have something of property, but there is something too in common. Amongst the Garanies there is no property; every thing is done under the public eye, and for the public; for otherwise this people, naturally lazy and stupid to the last degree, would be in perpetual want. Each man's labor is allotted him in proportion to his strength, or to his skill in the profession which he exercises. The product is brought faithfully into the public magazines; from whence he is again supplied with all things which the managers judge to be expedient for the sustenance of himself or his family. All necessaries are distributed regularly twice a week; and the magazines always contain such a stock of provisions and goods of every kind, as to answer not only the ordinary exigencies, but to provide against

Digitized by Google

a time of scarcity, or for those whom accidents, age, or infirmities, have disqualified for labor. Thus want is never known amongst them; their villages are cleanly and decent, greatly exceeding those of the Spaniards in their neighborhood. Their churches are particularly grand and richly adorned; and service is in them performed with all the solemnity and magnificence of cathedrals; nor are good voices and instruments wanting.

They provide early for the marriage of their young people, as well to prevent disorders, as to multiply their subjects. Here, as interest can be no motive to the union, there are few difficulties attending it. The young man applies to the governing Jesuit, informs him of his desire of marriage, and names the party: she is consulted, and, if there is no objection upon her part, they are immediately married. They are supplied with all necessaries for their establishment from the public stores, and they have at the same time their task allotted them, by which they are to make amends for what they have received, and to provide for others in their turn.

The Indian magistrate is obliged continually to watch over the minutest actions of his people, and to give the Jesuit an exact account of the state of his district, and the merit and demerit of the people which it contains. They are rewarded or punished according to this report. The punishment for smaller crimes is by imprisonment, for greater by whipping, from which it is said not even the principal magistrates are exempted. Capital punishments they do not inflict, as indeed crimes deserving such punishment are rarely committed amongst them. The correction is received by all not only with patience but acknowledgment. The rewards are seldom more than benedictions, and some slight marks of the Jesuit's favor, which make those men entirely happy.

Nothing can equal the obedience of the people of these missions, except their contentment under it. Far from murmuring, that they have only necessaries of life, by a labor which might in some degree procure them the conveniences of it, they think themselves a distinguished and favored people

Digitized by Google

in wanting them; and they believe their obedience a duty, that not only secures their order and repose in this world, but the very best means of insuring their happiness in the next. This is carefully inculcated; and indeed, besides their attention to the government, the Jesuits are indefatigable in their instructions in the doctrines of religion, the regularity of life, and the contempt of this world. And, by what I can find, the Indians under their jurisdiction are an innocent people, civilized without being corrupted.

The Jesuits, who govern them, are said to be extremely strict in preserving their privilege in keeping all strangers from amongst them. If any such should, by accident or in his journey, arrive in the country of the missions, he is immediately carried to the presbyter, where he is treated for a day, or two at most, with great hospitality, but regarded with no less circumspection. The curiosities of the place are showed him in company with the Jesuit, and he can have no private conversation with any of the natives. In a reasonable time, he is civilly dismissed, with a guard to conduct him to the next district, without expense, where he is treated in the same manner, until he is out of the country of the missions. Cautions altogether as strict, and in the same spirit, are observed, when the natives are obliged to go out of their own territory to serve in the king's works, or when any part of their troops are called out for his service. They shun all manner of conversation with strangers, upon whom they look with a sort of horror; and so return, uninformed and untainted, into their own country as they left it.

I am sensible, that many have represented the conduct of the Jesuits in this mission in a very bad light; but their reflections appear to me not at all supported by the facts upon which they build them. To judge perfectly of the service they have done their people, we must not consider them in a parallel with the flourishing nations of Europe, but as compared with their neighbors, the savages of South America, or with the state of those Indians who groan under the Spanish yoke. Considering it in this, which is the true light, it will

Digitized by Google

appear, that human society is infinitely obliged to them for adding to it three hundred thousand families in a well-regulated community, in the room of a few vagabond untaught savages. And indeed, it can scarcely be conceived, that the government has not some extraordinary perfection, which has a principle of increase within it, which draws others to unite themselves to the old stock, and shoots out itself a luxuriance of new branches. Neither can we by any means blame a system which produces such salutary effects; and which has found that difficult, but happy way, that grand desideratum in politics, of uniting a perfect subjection to an entire content and satisfaction of the people. Matters, which, it were to be wished, were studied with more attention by us, who content ourselves with railing at the diligence of an adversary, which we should rather praise and imitate; and who, in our affairs, seldom think of using any other instruments than force or money.

This commonwealth is now become a subject of much conversation on account of the cession which has lately been made of part of that territory to the crown of Portugal. It is well known, that the inhabitants of seven of the missions refused to comply with this division, or to suffer themselves to be transferred from one hand to another, like cattle, without their own consent.* We are informed, by the authority of the Gazette, that the Indians actually took up arms; but, notwithstanding the exactness of their discipline, they were easily, and with a considerable slaughter, defeated by the European troops, who were sent to quell them. It seems to have been ill-judged in this people, who had never seen any real service, nor were headed by officers who had seen any, without which the best discipline is but a sort of play, to have hazarded a battle with troops from Europe. They ought rather to have first habituated themselves to action by attacking small parties, by cutting off convoys, by little surprises, until, by use and

* The Jesuits have been entirely disgraced at the court of Portugal, for the share they are said to have had in this resistance.

Digitized by Google

success in smaller matters, they were entitled to hazard the sum of their affairs in the open field. However, it is not improbable, that this opposition will rouse the indolence of the Spaniards, and make them take the government of the country out of the hands it is in at present. If they do, it is not difficult to foresee, that the same depopulation, the same distress, and the same discontent, which distinguish the Indians in the rest of the Spanish provinces, will be soon equally visible in this. It will not be difficult for them to effect the reduction of this country; for the Jesuits have too large and valuable an interest in Old Spain, as well as in the new world, to dispute it with the court, whenever they shall demand in good earnest to have this country surrendered; if it be true, that the Jesuits have really such influence on the inhabitants as is attributed to them.

It was not originally such bad policy, as it may seem, to have entrusted the Jesuits with so great a power; since a little time will show, that they have given them a territory unknown, unpeopled, and uncultivated, which they have the certain means of repossessing when they please, subdued, peopled, and cultivated. As to its wealth, it is hard to say any thing certain; the Jesuits deny it. And truly, if they acted with a perfect policy, they would never have suffered any mines of gold or silver to be opened in that country. Of this matter I have no information upon which I can depend.

CHAPTER XVI.

TERRA FIRMA—ITS EXTENT AND PRODUCE—THE CITIES OF PANAMA, CARTHAGENA, AND PORTO-BELLO—THE GALLEONS—THE ISLE OF CUBA—THE HAVANNA—HISPANIOLA—PORTO RICO—REFLECTIONS ON THE POLICY OF SPAIN WITH REGARD TO THE COLONIES.

THE Spaniards have not made any settlements in the other divisions of South America, which they claim to the south-

Digitized by Google

ward of Buenos-Ayres, nor to the northward, except in Terra Firma, of which we shall say something. The country of the Amazons, though prodigiously large, wonderfully fertile, and watered by so noble a river, is almost entirely neglected. The river Amazons, called also Maranon and Orellana, which waters and gives its name to this country, arising from the union of several streams that fall from the Cordillera, runs a course of no less than 1100 leagues; it flows for the greater part through a level country covered with the fairest and loftiest forests in the world, in which it forms an innumerable multitude of delightful islands; and receiving on both sides the copious tribute of several rivers almost equal to itself in greatness, increasing in breadth to a sort of sea, and to a depth which in some parts has been in vain searched with a line of upwards an hundred fathoms, it rushes at length into the Atlantic Ocean by two mouths of an astonishing wideness, the principal being forty-five leagues broad, the smaller not less than twelve. The country on this fine river has no other inhabitants than Indians, some savage, some united under Spanish and Portuguese missionaries.

The country of Patagonia is likewise of a vast stretch to the southward of Buenos-Ayres, all in the temperate zone, and extended all along the Atlantic Ocean. It is a plain country without trees; but this is the case of the delightful and fertile country of Buenos-Ayres. It is said likewise to be barren and desert; but, what is certain, it is unsettled by any European nation, and little known, though it lies open for any power that can avail itself of a favorable opportunity to establish a colony there.

The last province, according to the order I have observed, though not of the least consequence in the Spanish American dominions, is Terra Firma; a vast country above 2000 miles in length, and 500 broad. Bordering on Mexico, Peru, and Amazonia, it stretches all along the north sea, from the Pacific Ocean to the mouth of the river of Amazons upon the Atlantic. It is divided into twelve large provinces. They all contain a vast deal of high and mountainous country, particularly the

Digitized by Google

province of St. Martha, where there are said to be hills surpassing Teneriffe itself in height. These hills communicate with the Andes. The valleys are deep and narrow, and for a great part of the year flooded; but though Terra Firma is on the coast the most unpleasant and most unhealthy country in the torrid zone, the plain grounds are extremely fertile; produce corn enough, when cultivated, all kinds of tropical fruits, rich drugs, cacao, vanilla, indigo, pimento, guaiacum, sarsaparilla, and balsam of Peru. No country abounds more in rich and luxuriant pasturage, or has a greater stock of black cattle. Their rivers have rich golden sands; their coasts have good pearl fisheries; and their mines formerly yielded great quantities of gold; but at present they are neglected or exhausted; so that the principal wealth of this kingdom arises from the commerce of Carthagena; and what treasure is seen there is mostly the return for European commodities which are sent from that port to Santa Fe, Popayan, and Quito: and rubies and emeralds are here found in plenty; but, the value of precious stones depending more on fancy than that of gold or silver, this trade has considerably declined.

This province has a very considerable share of the trade of Europe; not only on account of its own produce and demands, but because all the intercourse of Peru and Chili with Old Spain is carried on through this country, for, as we have mentioned, Carthagena supplies. Its capital city, Panama, is the great *barcadier* of the South Sea. Hither is brought all the treasure which the rich mines of Peru and Chili pay to the king, or produce upon a private account.

The city of Panama is situated upon one of the best harbors, in all respects, of the south seas. Ships of burden lie safe at some distance from the town; but smaller vessels come up to the walls. In this bay is a pearl fishery of great value. The town, one of the largest in America, is said to contain five thousand houses, elegantly built of brick and stone, disposed in a semicircular form, and enlivened with the spires and domes of several churches and monasteries. It is covered

Digitized by Google

on the land side with an agreeable country, diversified with hills, valleys, and woods. The town stands upon a dry and tolerable healthful ground, and has a great and profitable trade with Peru, Chili, and the western coast of Mexico, chiefly for provisions of every sort both of the animal and vegetable kinds; corn, wine, sugar, oil, with tallow, leather, and Jesuit's bark. In the neighborhood of this city they raise nothing; and yet, by traffic and their convenient situation, there are few cities more abundantly supplied with all things for necessity, convenience, or luxury. Their trade with the Terra Firma and with Europe is carried on over the isthmus of Darien, and by the river Chagra.

The second town of consideration in Terra Firma is Carthagena, which stands upon a peninsula that encloses one of the safest and best defended harbors in all the Spanish America. The town itself is well fortified, and built after the elegant fashion of most of the Spanish American towns, with a square in the middle, and streets running every way regularly from it, and others cutting these at right angles. This town has many rich churches and convents; that of the Jesuits is particularly magnificent. Here it is that the galleons on their voyage from Spain put in first, and dispose of a considerable part of their cargo; which from hence is distributed to St. Martha, the Caraccas, Venezuela, and most of the other provinces and towns in the Terra Firma.

The fleet which is called the galleons consists of about eight men-of-war, of about fifty guns each, designed principally to supply Peru with military stores; but in reality, laden not only with these, but with every other kind of merchandise on a private account, so as to be in bad condition for defending themselves, or protecting others. Under the convoy of these sail about twelve merchant ships not inferior in burden. This fleet of the galleons is regulated in much the same manner with the flotas, and it is destined for the exclusive commerce of Terra Firma and the South Sea, as the flota is for that of Mexico.

No sooner is this fleet arrived in the haven of Carthagena,

Digitized by Google

than expresses are immediately despatched to Porto-bello, and to all the adjacent towns, but principally to Panama; that they may get ready all the treasure which is deposited there, to meet the galleons at Porto-bello; in which town (remarkable for the goodness of its harbor, which brings such a surprising concourse here at the time of the fair; and the unwholesomeness of the air, which makes it a desert at all other times,) all the persons concerned in the various branches of this extensive traffic assemble; and there is certainly no part of the world where business of such great importance is negotiated in so short a time. For in about a fortnight the fair is over; during which the display of the gold, silver, and precious stones, on the one hand, and of all the curiosity and variety of the ingenious fabrics of Europe on the other, is astonishing. Heaps of wedges and ingots of silver are tumbled about on the wharfs like common things. At this time an hundred crowns are given for a poor lodging, a thousand for a shop, and provision of every kind is proportionably dear; which may help us to some idea of the profits made in this trade. The treasure is brought hither from Panama, by a very dangerous road, upon mules. The other goods, sugar, tobacco, and drugs, are transported on the river Chagra.

When the galleons have taken in their returns, they steer together to Havanna, which is the place of rendezvous of all the ships concerned in the Spanish American trade.

The Havanna is the capital city of the island of Cuba, it is situated upon an excellent harbor upon the western extremity of the island. This city is large, containing not less than two thousand houses, with a number of churches and convents; but then it is the only place of consequence upon the noble island of Cuba, which lies in the latitude 20°, and extends from east to west near seven hundred miles in length, though in breadth it is disproportioned, being but from one hundred and twenty to seventy miles. However, it yields to no part of the West Indies in the fertility of its soil, or in excellence of every thing which is produced in that climate. But the Spaniards, by a series of the most inhuman and im-

Digitized by Google

politic barbarities, having exterminated the original inhabitants, and not finding the quantities of gold in the islands which the continent afforded, they have left this, as well as Hispaniola, of which the French now possess the greater part, and Porto Rico, a large, excellent, and fertile island, comparatively so many deserts. The commerce between these islands and the Spanish continent is carried on by the Barlevento fleet, consisting of six ships of good burthen and force, who annually make the tour of all these islands and the coast of Terra Firma, not only to carry on the commerce between those places, but to clear the sea of pirates and illicit traders. Now and then a register ship from Old Spain is bound to one or other of these islands. Hitherto the Spaniards seemed rather to keep them to prevent any other nation from growing too powerful in those seas, than for any profit they expected to derive from them. And it is certain, that if other nations should come entirely to possess the whole of the islands, the trade of the American continent, and perhaps the continent itself, would be entirely at their mercy. However, of late, the Spaniards have taken some steps towards the better settlement of Porto Rico. They are beginning to open the American trade to some other towns in Spain besides Cadiz. They have made a difference in point of duty between their own manufactures and those of foreigners. They are, in short, opening their eyes to the true interest of their country, and moving their hands, though slowly, to promote it.

Upon this time, the tide of wealth that constantly flowed from America into Spain ran through that kingdom like a hasty torrent, which far from enriching the country, hurried away with it all the wealth which it found in its passage. No country in Europe receives such vast treasures as Spain. In no country in Europe is seen so little money. The truth is, from the time that the Indies fell into the hands of Spain, the affairs of that monarchy have been constantly going backward. In America their settlements were carried on conformably to that genius, and to those maxims, which prevailed in their government in Europe. No means of retaining their

Digitized by Google

conquests but by extirpating the people; no schemes for the advancement of trade; no attempts at the reformation of abuses, which became venerable in proportion to the mischiefs they had suffered by them. In government, tyranny; in religion, bigotry; in trade, monopoly.

When the Spaniards found, to their ambition which was boundless, they had joined a treasure which was inexhaustible, they imagined there was nothing too vast for them to compass. They embraced a thousand projects at once; many of them noble ones in theory, but to be executed with different instruments in different parts of the world, and all at a vast expense of blood and treasure. The wars, which were the result of these schemes, and the Indies, which were to support them, were a continual drain, which carried off their people, and destroyed all industry in those who remained. The treasure which flowed in every year from the new world found them in debt to every part of the old; for to the rest of their revenues, they had forgot to add that, which is a great revenue itself and the great support of the others, economy. On the contrary, an ill order in their finances at home, and a devouring usury abroad, swallowed up all their treasure, whilst they multiplied the occasions for it. With the best scheming heads in Europe, they were everywhere outwitted; with the bravest and best disciplined troops, they were almost always defeated; with the greatest treasures, they were in want; and their armies were ill provided, and ill paid. Their friends exhausted them by trade; their enemies by plunder. They saw new states arise out of the fragments of their dominions; and new maritime powers start up from the wrecks of their navy. In short, they provoked, troubled, and enriched all Europe; and at last desisted through mere want of strength. They were inactive, but not quiet; and they were enervated as much by their laziness during this repose, as they had been weakened before by their ill-judged activity.

All this happened in a country which abounded with men of capacity as much as any state in Europe, and often with men of great capacity at its head. But their talents took a

Digitized by Google

wrong turn; their politics were always more abroad than at home; more employed in weakening their neighbors, than in strengthening themselves. They were wise in the concerns of foreign courts; they were satisfied with being formal in their own domestic business. They relied too much upon their riches; and the whole state being moulded into a system of corruption from the top to the bottom, things grew at last so bad, that the evils themselves became a sort of remedies; and they felt so severely the consequences of their former conduct, that they have for some years past turned their thoughts into a very good channel; and they may in time, and with perseverance, rise again, whilst others shall fall, by adopting the abuses which brought them to ruin.

At present the politics of Spain, with regard to America, seem to be, to preserve South America, and particularly the navigation of the south seas, as much as possible to themselves; to destroy effectually the contraband trade, and to encourage the export of their own manufactures. Of us they have long shown a remarkable jealousy; a much greater than of the French, whom they see quietly settling in the neighborhood of New Mexico; and who are growing certainly in the West Indies in a far greater degree than we are. I shall not pretend to account for this distinction.

Digitized by Google

PART IV.

THE PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENTS.

CHAPTER I.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY OF BRAZIL—THE METHOD OF SETTLING IT—CONQUERED BY THE DUTCH—RECONQUERED BY THE PORTUGUESE.

It is very rare that any material discovery, whether in the arts, in philosophy, or in navigation, has been owing to efforts made directly for that particular purpose, and determined by the force of reasonings *a priori*. The first hints are owing to accident; and discoveries in one kind present themselves voluntarily to us, whilst we are in search of what flies from us in some other. The discovery of America by Columbus was owing originally to a just reasoning on the figure of the earth, though the particular land he discovered was far enough from that which he sought. Here was a mixture of wise design and fortunate accident; but the Portuguese discovery of Brazil may be considered as merely accidental. For sailing with a considerable armament to India, by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, but standing out at sea to avoid the calms upon the coast of Africa, the Portuguese fleet fell in upon the continent of South America. Upon their return they made so favorable a report of the land they had discovered, that the court resolved to send a colony thither; and accordingly made their first establishment; but in a very bad method, in which it were to be wished they had never been imitated. This was by banishing thither a number of criminals of all

Digitized by Google

kinds. This blended an evil disposition with the first principles of the colony, and made the settlement infinitely difficult by the disorders inseparable from such people, and the offence which they gave the original inhabitants. This settlement met with some interruption too from the court of Spain, who considered the country as within their dominions. However, matters were accommodated by a treaty, in which it was agreed that the Portuguese should possess all that tract of land that lies between the river Maranon, or of the Amazons, and the river Plata.

When their right was thus confirmed, the Portuguese pursued the settlement with great vigor. Large grants were made to those who were inclined to become adventurers; and almost all the nobility of Portugal procured interests in a country which promised such great advantages. The natives were in most parts subdued, and the improvement of the colony advanced apace. The crown in a little time became attentive to so valuable an acquisition; the government was new modelled, many of the exorbitants recalled, and all things settled upon so advantageous a footing, that the whole sea-coast, upwards of two thousand miles, was in some measure settled, to the honor of the industry and courage of the first planters, and infinitely to the benefit of the mother-country. The Portuguese conquests on the coast of Africa forwarded this establishment, by the number of negroes it afforded them for their works; and this was the first introduction of negroes into America, of which at present they form a large part of the inhabitants.

In the very meridian of their prosperity, when the Portuguese were in possession of so extensive an empire, and so flourishing a trade in Africa, in Arabia, in India, in the isles of Asia, and in one of the most valuable parts of America, they were struck down by one of those incidents, that by one blow, in a critical time, decides the fate of kingdoms. Don Sebastian, one of their greatest princes, in an expedition he had undertaken against the Moors, lost his life; and by that accident the Portuguese lost their liberty, being absorbed into the Spanish dominions.

Digitized by Google

Soon after this misfortune, the same yoke that galled the Portuguese grew so intolerable to the inhabitants of the Netherlands, that they threw it off with great fury and indignation. Not satisfied with erecting themselves into an independent state, and supporting their independency by a successful defensive war, flushed with the juvenile ardor of a growing commonwealth, they pursued the Spaniards into the remotest recesses of their extensive territories, and grew rich, powerful, and terrible by the spoils of their former masters. Principally they fell upon the possessions of the Portuguese; they took almost all their fortresses in the East Indies, not sufficiently defended by the inert policy of the court of Spain; and then turned their arms upon Brazil, unprotected from Europe, and betrayed by the cowardice of the governor of the then principal city. And they would have overrun the whole, if Don Michael de Texeira, the archbishop, descended from one of the noblest families in Portugal, and of a spirit superior to his birth, had not believed, that in such an emergency, the danger of his country superseded the common obligations of his profession. He took arms, and at the head of his monks and a few scattered forces, put a stop to the torrent of the Dutch conquest. He made a gallant stand until succours arrived; and then resigned the commission, with which the public necessity and his own virtue had armed him, into the hands of a person appointed by authority. By this stand he saved seven of the captainships, or provinces, out of fourteen, into which Brazil is divided; the rest fell into the hands of the Dutch, who conquered and kept them with a bravery and conduct, which would deserve more applause, if it had been governed by humanity.

The famous captain, Prince Maurice of Nassau, was the person to whom the Dutch owed this conquest, the establishment of their colony there, and that advantageous peace which secured them in it. But as it is the genius of all mercantile people to desire a sudden profit in all their designs; and as this colony was not under the immediate inspection of the States, but subject to the company called the West India

Digitized by Google

Company, from principles narrowed up by avarice and mean notions, they grudged that the present profits of the colony should be sacrificed to its future security. They found that the prince kept up more troops and erected more fortresses than they thought necessary to their safety; and that he lived in a grander manner than they thought became one in their service. They imagined that a little official economy was the principal quality necessary to form a great conqueror and politician; and therefore they were highly displeased with their governor, Prince Maurice, whom they treated in such a manner as obliged him to resign.

Now their own schemes took place. A reduction of the troops; the expense of fortifications saved; the charge of a court retrenched; the debts of the company strictly exacted; their gains increased cent. per cent., and every thing flourished according to their best ideas of a flourishing state. But then, all this fine system in a short time ended in the total loss of all their capital, and the entire ruin of the West India Company. The hearts of subjects were lost, by their penurious way of dealing, and the severity of their proceedings. The enemy in their neighborhood was encouraged by the defenceless state of their frontiers; and both operated in such a manner, that Brazil was reconquered by the Portuguese; though after a struggle in which the States exerted themselves vigorously; but with that aggravated expense, and that ill success, which always attends a late wisdom, and the patching up of a blundering system of conduct. A standing lesson to those people who have the folly to imagine they consult the happiness of a nation, when, by a pretended tenderness for some of its advantages, they neglect the only things that can support it, the cultivating of the good opinion of the people, and the keeping up of a proper force.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER II.

THE CLIMATE OF BRAZIL—OF THE BRAZIL WOOD.

THE name of Brazil was given to this country because it was observed to abound with a wood of that name. It extends all along a tract of fine sea-coast, upon the Atlantic Ocean, upwards of two thousand miles, between the river of Amazons on the north, and that of Plata on the south. To the northward, the climate is uncertain, hot, boisterous, and unwholesome. The country, both there and even in more temperate parts, is annually overflowed. But to the southward, beyond the tropic of Capricorn, and indeed a good way beyond it, there is no part of the world that enjoys a more serene and wholesome air; refreshed with the soft breezes of the ocean on one hand, and the cool breath of the mountains on the other. Hither several aged people from Portugal retire for their health, and protract their lives to a long and easy age.

In general the soil is extremely fruitful, and was found very sufficient for the comfortable subsistence of the inhabitants, until the mines of gold and diamonds were discovered. These, with the sugar plantations, occupy so many hands, that agriculture lies neglected; and, in consequence, Brazil depends upon Europe for its daily bread.

The chief commodities which this country yields for a foreign market are, sugar, tobacco, hides, indigo, ipecacuanha, balsam of Copaibo, and Brazil wood. As this last article in a more particular manner belongs to this country, to which it gives its name, and which produces it in the greatest perfection, it is not amiss to allow a very little room to the description of it. This tree generally flourishes in rocky and barren grounds, in which it grows to a great height and considerable thickness. But a man who judges of the quantity of the timber by the thickness of the tree will be much deceived;

Digitized by Google

for, upon stripping off the bark, which makes a very large part of the plant, he will find, from a tree as thick as his body, a log no more in compass than his leg. This tree is generally crooked and knotty like the hawthorn, with long branches, and a smooth green leaf, hard, dry, and brittle. Thrice a year, bunches of small flowers shoot out at the extremities of the branches, and between the leaves. These flowers are of a bright red and of a strong aromatic and refreshing smell. The wood of this tree is of a red color, hard and dry. It is used chiefly in dying red, but not a red of the best kind; and it has some place in medicine as a stomachic and restringent.

CHAPTER III.

THE TRADE OF BRAZIL—ITS INTERCOURSE WITH AFRICA—THE SETTLEMENT OF THE RIVER AMAZONS AND RIO JANEIRO—THE GOLD MINES—THE COMMONWEALTH OF THE PAULISTS—THE DIAMOND MINES.

The trade of Brazil is very great, and it increases every year. Nor is this a wonder; since they have opportunities of supplying themselves with slaves for their several works, at a much easier and cheaper rate than any other European power which has settlements in America. For they are the only European nation which has taken the pains to establish colonies in Africa. Those of the Portuguese are very considerable, both for their extent and the numbers of their inhabitants; and of course they have advantages in that trade which no other nation can have. For, besides their large establishment on the western shore of Africa, they claim the whole coast of Zanguebar on the eastern side, which in part they possess; besides several other large territories, both on the coast and in the country; where several numerous nations acknowledge themselves their dependents or subjects. This is not only of

Digitized by Google

great advantage to them, as it increases their shipping and seamen and strengthens their commercial reputation, but as it leaves them a large field for their slave trade; without which they could hardly ever supply, upon any tolerable terms, their settlements in Brazil, which carry off such numbers, by the severity of the works and the unwholesomeness of some part of the climate: nor could they otherwise extend their plantations, and open so many new mines as they do, to a degree which is astonishing.

I own I have often been surprised, that our African traders should choose so contracted an object for their slave trade, which extends to little more than some part of the Gold Coast, to Sierra Leone, and Gambia, and some other inconsiderable ports; by which they have depreciated their own commodities, and raised the price of slaves within these few years above thirty per cent. Nor is it to be wondered; as in the tract in which they trade they have many rivals; the people are grown too expert, by the constant habit of European commerce; and the slaves in that part are in a good measure exhausted; whereas, if some of our vessels passed the Cape of Good Hope, and tried what might be done in Madagascar, or on those coasts which indeed the Portuguese claim, but do not nor cannot hold, there is no doubt but that they would find the greater expense and length of time in passing the Cape, or the charge of licenses which might be procured from the East India company, amply compensated. Our African trade might then be considerably enlarged, our own manufactures extended, and our colonies supplied at an easier rate than they are at present, or are likely to be for the future, whilst we confine ourselves to two or three places, which we exhaust, and where we shall find the market dearer every day. The Portuguese, from these settlements and this extensive range, draw every year into Brazil between forty and fifty thousand slaves. On this trade all their other depends, and therefore they take great care to have it well supplied, for which purpose the situation of Brazil, nearer the coast of Africa than any other part of America, is very convenient;

Digitized by Google

and it coöperates with the great advantages they derive from having colonies in both places.

Hence it is principally, that Brazil is the richest, most flourishing, and most growing establishment in all America. Their export of sugar within forty years is grown much greater than it was, though anciently it made almost the whole of their exportable produce, and they were without rivals in the trade. It is finer in kind than what any of ours, the French, or Spanish sugar plantations send us. Their tobacco too is remarkably good; and they trade very largely in this commodity to the coast of Africa, where they not only sell it directly to the natives, but supply the ships of other nations, who find it a necessary article to enable them to carry on the slave and gold-dust trade to advantage. The northern and southern parts of Brazil abound in horned cattle; these are hunted for their hides, of which no less than twenty thousand are sent annually into Europe.

The Portuguese were a considerable time possessed of their American empire, before they discovered the treasures of gold and diamonds, which have since made it so considerable. After the expulsion of the Dutch, the colony remained without much attention from the court of Portugal; until, in 1685, a minister of great sagacity advised the then monarch to turn his thoughts to so valuable and considerable a part of his territories. He represented to him, that the climate in the bay of All-Saints, where the capital stood, was of such a nature as to deaden the activity and industry of the people; but that the northern and southern extremities of Brazil, in a more temperate climate, invited them to the cultivation of the country. The advice was taken. But, because it was found that the insolence and tyranny of the native Portuguese always excited the hatred of the native Brazilians, and consequently obstructed the settlements, they were resolved to people the countries, which were now the object of their care, with those who are called Mestizes; that is, a race sprung from a mixture of Europeans and Indians, who they judged would behave better; and who, on account of their connection in

Digitized by Google

blood, would be more acceptable to the Brazilians on the borders, who were not yet reduced. To complete this design, they vested the government in the hands of priests, who acted each as governor in his own parish or district, and they had the prudence to choose with great care such men as were proper for the work. The consequence of these wise regulations was soon apparent; for, without noise or force, in fifteen years, they not only settled the sea-coast, but, drawing in vast numbers of the natives, they spread themselves above an hundred miles more to the westward than the Portuguese settlements had ever extended. They opened several mines, which improved the revenues; the planters were easy, and several of the priests made no inconsiderable fortunes.

The fame of these new mines drew together a number of desperadoes and adventurers of all nations and colors; who, not agreeing with the moderate and simple manners of the inhabitants of the new settlements, nor readily submitting to any order or restraint elsewhere, retired into a mountainous part of the country, but fertile enough, and rich in gold; where, by the accession of others in their own circumstances, they soon became a formidable and independent body, and for a long time defended the privileges they had assumed with great courage and policy. They were called Paulists, from the town and district called St. Paul, which was their head quarters. But, as this odd commonwealth grew up in so unaccountable a manner, so it perished in a manner altogether unknown in this part of the world. It is now heard of no longer. The king of Portugal is in full possession of the whole country; and the mines are worked by his subjects and their slaves, paying him a fifth. These mines have poured almost as much gold into Europe as the Spanish America had of silver.

Not many years after the discovery of the gold mines, Brazil, which for a century had been given up as a place incapable of yielding the metals for which America was chiefly valued, was now found to produce diamonds too; but at first of so unpromising a nature, that the working of the mines

Digitized by Google

was forbidden by the court of Portugal, lest, without making any compensation by their number, they might depreciate the trade which was carried on in those stones from Goa. But, in spite of this prohibition, a number were from time to time smuggled from Brazil; and some too of such great weight, and high lustre and transparency, that they yielded very little to the finest brought from India. The court now perceived the importance of the trade, and accordingly resolved to permit it, but under such restrictions as might be sufficiently beneficial to the crown and subject; and at the same time preserve the jewels in that scarcity which makes the principal part of their value. In 1740, the diamond mines were farmed at one hundred and thirty-eight thousand crusadoes, or about twenty-six thousand pounds sterling annually, with a prohibition against employing more than six hundred slaves at a time in the works. It is probable that this regulation is not very strictly complied with; the quantity of diamonds being much increased, and their value of course sunk, since that time. It is true, that diamonds of the very first rank are nearly as dear as ever. None of the diamonds of Brazil have so high a lustre as the first rate of Golconda; and they have generally something of a dusky yellowish cast; but they have been found of a prodigious size. Some years ago we had an account in the newspapers of one sent to the king of Portugal, of a size and weight almost beyond the bounds of credibility; for it was said to weigh sixteen hundred carats, or six thousand seven hundred and twenty grains; and consequently must be worth several millions.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER IV.

REGULATION OF THE PORTUGUESE TRADE—THE DESCRIPTION OF ST. SALVADOR, THE CAPITAL OF BRAZIL—THE FLEETS FOR THAT CITY—RIO JANEIRO AND FERNAMBUCO.

The trade of Portugal is carried on upon the same exclusive plan, on which the several nations of Europe trade with the colonies of America; and it more particularly resembles the Spanish method, by sending out not single ships, as the conveniency of the several places and the ideas of the European merchants may direct; but by annual fleets, which sail at stated times from Portugal and compose three flotas bound to as many ports in Brazil; to Fernambuco, in the northern part; Rio Janeiro, at the southern extremity; and the bay of All-Saints in the middle. In this last is the capital, which is called St. Salvador, where all the fleets rendezvous on their return to Portugal. This city commands a noble, spacious, and commodious harbor. It is built upon a high and steep rock, having the sea upon one side, and a lake forming a crescent, investing it almost wholly, so as nearly to join the sea on the other. This situation makes it in a manner impregnable by nature; but they have besides added to it very strong fortifications. All these make it the strongest place in America. It is divided into an upper and lower town. The lower consists only of a street or two, immediately upon the harbor, for the convenience of lading and unlading goods, which are drawn up to the higher town by machines. The streets in the upper town are laid out as regularly as the ground will admit, and are handsomely built. They had forty years ago in this city above two thousand houses, and inhabitants proportionable; a sumptuous cathedral; several magnificent churches, and many convents, well built and endowed. The Portuguese fleet sets out from Lisbon in its voyage hither in the month of February.

Digitized by Google

I can get no accounts, precise enough to be depended upon, of the towns of Fernambuco or Parayba, and the capital of the Rio de Janeiro, to enable me to be particular about them. Let it suffice that the fleet for the former of these sets out in March; and for the latter in the month of January; but they all rendezvous in the bay of All-Saints, to the number of an hundred sail of large ships, about the month of May or June, and carry to Europe a cargo little inferior in value to the treasures of the flota and galleons. The gold alone amounts to near four millions sterling. This is not all extracted from the mines of Brazil; but, as they carry on a large direct trade with Africa, they bring, especially from their settlement at Mozambique, on the eastern side of that continent, besides their slaves, vast quantities of gold, ebony, and ivory, which goes into the amount of the cargo of the Brazil fleets for Europe. Those parts of Brazil which yield gold are the middle and northern parts on the Rio Janeiro and Bay of All-Saints. They coin a great deal of gold in America; that which is coined at Rio Janiero bears an R, that which is struck at the Bay is marked with a B.

To judge the better of the riches of this Brazil fleet, the diamonds it contains must not be forgot. For if the mines rented to the crown in the year 1740, at twenty-six thousand pounds a year, it will be a very small allowance to say, that at least five times more is made out of them; and that there is returned to Europe in diamonds to at least the value of one hundred and thirty thousand pounds. This, with the sugar, which is principally the cargo of the Fernambuco fleet, the tobacco, the hides, the valuable drugs for medicine and manufactures, may give some idea of the importance of this trade, not only to Portugal, but to all the trading powers of Europe. The returns are not the fiftieth part of the produce of Portugal. They consist of the woolen goods of all kinds, of England, France, and Holland; the linens and laces of Holland, France, and Germany; the silks of France and Italy; lead, tin, iron, copper, and all sorts of utensils wrought in these metals, from England; as well as salt fish, beef, flour, and

Digitized by Google

cheese. Oil they have from Spain. Wine, with some fruits, is nearly all with which they are supplied from Portugal.

Though the profits in this trade are great, very few Portuguese merchants trade upon their own stocks; they are generally credited by the foreign merchants, whose commodities they vend, especially the English. In short, though in Portugal, as in Spain, all trade with their plantations is strictly interdicted to strangers; yet, like all regulations that contradict the very nature of the object they regard, they are here as little attended to as in Spain. The Portuguese is only the trustee and factor; but his fidelity is equal to that of the Spanish merchant; and that has scarce ever been shaken by any public or private cause whatsoever. A thing surprising in the Portuguese; and a striking instance amongst a people so far from remarkable for their integrity, of what a custom originally built upon a few examples, and a consequent reputation built upon that, will be able to effect in a succession of men of very different natural characters and morals. And so different is the spirit of commercial honesty from that of justice, as it is an independent virtue, and influences the heart.

The English at present are the most interested, both in the trade of Portugal for home consumption and of what they want for the use of the Brazils. And they deserve to be most favored, as well from the services they have always done that crown and from the stipulations of treaties, as from the consideration that no other people consumes so much of the products of Portugal. However, partly from our own supineness, partly from the policy and activity of France, and partly from the fault of the Portuguese themselves, the French have becoms very dangerous rivals to us in this, as in most other branches of our trade. It is true, though the French have advanced so prodigiously, and there is a spirit of industry and commerce raised in most countries in Europe, our exports of manufactures or natural products have by no means lessened within these last forty years; which can only be explained by the extending of our own, and the Spanish and Portuguese

Digitized by Google

colonies, which increases the general demand. But, though it be true, that we have rather advanced than declined in our commerce upon the whole, yet we ought to take great care not to be deceived by this appearance. For if we have not likewise advanced in as great a proportion to what we were before that period, and to our means since then, as our neighbors have done in proportion to theirs, as I apprehend we have not, then, I say, we have comparatively declined; and shall never be able to preserve that distinguished rank of the first commercial and maritime power in Europe. Time must be essential to preserve us in any degree, either of commerce or power. For if any other power, of a more extensive and populous territory than ours, should come to rival us in trade and wealth, he must come of necessity to give law to us in whatever relates either to trade or policy. Notwithstanding that the want of capacity in the ministers of such a power, or the indolence of the sovereign, may protract the evil for a time, it will certainly be felt in the end, and will show us demonstratively, though too late, that we must have a great superiority in trade, not only to ourselves formerly, but to our neighbors at present, to have any at all which is likely to continue with us for a long time.

CHAPTER V.

THE CHARACTER OF THE AMERICAN PORTUGUESE—THE STATE OF THE NEGROES—THE GOVERNMENT.

The portrait which the most judicious travelers give us of the manners and customs of the Portuguese in America, is very far from being favorable to that people. They are represented as a people at once sunk in the most effeminate luxury, and practising the most desperate crimes. Of a dissembling hypocritical temper; of little honesty in dealing, or sincerity in conversation; lazy, proud, and cruel. They are poor

Digitized by Google

and penurious in their diet, not more through necessity than inclination. For, like the inhabitants of most southern climates, they are much more fond of show, state, and attendance, than of the joys of free society and the satisfaction of a good table. Yet their feasts, seldom made, are sumptuous to extravagance.

The luxury, indolence, pride, and cruelty of the masters has, amongst other causes, been very justly attributed to their being bred up amongst slaves, having every business entirely done by such; and to their being permitted to keep a prodigious number of negroes, not for their field work, nor for domestic employments, but merely to wait upon them and to form their train. These become more corrupted than their masters, who make them the instruments of their crimes; and, giving them an unbounded and scandalous license, employ them, whenever they want to terrify or revenge, as bullies and assassins. And indeed nothing can be conceived more fit to create the worst disorders, than the unnatural junction of slavery to idleness and a licentious way of living. They are all suffered to go armed, and there are vast numbers who have merited or bought their freedom; and this is suffered in a country where the negroes are ten to one.

But this picture, perhaps too highly colored for those whom it is intended to represent, is by no means applicable to all the Portuguese of Brazil. Those by the Rio Janeiro, and in the nothern captainships, are not near so effeminate and corrupted as those of the Bay of All-Saints, which, being in a climate favorable to indolence and debauchery, the capital city, one of the oldest settlements, is in all respects worse than any of the others.

The government of Brazil is in the viceroy, who resides at St. Salvador. He has two councils, one for criminal, the other for civil affairs; in both which he presides. But, to the infinite prejudice of the settlement, all the delay, chicanery, multiplied expenses incident to the worst part of the law, and practised by the most corrupted lawyers, flourish here; at the same time that justice is so lax that the greatest crimes

Digitized by Google

often pass with impunity. Formerly the judges could not legally punish any Portuguese with death. And it is not difficult to imagine, how much a license in such a country must have contributed to a corruption, that it may be the business of successions of good magistrates, and ages of good discipline, to restore to soundness. Upon the river of Amazons, the people, who are mostly Indians and reduced by the priests sent thither, are still under the government of these pastors. The several divisions of this country are called missions.

As the Portuguese have been once dispossessed of this country by the Dutch, and once endangered by the French, their misfortunes and dangers have made them wise enough to take very effectual measures for their future security. St. Salvador is a very strong fortification; they have others that are not contemptible; besides a good number of European regular troops, of which there are two regiments in St. Salvador. The militia too is regimented, amongst whom they reckon some bodies of Indians and free Negroes; and indeed at present Brazil seems to be in as little danger as the settlements of any power of America, not only from their own internal strength, their remoteness, and the intolerable heat and unhealthiness of a great part of the climate, but from the interest that most of the states of Europe, who are concerned in that trade, have to keep it in the hands of the Portuguese.

Digitized by Google

PART V.

THE FRENCH SETTLEMENTS.

CHAPTER 1.

THE TIME IN WHICH THE FRENCH BEGAN THEIR WEST-INDIA SETTLEMENTS—FAVORED BY CARDINAL RICHELIEU—DE POINCY GOVERNOR—THE WEST INDIA COMPANY.

The French were amongst the last nations who made settlements in the West Indies; but they made ample amends by the vigor with which they pursued them, and by that chain of judicious and admirable measures which they used in drawing from them every advantage that the nature of the climate would yield; and in contending against the difficulties which it threw in their way.

The civil wars which divided and harrassed that kingdom, from the death of Henry the Second, with very little interruption, until the majority of Lewis the Fourteenth, withdrew the attention of both prince and people from their commercial interests to those of parties in religion and government. The politics of the house of Valois, though France perhaps was never governed by princes of so ingenious and refined a turn, were wholly of the Machiavelian kind. They tended to distract, to unsettle, to try dangerous schemes, and to raise storms, only to display a skill in pilotage. The parties then in France solely contended what power could be given to or taken from the king, without considering what could make their country

Digitized by Google

a great kingdom. Therefore, which way soever the balance inclined, whether to the king or to the nobles, to the Catholics or to the Protestants, it was pretty indifferent to the real happiness of that nation. The parties only gamed out of a common stock. Neither could be enriched. But their dissensions made all of them poor and weak. The time of Cardinal Richelieu must be considered as the true era of French policy. This great man, pacifying all at home, exalting the royal authority upon the ruins of the power of the nobility, and modeling that great system of general policy in external affairs, which has raised France to such a pitch of greatness, amongst so many and such extensive cares, did not forget those of commerce, and, what serves most effectually to support commerce, colonies and establishments abroad. But the circumstances of the time and his genius that embraced so many objects, did not leave him leisure to perfect what he began. It was reserved for that great, wise, and honest minister, Colbert, one of the ablest that ever served any prince or honored any country, to bring that plan to perfection, to carry it in a great measure into execution, and to leave things in such order, that it was not difficult, when favorable circumstances offered, to make France one of the first trading powers in Europe, and her colonies the most powerful, their nature considered, of any in America.

So early as the reign of Francis I. the French attempted an establishment in North America; but it was not until the year 1625, that they made their first settlement in the West Indies. This was upon St. Christopher, one of the Caribbee islands. A remarkable circumstance attended it; the English took possession of the island the same day. But this settlement had not long life on either side. The Spaniards had reason to dread the establishment of such powers in their neighborhood; and they envied the French and English those advantages it was foreseen they would draw from countries from which they had themselves no benefit, and which they claimed only to keep them deserts.

They assaulted these new colonies and drove them out of

Digitized by Google

the island. The English colony soon returned and possessed themselves of the largest and most fertile quarter, before the French could collect themselves; who, finding the English already occupied the best part, left a small colony on the other. But their chief and the most adventurous of their inhabitants, went in search of a new settlement; when, after various fortune, and after combating the difficulties which an uncultivated country and some indiscretions of their own had caused them, they made a considerable settlement in the islands of Martinico and Guadaloupe.

Cardinal Richelieu saw very early into the advantages which might arise from these settlements, if prudently managed; and he thought the most prudent management both for securing and extending them, consisted in but one article; which was, to put the government into proper hands. With that view he made choice of Monsieur de Poincy, a knight of Malta; who was sent thither with the title of governor and lieutenant-general of the isles of America, and a very ample commission. No person could be better fitted to rectify the disorders that naturally must arise in every new settlement, and to put things in a right channel for the time to come. Of a good family, of an unblemished reputation for probity, of great reading, of much and various knowledge of life, and of a genius as variously exercised; he was a master in mechanical learning; in which he excelled not more to his own honor, than to the benefit of the colonies which had the happiness to be committed to his care. He it was that first taught them the method of cultivating the sugar cane and preparing the sugar. He improved the methods which were used in the Brazils for this purpose, both with regard to the mills and the furnaces; and having given a direction to their industry, he gave it all the encouragement he could, by supporting those who raised their own substance by the means which advanced the colony; whilst he kept a watchful eye and a severe hand upon all who were for making hasty fortunes, without adding to the public stock. He made admirable regulations for the speedy and impartial administration of jus-

Digitized by Google

tice; and knowing that all order must depend for its blessing above, and its effect here upon an attention to religion, he appointed a proper number of churches to be built in all the islands under his care, and settled priests in them, with a competent but not a superfluous provision; but he did not think monasteries and monks so compatible with a new colony.

Under the inspection of this governor, Martinico, Guadaloupe, part of St. Christopher's, St. Bartholomew, and St. Martin were settled and began to flourish, and that with very little help from home; a plain proof that almost every thing depends, in affairs of this nature, on choosing proper men to command, and giving them a proper authority.

These islands, however, were unhappily under the superintendance of an exclusive company, which, in spite of all that could otherwise be done, especially after the death of Richelieu, so neglected, or mismanaged their affairs, that they were obliged to sell a part of the settlements; and they left the rest hardly worth purchasing. But the government at length bought up the islands which they had alienated, and rescued the others out of their hands. The trade under proper regulations was laid open, yet protected under the wings of their great India company. These regulations took place about 1680, and the benefits of this arrangement were great and soon apparent. Exclusive companies may probably be useful to nourish an infant trade. They may be useful too for a very distant one, where the market is to be nicely managed, and where it is under the dominion of foreign and barbarous princes. But where the trade is between different parts of the dominions of the same prince, under the protection of his laws, carried on by his own subjects, and with goods wrought in his own country, such companies must be equally absurd in their nature and ruinous in their consequences to the trade.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER II.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE COLONY OF ST. CHRISTOPHER'S—THE RISE OF THE BUCCANEERS—THE CAUSE OF THEIR SUCCESS—THE SETTLEMENT OF HISPANIOLA—THE POLICY OF FRANCE—A DESCRIPTION OF HISPANIOLA—ITS TRADE—THE TOWNS OF CAPE FRANCOISE AND LEOGANE.

After the Spaniards had ruined the first colony at St. Christopher's, they brought upon themselves by this act a very heavy revenge for the injustice of it. Their example at the same time made it apparent, how much better it is to let a bold and adventurous people settle in some place where they can do but little mischief, and to suffer their spirit to evaporate in peaceful occupations, rather than to keep it up by difficulties, unable to quell it, but which may force it to take another and more dangerous turn.

Several of the French inhabitants, who were expelled from St. Christopher's, being reduced to great indigence, began to think of desperate courses. They betook themselves to piracy; and uniting with some vagrant English, Dutch, and other outcasts of all nations, but resolute fellows, and not destitute of men of capacity amongst them, they began a piratical war upon the Spaniards. At first they satisfied themselves with taking their ships and destroying their trade; which they did effectually; but soon, encouraged and strengthened by this success, they landed upon the continent of New Spain and Terra Firma, burning and plundering the open country. Their boldness and number increasing with their success, they assaulted and took some of their strongest fortresses, and most opulent towns. They took Porto-bello, Campeachy, Maracaibo, Gibraltar, and the fortress of Chagra; they even took the city of Panama by storm, and burned it, after defeating an army which came to beat them off. In all which places, and in the others which they had taken, they

Digitized by Google

tice; and knowing that all order must depend for its blessing above, and its effect here upon an attention to religion, h appointed a proper number of churches to be built in all th islands under his care, and settled priests in them, with competent but not a superfluous provision; but he did nc think monasteries and monks so compatible with a ne colony.

Under the inspection of this governor, Martinico, Guadc loupe, part of St. Christopher's, St. Bartholomew, and S Martin were settled and began to flourish, and that with ver little help from home; a plain proof that almost every thin depends, in affairs of this nature, on choosing proper men t command, and giving them a proper authority.

These islands, however, were unhappily under the superir tendance of an exclusive company, which, in spite of all th could otherwise be done, especially after the death of Rich lieu, so neglected, or mismanaged their affairs, that they we obliged to sell a part of the settlements; and they left the re hardly worth purchasing. But the government at leng bought up the islands which they had alienated, and reacte the others out of their hands. The trade under proper reg lations was laid open, yet protected under the wings of th great India company. These regulations took place abc 1680, and the benefits of this arrangement were great a soon apparent. Exclusive companies may probably be use to nourish an infant trade. They may be useful too fo very distant one, where the market is to be nicely manag and where it is under the dominion of foreign and barbar princes. But where the trade is between different part the dominions of the same prince, under the protection of laws, carried on by his own subjects, and with goods wro in his own country, such companies must be equally ab in their nature and ruinous in their consequences to the

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER I.

THE [illegible] OF THE COLONY OF [illegible] — [illegible] OF THE BUCCANEERS—THE CAUSE [illegible] THE SETTLEMENT OF HISPANIOLA—THE [illegible] DESCRIPTION OF HISPANIOLA—ITS TRADE—THE [illegible] PASCOME AND LEOGANE.

After the Spaniards had ruined the [illegible] Christopher's, they brought upon themselves [illegible] very heavy revenge for the injustice of it. [illegible] the same time made it apparent, how much [illegible] a bold and adventurous people settle in some [illegible] they can do but little [illegible] and to suffer [illegible] separate in peaceful [illegible] rather than [illegible] by difficulties, [illegible] out which may [illegible] use another [illegible]

Several of [illegible] who were expelled from St. Christopher [illegible] great indigence, began to think of desperate [illegible] took themselves [illegible] racy; and [illegible] English, Dutch, and other outcasts [illegible] fellows, and not destitute of [illegible] they began a piratical war [illegible] they satisfied themselves [illegible] which [illegible] destroying their trade; ened by [illegible] encouraged and strengthened by [illegible] the continent of New Spain [illegible] rendering the [illegible] country [illegible] increasing [illegible]

Digitized by Google

gained an incredible booty, and committed the most unheard of cruelties. Another party of these pirates passed the straits of Magellan, and entering into the south sea, turned the whole coast of Peru, Chili, and the east of Mexico, into one scene of desolation; everywhere attended with success, because everywhere acting with a bravery and conduct, that in any other cause had merited the highest honors.

It is not a little surprising, at first view, that all the great things which were done in this new world, were either done by actual pirates, as these men were, or by private adventurers, but one degree better authorized, and nothing better supported; whose own courage and skill were to be at once their commission, their magazines, and their treasury; being obliged to find the resources of the war in the war itself; when the most numerous and the best provided armaments have shamefully failed, and failed in those very places, where the adventurers had shown them such a glorious example of success. But the cause is not so hard to be assigned. None but men of great enterprise and bravery conceive those expeditions of themselves. Unsupported, but at the same time unchecked by the higher powers, they were under the necessity of turning to every side, and of exerting every faculty. But then they had nothing to hinder this exertion. Their first attempts were generally low, and therefore they were prosperous. They did not lead great armies to be subsisted with great difficulty, and to be discouraged and wasted by the hardships of the climate; but they habituated themselves to hardships by degrees; they were encouraged by smaller successes; and having nothing to expect from their power and numbers, they made amends by their vigilance, their activity, and their courage. These are causes adequate to the effect; indeed adequate to any effect. Whereas, in the regular way, a general of the first note and reputation has rarely been sent into America; the service seemed beneath him; and they that were tolerably expert at second and third parts (worse than the absolutely inexperienced for the very first, where the scene is new) were sent by court favor and intrigue. What

Digitized by Google

armaments from England, Holland, and France, have been sent in different times to America, whose remains returned without honor or advantage, is too clear, and perhaps too invidious a topic to be greatly insisted upon.

The pirates, whom we called buccaneers improperly, the French denominated flibustiers, from the Dutch flyboats, in which they made their first expeditions. The buccaneers are no more than persons who hunt wild cattle in America for their hides and tallow. Some of these joined the flibustiers in their first expeditions; and from them we named the whole body buccaneers. These people brought their prizes and plunder frequently into Jamaica, by which they enriched that island extremely. Others, finding that the Spaniards were very weak in Hispaniola, and that they had in a manner deserted a considerable part of the island, made it a place of rendezvous. They who hunted cattle saw the hideous deserts left by the Spanish tyranny a proper place for exercising their profession. To these two sorts of people were soon added a third, who were some of the French in the Lesser Antilles; who, finding how much might be made by supplying a sort of people, who expended largely and were not very exact in their bargains, and perceiving that no part of America afforded a better soil, passed over to this island, and exercised here their business of planters and merchants. These three sorts of people, mutually in want of each other, lived in very good harmony. The Spaniards dislodged them several times; but they still returned, and with new strength; so that it was with difficulty and after a long dispute, that the Spaniards were able to retain one part of the island.

The court of France saw the progress of these people silently. Whenever complaints were made, they disavowed their proceedings; resolved not to break measures with Spain for the sake of an object, which they were not sure they could hold, and the advantages of which were yet doubtful; but when they found the French in Hispaniola numerous, strong, and wealthy, they owned them as subjects, sent them a governor and regular forces to keep them so, and to defend them

Digitized by Google

in what they had done: the old method of piracy was still connived at, whilst the trade of skins increased and the plantations extended. At last the French obtained a legal right by the cession, which the Spaniards made them, of the north-west part of the island by the treaty of Ryswick, in 1697; the best and most fertile part of the best and most fertile island in the West Indies, and perhaps in the world; that which was the first settled, and the whole of which is upwards of four hundred miles long and one hundred and forty broad. This is the principal settlement of the French in the West Indies, and indeed in all America. The country is mixed; pretty mountainous in some parts, but many of these mountains are fertile and covered with beautiful woods. Others, which are barren and rocky, anciently had mines of gold; they are not worked now, though it is judged they not only contain those of gold, but mines of silver, copper, and iron. But the French think, and I believe with reason, that their labor is better bestowed on the culture of the plains for these rich commodities, which vend so well in Europe, than in the pursuit of mines, really more precarious in their profits, and which yield a wealth after all of a less useful kind.

This country has likewise prodigiously fine plains, of a vast extent and extreme fertility; either covered with noble and beautiful forests of timber and fruit trees, excellent in their kinds, or pastured by vast numbers of horned cattle, sheep, and hogs, The air in Hispaniola is the most healthy in the West Indies. The country is admirably watered with rivulets as well as navigable rivers. It is no wonder therefore, that this active and industrious nation, in possession of so excellent and extensive a country, has reaped from it prodigious advantages. They were the better enabled to do this, from the great encouragement their settlements met with in France, and from the wise regulations which were made concerning them. These we shall consider in their place. But it is certain they reckoned in the year 1726, that on this island they had no less than one hundred thousand negroes and thirty thousand whites; that they made sixty thousand hogsheads

Digitized by Google

of sugar of five hundred weight each; that the indigo was half as much in value as the sugar; that they exported large quantities of cotton; and that they had sent besides to France cacao and ginger in tolerable plenty. Since that time they had raised coffee here to a very great amount. And not this article only, but every other branch of their commercial products has increased to a degree truly astonishing since that period. Towards the conclusion of the late war, a Spanish writer of great judgment and well informed reckons the produce of the plantations near Cape St. Françoise, the capital of French Hispaniola, and which were exported from that single town, at 30,000 tons in sugar, indigo, tobacco, and coffee. This export at the lowest possible calculation cannot be of less value than 600,000 pounds sterling. If to this we add the exports of the two considerable ports of Leogane and Petit Guaves, and the other inferior ones, which certainly do not send out less than the capital; on this low estimation we find the exported produce of this island to be worth £1,200,000 annually; which, great as it is, is certainly underrated. But there is another branch of their trade, if possible, more advantageous to the mother country, the contraband which they carry on with the Spaniards, wholly in the manufactures of France, and for which they receive their returns in silver. The above-mentioned author from the most authentic information tells us, that this trade returns annually to France no less than two millions of dollars. This progress of the French colonies and their flourishing state, after a war in which they suffered greatly, I have displayed, in order to explode a notion which prevails with many; that, by distressing the French in time of war, it is in our power entirely to destroy their commerce; but this notion, if it should prevail generally, may mislead us greatly to our disadvantage.

Nations like France and England, full of people of spirit and of industry, easily recover all the losses of war. The trade of France was in a deplorable condition at the treaty of Utrecht. She had not then five hundred vessels of all sorts in the world. At the beginning of the last war, but

Digitized by Google

thirty years after, they had eighteen hundred. Their losses in that war were very great; and yet their losses in this show, that in a very little time they have more than repaired them. Wherever the vital principle subsists in full vigor wounds are soon healed. Disorders themselves are a species of remedies; and every new loss not only shows how it may be repaired, but, by the vigor it inspires, makes new advantages known. Such losses renew the spirit of industry and enterprise; they reduce things to their first principles; they keep alive motion and make the appetites of traders sharp and keen. While the spirit of trade subsists, trade itself can never be destroyed. This is the reason that, amidst their continual wars and the losses all the nations of Europe suffer from each other, they are almost all thriving. And, if I may indulge a conjecture, it may be one among several of the causes which have reduced the trade of Holland, that, since the treaty of Utrecht, now above forty years, they have had no war. They may, during the quarrels of other powers, appear to have derived great advantages from their neutrality. But are they not with all this declining fast? And is not this country, which grew to be a nation, and to be a powerful, trading, and rich nation, in the midst of the most bloody and expensive wars, now losing its trade, its riches, and its power, and almost ceasing to be a nation, in the midst of a profound peace of upwards of forty years? We must not forget what the great Colbert said of his country, and which we have experienced to be true, that the industry of the French if permitted, would turn the very rocks into gold. We must not therefore place our dependence for keeping ourselves on a par of power with France, upon the prejudice which we can do its trade in time of war, but upon the vigor, economy, and wisdom of the measures which we take to secure and advance our own, both in war and in peace.

The largest town in the French part of Hispaniola is Cape Françoise, which is situated on the northern part of the island upon a very fine harbor. It is well built, and contains about eight thousand inhabitants, blacks and whites. But though

Digitized by Google

this be the largest town, Leogane on the western side, a good port too, and place of considerable trade, is the seat of government, which here resides in the hands of a governor and the intendant, who are mutually a check upon each other. There are besides two other towns, considerable for their trade, Petit Guaves on the west end of the island, and Port Louis on the south-west part.

CHAPTER III.

A DESCRIPTION OF MARTINICO—OF GUADALOUPE AND OTHER FRENCH ISLANDS—THEIR PRODUCE—OBSERVATIONS ON THE MISTAKES THAT HAVE BEEN MADE ABOUT THEIR VALUE.

Martinico is the next island in importance which the French possess in America. It is one of the Caribbees or Windward islands, and the principal of them; about sixty miles in length, and at a medium about half as much in breadth. It is forty leagues to the north-west of Barbadoes. It has pretty high hills, especially in the inland parts. From those hills are poured out upon every side a number of agreeable and useful rivulets, which adorn and fructify this island in a high degree. The bays and harbors are numerous, safe, and commodious; and so well fortified, that we have always failed in our attempts upon this place. The soil is fruitful enough, abounding in the same things which our islands in that part of the world produce, and upon which I shall the less insist on that account. Sugar is here, as it is in all the islands, the principal commodity, and great quantities are here made. Their export cannot be less than sixty or seventy thousand hogsheads, of five or six hundred weight annually, and this certainly is no extravagant estimation. Indigo, cotton, pimento or allspice, ginger, and aloes, are raised here; and coffee in great abundance; but to what value I cannot exactly say. Martinico is the residence of the governor of the French islands in these seas.

Digitized by Google

Guadaloupe is the largest of all the Caribbees, and in that division called the Leeward islands. It is almost cut in two by a deep gulf that closes the side of a narrow isthmus, which connects the two peninsulas that compose this island. It is upwards of sixty miles long, and about the same in breadth. Its soil is not inferior to that of Martinico; it is equally cultivated; and it is fortified with equal strength; its produce is the same with that of Martinico; its export of sugar is as great, besides indigo, cotton, and those other commodities, which are produced in all the islands of that part of America called the West Indies.

The rest of the French islands in those seas are Desiada, St. Bartholomew, and Marigalante; all of them inconsiderable in comparison of those which we have mentioned. They do not all together produce above seven or eight thousand hogsheads of sugar. As for the island of St. Vincent, it is in the possession of the native Americans and of runaway negroes from the rest of the Caribbees. The French maintain them in this possession. Santa Lucia, or, as it is often called, Saint Alouzie, of which the French are themselves in possession, and have settled, contrary to the faith of treaties, it is impossible to say any thing of its produce; it has been so newly planted, that it cannot as yet yield a great deal, and it is, even in our present circumstances, much our fault if it ever yields a great deal to France. These islands, besides their staple commodities, send home rocou, and brazil wood, in considerable quantities, for the use of dyers, cassia for the druggists, and rosewood for joiners. The French have a settlement upon an island on the coast of Terra Firma in the province of Guiana, which they call Caen; and they claim besides a considerable part of the adjacent continent, but they have not much extended their settlements that way. The island is excessively unhealthy, though not so bad as formerly. The French here raise the same commodities which they have from the Caribbee islands, and in no inconsiderable quantity.

In estimating the produce of these islands, it is not in my power to be very exact. I have made the best inquiries I

Digitized by Google

could, and principally taken care not to exaggerate. I have, indeed, made the produce of the Caribbee Islands very much greater than the ingenious collector of Harris's voyages; but then I am the less fearful of differing from him, as he seems a little to differ from himself, and not to have considered this point with his usual attention; for of Martinico he says, "That, as it is larger, so it has many more inhabitants than Barbadoes, and produces more sugars, &c." And speaking of Guadaloupe, a little lower, he observes, "That it produces more sugars than any of the British Islands, except Jamaica;" and yet afterwards, coming to sum up the products of all these islands, he allows but fifteen thousand hogsheads of sugar, of about six hundred weight each, for the whole; when he makes the single island of Barbadoes to yield double the quantity of sugars which Martinico, Guadaloupe, and all the French Caribbees put together produce. For he rates it in the year 1730 at twenty-two thousand hogsheads and upwards, of thirteen hundred weight. He must therefore certainly have made some mistake, excusable enough in so vast a work, which is executed in general in a very masterly manner.

On the whole, from the best information I can get, the French at present greatly exceed our islands in the quantity of sugars which they produce; and it is as certain, that they are far less on the decline in that trade than we are, at least as things stood before the war; that they cultivate great quantities of indigo, a trade which our colonies in the West Indies have entirely lost; that within these few years they have sent to Europe abundance of coffee, which our islands have not sufficient encouragement to raise; and that, upon the whole, we have the greatest reason to be jealous of France in that part of the world. What advantages they derive from the noble island of Hispaniola we have seen. What must they do, if they come to possess the whole of that island, which in the cutting and shuffling of a treaty of peace is no way impossible? We shall then change the indolent Spaniard for the neighborhood of the lively, vigilant, and enterprizing

Digitized by Google

French. And what a rivalry in peace, and what a danger in war, that neighborhood is even now, and much more will probably be, is but too apparent. Jamaica is near it; and, for so valuable a possession in so dangerous a situation, perhaps not so well defended. If, besides this, the French should retain the islands of St. Vincent, St. Lucia, and Tobago, though they should only turn them into plantations for firewood, lumber, and provisions, as in such a case it would seem most advisable to do with some of them at least, what an advantage to their colonies! what an annoyance to ours! which they in a manner surround, and can in a sort hold besieged by the private armaments they may from thence fit out!

These last-mentioned islands were left neutral at the last peace; or, in other words, they were left at the extinction of the old, in just the order proper for kindling a new flame (though such a design, I am convinced, was far from the intentions of one of the parties) and in all respects as if things were expressly ordered for that very purpose. Indeed nothing can be attended with worse consequences than these political after-reckonings, which the party who has the advantage at making the peace never finds it his account to settle or adjust; but there they lie, full of matter of litigation; full of idle occasions for formal business; full of strife and of ill blood; and, when a proper time occurs, of bloody and expensive wars. It were better, at any rate, all at once to know what we are to depend upon; the best or the worst we have to expect. If, on the conclusion of a peace, things should take for us such an unfortunate turn, we have still great resources in the territories we possess. Jamaica is nothing like fully cultivated. The Bahamas, our undisputed right, where it is highly probable sugars might be cultivated to advantage, remain at present utterly neglected, as if unworthy of all notice, though they are many in number, large in extent, fruitful in their soil, situated in a very happy climate, and are in a manner the keys of the West India navigation. But we shall pass by all reflections on this subject for the present, to

Digitized by Google

look at the possessions and claims of France upon the continent; which, if they were as well cultivated as they are fruitful and extensive, or as convenient objects of the French industry as their islands, they would, I make no doubt, be at least as advantageous to the trade, and add as much to the wealth and power, of that flourishing kingdom.

CHAPTER IV.

FRENCH NORTH AMERICA—DESCRIPTION OF CANADA—ITS CLIMATE—THE FAIR OF MONTREAL—QUEBEC—THE INHABITANTS OF CANADA—THE RIVER ST. LAWRENCE AND THE GREAT LAKES—CAPE BRETON.

The French possessions and claims in North America consist of an immense inland country, communicating with the sea by the mouths of two great rivers; both of difficult and dangerous navigation at the entrance; and one of which is quite frozen for almost half the year, and covered with thick exhalations and fogs for the greater part of the rest. They divide this vast country, which has our colonies on the east and north-east, the Spanish on the south-west and south-east, and to the westward that unknown tract of land which stretches to the South Sea, into two great provinces; the northern of which they call Canada, and the southern Louisiana. But how far the bounds of these countries, extended to dimensions almost as great as all Europe by the ambition of France, ought to be contracted by the rights of other powers, I shall not undertake to determine; as, after all, such questions must be decided in a manner altogether different from any thing that can be said here.

Canada, which borders upon our provinces of Nova Scotia, New England, and New York, is of a climate not altogether different from theirs; but, as it is much further from the sea, and more northerly than a great part of those provinces, it

Digitized by Google

has a much severer winter; though the air is generally clear. The soil is various; mostly barren; but the French have settlements where the land is equal in goodness to that in any of our colonies, and wants nothing but a better convenience of market to make it equally advantageous to the proprietors. It yields Indian corn very well in most parts, and very fine wheat in some. All sorts of garden stuff which grows in Europe flourishes here. But they raise no staple commodity to answer their demands upon Old France; their trade with the Indians produces all their returns for that market. They are the furs of the beaver principally, and those of foxes and racoons, with deer-skins, and all the branches of the peltry. These, with what corn and lumber they send to the West Indies, to a people not very luxurious nor extremely numerous, furnish, though very little money, yet wherewithal, in a plentiful country, to render life easy and agreeable.

The nature of the climate severely cold for the most part, and the people manufacturing nothing, shows what the country wants from Europe; wine, brandy, cloths, chiefly coarse, linen, and wrought iron. The Indian trade requires brandy, tobacco, a sort of duffil blankets, guns, powder and ball, kettles, hatchets, and tomahawks, with several toys and trinkets. The Indians supply the peltry, and the French have traders, whom they call *coureurs de bois*, who, in the manner of the original inhabitants, traversing the vast lakes and rivers, that divide this country, in canoes of bark, with incredible industry and patience, carry their goods into the remotest parts of America, and amongst nations entirely unknown to us. This again brings the market home to them, as the Indians are hereby habituated to trade with them. For this purpose, people from all parts, even from the distance of a thousand miles, come to the French fair of Montreal, which is held in June. On this occasion many solemnities are observed; guards are placed, and the governor assists, to preserve order in such a concourse of so great a variety of savage nations. The trade is now in that channel, for though many, if not most, of these nations actually pass by our settlement of

Digitized by Google

Albany in New York, where they may have the goods they want cheaper considerably than at Montreal, they travel on above two hundred miles further, to buy the same commodities at the second hand, and enhanced by the expense of so long a land carriage, at the French fair. For the French find it cheaper to buy our goods from the New-York merchants than to have them from their own, after so bad and so tedious a passage as it is from the mouth of the river St. Lawrence to Montreal. So much do the French exceed us in industry, economy, and the arts of conciliating the affections of mankind; things that even balance all the disadvantages they naturally labor under in this country! Our fort of Oswego was well planned for securing the Indian trade, and actually brought us a great part of it. But it is now no longer an interruption to the French commerce.

Having mentioned Montreal, I have only to observe, that this town is situated on an island in the river St. Lawrence. This island lies in a very favorable climate, and is well inhabited and well planted. The city, which is sometimes called Montreal, sometimes Ville Marie, is agreeably situated on a branch of the river St. Lawrence; it forms an oblong square, divided by regular and well cut streets; it contains three convents, with handsome churches, and a hospital for the sick. The fortifications are pretty good. The inhabitants are said to be about five thousand. The river is only navigable hither by canoes, or small craft, having several falls between this town and Quebec. Yet the Indian fair and the trade of the same kind, which they drive more or less for the whole year, make it no inconsiderable place.

Quebec, the capital, lies much nearer to the sea; from which, however, it is one hundred and fifty leagues distant. The river, which from the sea hither is ten or twelve miles broad, narrows all of a sudden to about a mile wide. The town is divided into an upper and a lower; the houses in both are of stone, and built in a tolerable manner. The fortifications are strong, though not regular; but its situation on a rock, washed by the river St. Lawrence, is its chief defence. The

Digitized by Google

city is a bishopric; but the cathedral is mean and unworthy the capital of New France. The episcopal palace is however a building of a good appearance. Here is likewise a college of Jesuits, not inelegant; two convents and two hospitals. The town is covered with a regular and beautiful citadel, in which the governor resides. The city, though the capital of Canada, is however not very large. It contains about seven or eight thousand inhabitants at the utmost. Ships of the greatest burthen load and unload here, and a good many are built.

From Quebec to Montreal, which is about one hundred and fifty miles distance, the country on both sides the river is very well settled, and has an agreeable effect upon the eye. The farms lie pretty close all the way; several gentlemen's houses, neatly built, show themselves at intervals; and there is all the appearance of a flourishing colony; but there are no towns or villages. It is pretty much like the well settled parts of our colonies of Virginia and Maryland, where the planters are wholly within themselves.

With all the attention of the court of France to the trade and peopling of this, as well as their other colonies on the continent, they have not been yet able thoroughly to overcome the consequences of those difficulties which the climate, whilst the place was unsettled, threw in their way; their losses in the wars with that brave and fierce nation the Iroquois, who more than once reduced their colony to the last extremity, and the bad navigation of the river St. Lawrence, which is an evil incurable, have kept back the colony. Therefore, though it is the oldest of all the French establishments, and prior to our settlement of New England, the inhabitants are not above one hundred thousand souls. Some indeed of late reckon them but at forty thousand. An error that is very prejudicial to our affairs, whilst we overvalued our own strength and underrated the force of the enemy, and acted in a good measure in conformity to such ideas; but even this number, as I estimate it, which I believe is not far from the reality, might be no just cause of dread to our colonies, if they managed the strength

Digitized by Google

they have, which is certainly much superior, with skill and effect. The French from theirs, though inferior, have seven or eight thousand militia, hardy and well disciplined, always in readiness to coöperate with their regular troops; and there is nothing which may hinder or retard their operations from within themselves. It is therefore not more the French intrigues and their intermarriages with the Indians, which fix that people in the French interest, than the succors which they are always sure to have from such a force, ever in readiness to protect them whilst they remain their friends, or to punish them whenever they dare to appear as enemies. With us the case is quite otherwise. This savage people commence hostilities against us without any previous notice; and often, without any provocation, they commit the most horrid ravages for a long time with impunity. But when at last their barbarities have roused the sleeping strength of our people, at the same time too that they have considerably lessened it, they are not ashamed to beg a peace; they know we always grant it readily; they promise it shall endure as long as the sun and moon; and then all is quiet, till the French intrigues, coöperating with our indolence, give them once more an opportunity of ravaging our colonies, and of once more renewing a peace to be broken like all the former.

The great river St. Lawrence is that only upon which the French have settlements of any note; but if we look forward into futurity, it is nothing improbable that this vast country, whoever then shall be the possessors of it, will be enabled of itself to carry on a vast trade upon these great seas of fresh water which it environs. Here are five lakes, the smallest of which is a piece of sweet water greater than any in the other parts of the world; this is the lake Ontario, which is not less than two hundred leagues in circumference; Erie, longer but not so broad, is about the same extent. That of the Hurons spreads greatly in width, and is in circumference not less than three hundred; as is that of Michigan, though, like lake Erie, it is rather long and comparatively narrow. But the lake Superior, which contains several large islands, is five hundred

Digitized by Google

leagues in the circuit. All of these are navigable by any vessels, and they all communicate with one another, except that the passage between Erie and Ontario is interrupted by the stupendous cataract of Niagara, where the water tumbles down a precipice of twenty-six fathom high, and makes in this fall a thundering noise, which is heard all round the country at the distance of several miles. The river St. Lawrence is the outlet of these lakes; by this they discharge themselves into the ocean. The French have built forts at the several straits, by which these lakes communicate with each other, as well as where the last of them communicates with the river St. Lawrence. By these they effectually secure to themselves the trade of the lakes, and an influence upon all the nations of Americans which confine upon them.

They have but one settlement more in the northern part of their territories in America which deserves consideration; but that settlement, though a small one, is perhaps of more consequence than all the rest. It is the island of Cape Breton. This island properly belongs to the division of Acadia or Nova Scotia, and it is the only part of it which has not been ceded by treaty to Great Britain. It is about one hundred and forty miles in length, full of mountains and lakes, and intersected by a vast number of creeks and bays, almost meeting each other on every side; which seems in general, both for the coast and inland, very much to resemble the coast and inland parts of most northern countries. Scotland is so; so is Iceland; and Denmark and Sweden have such shores, such mountains, and such lakes. However, the soil is in many places sufficiently fruitful; and in every part abounds with timber fit for all uses. In the earth are coal pits; and on the shores one of the most valuable fisheries in the world. The only town in this island is Louisburg. It stands upon one of the finest harbors in all America. This harbor is four leagues in circumference, landlocked every way but at the mouth, which is narrow; and within there is fine anchorage everywhere in seven fathom water. The town itself is of a tolerable size, and well built and fortified. The harbor is

Digitized by Google

defended by batteries of cannon and forts, which secure it at this day, perhaps too effectually. This harbor is open the whole year. The French ships that carry goods to Quebec can very seldom get their full loading there; therefore on their return they put into Louisburg, and there take in a quantity of fish, coal, and some lumber, and then sail away to the French islands in the West Indies, where they vend these, and soon complete their cargo with sugars. It is needless to observe that this island was taken by us in the late war, but restored by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, in which we certainly were not in such a condition as to entitle us to prescribe the terms.

CHAPTER V.

LOUISIANA—THE MISSISSIPPI—THE OHIO—THE FOUNTAIN OF YOUTH—THE COLONY OF LOUISIANA.

The French have called the south part of the vast tract, which they claim in America, Louisiana. It was heretofore a part of Florida. It is bounded by the gulf of Mexico upon the south. But what bounds it is to have to the east and to the west, it is to be wished the next treaty of peace may settle definitely. This is in all respects a much finer country than Canada; in a delicious climate, capable of bearing almost any thing from the temper of the sky and the goodness of the soil, and from the multitude of long, deep, and beautiful rivers, with which it is everywhere enriched and adorned; these are most of them navigable for hundreds of miles into the country. They are principally the Mississippi, whose head is unknown, but it almost goes quite through North America, and at certain seasons overflows its banks for a vast way on both sides. The Ohio, a river almost equal to the Danube, which falls into the Mississippi; the Wabash, scarce inferior to the Ohio; the great rivers, Alabama, Mobile,

Digitized by Google

and several others. The face of the country is almost wholly plain, covered with stately woods, or spread into very fine meadows. In short, Louisiana, particularly the northern part (for the mouth of the Mississippi is barren), without any of those heightenings which it received, when it was made the instrument to captivate so many to their ruin, is in all respects a most desirable place; though there are no sufficient reasons to believe that it contains any rich metals, which gave it the greatest influence in that remarkable delusion in 1717.

I know not how it has happened, but it has been the fate of this country to create romantic ideas at all times. Very surprising stories were told of it when first the Spaniards discovered the West India islands. Amongst others, a notion was generally current, that there was a fountain here which perpetually renewed the youth of those who drank it. This was so uniformly and confidently affirmed, that Juan Pontio de Leon, a considerable man among the Spanish adventurers, gave credit to it, and made a particular expedition for the discovery of that fairy land and that fountain of youth. He was the first of the Europeans who landed in Florida. But what success soever he met with in search for that celebrated spring, it is certain he died not long after, having searched every part of the country, and drank of almost every water it contained. Nor do I find that so invaluable a spring is yet discovered there; if it were, it would undoubtedly be the best commodity the country could yield, both for domestic consumption and for the foreign markets, and would be a far better basis for stocks and funds than the richest mines of gold or silver. Yet, without this, an idea altogether as romantic of a trade hither operated so strongly upon a very wise nation, as to serve for the instrument of one of those dangerous masterstrokes in politics, by which nations are sometimes saved, individuals undone, and an entire change and reversement brought about, not only in the common ways of thinking of mankind, but of all that seemed most fixed and permanent in a state. The famous Mississippi scheme in France was of that nature, and built upon such a romantic foundation. It is

Digitized by Google

well known to all the world, both on its own account and upon account of a similar madness that prevailed here, without perhaps being attended with such advantageous consequences.

The French settled in Louisiana, raise some indigo, a good deal of cotton, some corn and rice, with lumber for their islands; but the colony is not very vigorous, on account of the shoals and sands with which the mouth of the river Mississippi is in a manner choked up, and which deny access to vessels of any considerable burden. This keeps the inhabitants low; but the cause which keeps them from growing rich contributes too to their security; for it is not easy to act with any great force upon that side. But the French have not relied upon this advantage; but, according to their usual cautious and wise custom, have erected several forts in the most material places, and fortified, as it is said, New Orleans, their capital, and indeed the only city in Louisiana, in a regular manner. This city is not remarkably fair, large, or rich; but it is laid out regularly, in a fine situation on the banks of the Mississippi, in prospect of a higher fortune. The whole colony is said not to contain above ten thousand souls, whites and negroes. Yet, with all its disadvantages, this colony is not declining; and if ever they should make the mouth of the Mississippi more tractable (and what is impossible to ambition and industry?) if they should come fully to possess and settle the Ohio, which at one season overflows, and makes such flood as to level all the falls almost from its very source to the mouth of the Mississippi, and gives a passage all that way to very considerable vessels (though they have not quite the same easy return;) and if by this and other means they should contrive a communication between Canada and the settlement at Louisiana, whilst they entirely confine us between our mountains and the sea; Louisiana in a few years will wear quite another face. It will supply their West Indies with boards, staves, horses, mules, and provisions. It will send tobacco into France; and, increasing the conveniences of its mother country and sister colonies, it will increase its own

Digitized by Google

traffic, its inhabitans, and its power. But the French, not trusting to this remote prospect, have established themselves at the mouth of the Mobile, a river which falls into the gulf of Mexico. And many are of opinion, that this is a more advantageous situation, not only for the maritime but for the inland commerce and the communication of their colonies, than the Mississippi. It certainly approaches much nearer to our settlements, and, whilst it serves the French better, is much better calculated to annoy our southern colonies. We have seen how the French West Indies, in less than forty years, from a condition which could excite no other sentiments than those of compassion, are risen to such a pitch as to be an object of great and just terror to her neighbors; and we now feel too, that the French settlements in North America, even such as they are, are not an undermatch for the whole force of ours, in the manner at least in which that force is exerted.

CHAPTER VI.

THE FRENCH POLICY WITH REGARD TO THEIR COLONIES.

That we may not sit down in a senseless admiration of this progress of the French colonies, as if it were the work of fortune, it will not be amiss to open something of the wise plan of conduct which France has pursued with regard to this interesting object. That nation is sensible, as the mother country is to receive ultimately all the benefits of their labors and acquisitions, so that all the prosperity of their plantations must be derived from the attention with which they are regarded at home. For which reason the plantations are particularly under the care and inspection of the council of commerce; a board very judiciously constituted to answer the purposes for which it is designed. To give it a proper respect and authority, it is composed of twelve of the most

Digitized by Google

considerable officers of the crown; and then, to enable it to judge perfectly of the matters which come before it, these twelve are assisted by the deputies of all the considerable trading towns and cities in France, who are chosen out of the richest and most intelligent of their traders, and paid a handsome salary for their attendance at Paris, from the funds of their respective cities. This council sits once a week. The deputies propose plans for redressing every grievance in trade; for raising the branches that are fallen; for extending new ones; for supporting the old; and, in fine, for every thing that may improve the working, or promote the vent of their manufactures, according to their own lights, or to the instructions of their constituents. They have a watchful eye upon every article of commerce; and they not only propose helps and improvements to it themselves, but they hear the proposals of others, which are not disdainfully rejected, nor rashly received. They do not render the access to them difficult by swelling themselves into a stiff and unwieldly state. They do not discourage those who apply, by admitting the vexatious practice of fees, perquisites, and exactions, in their inferior officers. They do not suffer form and methods to load and encumber that business they were solely intended to advance. They summon and examine those who are supposed the most competent judges of the matter before them, and of every part of it, even the lowest artisans: but though they examine those men, they are instructed by their experience, not determined by their opinion. When they are satisfied of the usefulness of any regulation, they propose it to the royal council, where their report is always received with particular attention. An edict to enforce it issues accordingly; and it is executed with a punctuality which distinguishes their government, and which alone can make the wisest regulations any thing better than serious mockeries. To the care of this excellent body the plantations are particularly entrusted.

The government of the several divisions of their colonies is in a governor, an intendant, and a royal council. The governor is invested with a great deal of power; which, however,

Digitized by Google

on the side of the crown, is checked by the intendant, who has the care of the king's rights, and whatever relates to the revenue; and on the side of the people, it is checked by the royal council, whose office it is, to see that the people are not oppressed by the one, nor defrauded by the other; and they are all checked by the constant and jealous eye which the government at home keeps over them. For the officers at all the ports of France are charged, under the severest penalties, to interrogate all captains of ships coming from the colonies concerning the reception they met at the ports they were bound to, how justice was administered to them; what charges they were made liable to, and of what kinds. The passengers, and even the sailors, are examined upon these heads, and a verbal process of the whole is formed and transmitted with all speed to the admiralty. Complaints are encouraged; but a difference is made between hearing an accusation and condemning upon it.

That the colonies may have as little load as possible, and that the governor may have less temptation to stir up troublesome intrigues, or favor factions in his government, his salary is paid by the crown. His perquisites are none; and he is strictly forbidden to carry on any trade, or to have any plantations in the islands, or on the continent, or any interest whatever in goods or lands within his government, except the house he lives in, and a garden for his convenience and recreation. All the other officers are paid by the crown, and out of the revenues of Old France; the fortifications are built and repaired, and the soldiers are paid, out of the same funds.

In general the colonies pay no taxes; but when, upon an extraordinary emergency, taxes have been raised, they were very moderate. And, that even the taxes might operate for the advancement of the colony, they who began new plantations were exempted from them. The duties upon the export of their produce at the islands, or at its import into France, is next to nothing; in both places hardly making two per cent. What commodities go to them pay no duties at all.

Digitized by Google

Besides these advantages, a considerable benefit accrues to such of the colonies as are poor, as Canada, by the money which comes from France to support the establishment. This brings into Canada about 120,000 crowns a year, which finds them circulating cash; preserves them from the dangerous expedient of a paper currency; enables them to keep up their intercourse, with some credit, with their mother country; and at the same time is in fact no loss at all to it, since the money returns home almost as soon as it can possibly be transported back again.

In all their islands, judges of the admiralty are appointed to decide in a summary manner all disputes between merchants, and whatsoever else has any relation to trade. These judges are strictly examined before they are appointed, particularly as to their skill in the marine laws, which have been improved and digested in France with so much care and good sense, that all lawsuits are quickly over; though in other respects the practice of law admits of as much chicanery, and has as many, if not more delays, than with us.

After having taken such precautions to secure the good government of the colony within itself, and to make its communication with the mother country easy and beneficial to both sides, all would be to very little purpose, if they had not provided with equal care to have the country replenished with people. To answer this end, they oblige every ship which departs from France for America, to carry a certain number of indentured servants. All vessels of sixty tons or under are to carry three; from sixty to a hundred, four; and from a hundred upwards, six servants; sound strong bodies. between the ages of eighteen and forty. Before their departure, the servants are examined by the officers of the admiralty, to see whether they are the persons required by law; an examination to the same purpose is made by the commissary on their landing in America. They are to serve three years. The avarice of the planters makes them always prefer negro slaves, because they are more obedient than the Europeans, may be

Digitized by Google

more worked, are subsisted with less difficulty, and are besides the entire property of their master. This disposition, in time, would render the safety of the colony extremely precarious, whilst it made the colony itself of less value to the mother country. Therefore the planters are by law obliged to keep a certain number of white servants in proportion to their blacks; and the execution of this law is enforced by the commissary, who adjusts the price, and forces the planters to take the number of servants required by the ordinance, who would otherwise be a burden upon the hands of the masters of ships who brought them over.

They consider the planter as a Frenchman venturing his life, enduring a species of banishment, and undergoing great hardships, for the benefit of his country: for which reasons he has great indulgence shown him. Whenever, by hurricanes, earthquakes, or bad seasons, the planters suffer, a stop is put to the rigor of exacting creditors; the few taxes which are levied are remitted; and even money is advanced to repair their losses and set them forward. To those who are poor, but show a disposition to industry, necessaries and small sums are lent to make a beginning: and this money is taken in gradually, and by very small payments. On the other hand, as it can be of no advantage to the planter to run fraudulently into debt, but is of the greatest prejudice to the French merchant, all debts, though contracted by the planters in France, are levied with great ease. The process, properly authenticated, is transmitted to America, and admitted as proved there, and levied on the planter's estate, of whatsoever kind it may be. However, care is taken, that, whilst compulsory methods are used to make the planters do justice, the state shall not lose the industry of an useful member of the community; the debt is always levied according to the substance of the debtor, and by instalment; so that (what ought indeed to be the case in every well-regulated government) one of the parties is not sacrificed to the other. Both subsist; the creditor is satisfied; the debtor is not ruined; and the credit

Digitized by Google

of the colonies is kept in health and vigor at home, by the sure methods which are in use for recovering all demands in the plantations.

As to the negroes, they are not left as they are with us, wholly, body and soul, to the discretion of the planter. Their masters are obliged to have them instructed in the principles of religion. There are methods taken at once to protect the slaves from the cruelty of their owners, and to preserve the colony from the ill effects that might arise from treating them with a lenity not consistent with their condition. In short, the Code Noir, and other ordinances relative to these poor creatures, show a very just and sensible mixture of humanity and steadiness. There is however one error their planters commit in common with ours; which is, that they overwork these unhappy men in a manner not suitable to the nature of the climate, or to their constitutions.

I have dwelt the longer upon the French policy as it regards their colonies, because it is just to give due honor to all those who advance the intercourse of mankind, the peopling of the earth, and the advantage of their country, by wise and effectual regulations. But I principally insist upon it, that it may, if possible, serve for an example to ourselves; that it may excite an emulation in us; that it may help to rouse us out of that languor into which we seem to be fallen. The war we now carry on principally regards our colonies, and is a sufficient proof that we are come at last to know their value. But, if we are not to hope for better success than has hitherto attended a very just cause, the next peace will probably contract the field we hoped to lay open to our industry in America. We ought therefore to cultivate what still remains of it, with tenfold industry; we ought to guard with the most unremitting vigilance that enclosed spring, that sealed fountain, the waters of which we reserve to ourselves, and direct into such channels, and make to pursue such windings and turnings, as best serve our purposes. We have, I believe, pretty well discovered most of our errors, and the advantage our enemy and rival has taken, not only of our supineness, but of a

Digitized by Google

contrary genius in his own councils. We ought to rouse ourselves from the former, and prepare to imitate the latter. Our business is to fight against Alexander, not to rail at him. And truly, I do not know any thing, that for this long time past has contributed more to degrade our character for humanity in the eyes of foreigners, or to instil into ourselves a low and illiberal way of thinking, than that vein of licentious scurrility and abuse, by which, in all sorts of writings, we are apt to vilify and traduce the French nation. There is nothing, which hinders people from acting properly, more than indulging themselves in a vain and effeminate license of tongue. A man who loves his country, and can at once oppose and esteem an enemy, would view our present circumstances in a light, I conceive, somewhat like the following. We have been engaged for above a century with France in a noble contention for the superiority in arms, in politics, in learning, and in commerce; and there never was a time, perhaps, when this struggle was more critical. If we succeed in the war, even our success, unless managed with prudence, will be, like some former successes, of little benefit to us; if we should fail, which God forbid, even then, prudence may make our misfortunes of more use to us, than an ill-managed success; if they teach us to avoid our former errors; if they make us less careless; if they make us cultivate the advantages we have with care and judgment: this, and not our opinion of the enemy, must decide the long contest between us.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER VII.

THE DUTCH SETTLEMENTS—CURAÇOA—THE CITY, ITS TRADE—THE SPANISH CONTRABAND—EUSTATIA—THE DANISH COMPANY—THE DANISH ISLAND OF SANTA CRUZ—THE CHARACTERS OF THE SEVERAL EUROPEAN NATIONS AS THEY REGARD AMERICA.

After the Portuguese had dispossessed the Dutch of Brazil in the manner we have seen, and after the treaty of Nimeguen had entirely removed them out of North America, they were obliged to console themselves with their rich possessions in the East Indies, and to sit down content in the West with Surinam; a country on the north-east part of South America, of no great value whilst we had it, and which we ceded to them in exchange for New York; and with two or three small and barren islands in the north sea not far from the Spanish main. The former of these they are far from neglecting; they raise some sugar in Surinam; a great deal of cotton; coffee of an excellent kind, and some valuable dying drugs. They trade with our North American colonies, who bring hither horses, live cattle, and provisions, and take home a large quantity of molasses; but their negroes are only the refuse of those they have for the Spanish market; and the Indians in their neighborhood are their mortal enemies. On the same continent they have three other settlements at no considerable distance from each other, Boron, Berbice, and Approwack; none very great, but producing the same commodities with Surinam.

The islands which they possess are four, Curaçoa, St. Eustatia, Aruba, and Bonaire; none of them large or fertile, but turned to the best advantage possible by that spirit of industry for which the Dutch are justly famous. Curacco, or Curaçoa, as it is generally called, is about thirty miles long, and ten in breadth. Though it is naturally barren, it produces a considerable quantity both of sugar and tobacco, and here are

Digitized by Google

besides very great salt works, which furnish a good deal to the English islands, and for which there is a considerable demand from our colonies on the continent; but the trade for which this island is chiefly valuable is that which in time of war is carried on between them, the English, and the French; and the contraband which is carried on between them and the Spaniards at all times.

The Dutch vessels from Europe touch at this island for intelligence or proper pilots, and then proceed to the Spanish coast upon a trade which they force with a strong hand. It is very difficult for the Spanish guarda costas to take these vessels; for they are not only stout ships with a number of guns; but, by a very wise policy, manned with a large crew of chosen seamen, who are all deeply interested in the safety of the vessel and the success of the voyage. They have each a share in the cargo, of a value proportioned to the owner's station, supplied by the merchants upon credit, and at prime cost. This animates them with an uncommon courage; they fight bravely, because every man fights in defence of his own property. But there is, besides this, a constant intercourse between the Spanish continent and this island.

This island of Curaçoa has its numerous warehouses always full of the commodities of Europe and the East Indies. Here are all sorts of woolen and linen cloths, laces, silks, ribands, utensils of iron, naval and military stores, brandy, the spices of the Moluccas, and the calicoes of India, white and painted. Hither the West India, which is likewise their African company, bring three or four cargoes of slaves annually. To this mart the Spaniards come themselves in small vessels, and carry off not only the best of their negroes, and at the best price, but very great quantities of all sorts of goods I have mentioned; with this advantage to the seller, that the refuse of warehouses and mercers' shops, things grown utterly unfashionable and unsaleable in Europe, go off extremely well, where every thing is sufficiently recommended by being European. They leave here their gold and silver in bars or coined, cacao, vanilla, cochineal, Jesuit's bark, hides, and

Digitized by Google

other valuable commodities. The ships that trade directly from Holland to the Spanish continent, as they touch here on their outward passage to gain intelligence or assistance, on their return put in here likewise to complete what is wanting of their cargo, with the sugar, the tobacco, the ginger, and other produce of the island itself. The trade of this island, even in time of peace, is reputed to be worth to the Dutch no less than £500,000 sterling annually, but in time of war the profit is far greater, for then it is in a manner the common emporium of the West Indies; it affords a great retreat to the ships of all nations, and at the same time refuses to none of them arms and ammunition to annoy one another. The intercourse with Spain being interrupted, the Spanish colonies have scarce any other market, from whence they can be well supplied either with slaves or goods; the French come hither to buy the beef, pork, corn, flour, and lumber, which the English bring from the continent of North America, or which is transported from Ireland; so that, whether in peace or in war, the trade of this island flourishes extremely. Nor is this owing to any natural advantage whatsoever. It seems as if it were fated, that the ingenuity and patience of the Hollanders should everywhere, both in Europe and America, be employed in fighting against an unfriendly nature; for the island is not only barren, and dependent upon the rains for its water, but the harbor is naturally one of the worst in America: yet the Dutch have entirely remedied that defect; they have upon this harbor one of the largest, and by far the most elegant and cleanly towns in the American islands. The public buildings are numerous and handsome; the private houses commodious; and the magazines large, convenient, and well filled. All kind of labor is here performed by engines; some of them so dexterously contrived, that ships are at once lifted into the dock, where they are completely careened; and then furnished with naval stores, provisions, cannon, and every thing requisite either for trade or war.

Eustatia is but one mountain of about twenty miles in compass; it is amongst the Leeward islands; but, though so small

Digitized by Google

and inconveniently laid out by nature, the industry of the Dutch have made it turn out to very good account, and it is fully peopled; the sides of the mountain are divided and laid out in very pretty settlements; and, though they have neither springs nor rivers, they are so careful that they never want proper supplies of water from their ponds and cisterns. They raise here sugar and tobacco; and this island, as well as Curaçoa, is engaged in the Spanish contraband trade, for which, however, it is not so well situated; and it draws the same advantages from its constant neutrality.

As for Aruba and Bonaire; they lie near Curaçoa, and have no trade of consequence; they are chiefly employed in raising fresh provisions for the principal island, and for the refreshment of such ships as use these seas.

The trade of all the Dutch American settlements was originally carried on by the West India company only. At present such ships as go upon that trade pay two and a half per cent. for their licenses; the company however reserves to itself the whole of what is carried on between Africa and the American islands.

The Danes had likewise a West India company, though its object was far from extensive. It was little more than the island of St. Thomas, an inconsiderable member of the Caribbees; lately they have added to their possessions the island of Santa Cruz in the same cluster. These islands, so long as they remained in the hands of the company, were ill managed, and nothing like the proper advantage was made of them; but the present king of Denmark, inferior to none who ever sat upon that or any other throne, in love to his subjects and a judicious zeal for promoting their welfare, has bought up that company's stock and laid the trade open. Since then, the old settlement at St. Thomas is very much improved; it produces upwards of three thousand hogsheads of sugar of a thousand weight each, and others of the West Indian commodities in tolerable plenty; and as for Santa Cruz, from a perfect desert a few years since, it is beginning to settle fast; several persons from the English islands, and amongst them

Digitized by Google

some of great wealth, have gone to settle there, and have received very great encouragement to do so. The air of the place is extremely unhealthful, but this ill disposition will probably continue no longer than the woods, with which the island at present is almost wholly covered. These two nations, the Dutch and Danes, hardly deserve to be mentioned among the proprietors of America; their possessions there are comparatively nothing. But, as they appear extremely worthy of the attention of these powers, and as the share of the Dutch is worth to them at least six hundred thousand pounds sterling a year, what must we think of our possessions? what attention do they not deserve from us? and what may not be made of them by that attention?

There seems to be a remarkable providence in casting the parts, if I may use that expression, of the several European nations who act upon the stage of America. The Spaniard, proud, lazy, and magnificent, has an ample walk in which to expatiate; a soft climate to indulge his love of ease; and a profusion of gold and silver to procure him all those luxuries his pride demands, but which his laziness would refuse him.

The Portuguese, naturally indigent at home, and enterprising rather than industrious abroad, has gold and diamonds as the Spaniard has, wants them as he does, but possesses them in a more useful though a less ostentatious manner.

The English, of a reasoning disposition, thoughtful and cool, and men of business rather than of great industry, impatient of much fruitless labor, abhorrent of constraint, and lovers of a country life, have a lot which indeed produces neither gold nor silver; but they have a large tract of a fine continent; a noble field for the exercise of agriculture, and sufficient to furnish their trade without laying them under great difficulties. Intolerant as they are of the most useful restraints, their commerce flourishes from the freedom every man has of pursuing it according to his own ideas, and directing his life after his own fashion.

The French, active, lively, enterprising, pliable, and politic, and though changing their pursuits always pursuing the pres-

Digitized by Google

ent object with eagerness, are notwithstanding tractable and obedient to rules and laws, which bridle these dispositions and wind and turn them to proper courses. This people have a country, where more is to be effected by managing the people than by cultivating the ground; where a peddling commerce, that requires constant motion, flourishes more than agriculture or a regular traffic; where they have difficulties which keep them alert by struggling with them, and where their obedience to a wise government serves them for personal wisdom. In the islands the whole is the work of their policy, and a right turn their government has taken.

The Dutch have got a rock or two on which to display the miracles of frugality and diligence (which are their virtues,) and on which they have exerted these virtues, and shown those miracles.

Digitized by Google

PART VI.

THE ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS.

CHAPTER I.

THE DIVISION OF THE ENGLISH WEST INDIES—DESCRIPTION OF JAMAICA—CONQUEST OF THAT ISLAND.

The English colonies are the fairest objects of our attention in America; not only as they comprehend a vast and delightful variety of climates, situations, natural products, and improvements of art; but as they contain, though the dominions of one potentate, and their inhabitants formed out of the people of one nation, an almost equal variety of manners, religions, and ways of living. They have a most flourishing trade with their mother country, and they communicate widely with many foreign nations; for, besides the constant and useful intercourse they hold with Africa, their ships are seen in the ports of Spain, Portugal, Italy, and even in the Levant; nor are they excluded from the American settlements of France, Spain, Portugal, and Holland. This, with their constant correspondence with each other and with their mother country, hurries about a lively circulation of trade, of which Great Britain is the heart and spring, from whence it takes its rise, and to which it all returns in the end.

In some of the European settlements, we have seen the effects of a vast ambition supported by surprising feats of a romantic courage mixed with an insatiable thirst of gold; in

Digitized by Google

others, the regular product of a systematic policy tempering and guiding an active industry. But in our own colonies we are to display the effects of liberty; the work of a people guided by their own genius, and following the directions of their own natural temper in a proper path.

I intend to consider the English colonies under two principal divisions; the first I allot to those islands which lie under the torrid zone between the tropic of Cancer and the equinoctial line, in that part generally called the West Indies. The second is to comprehend our possessions in the temperate zone on the continent of North America. The West India islands shall be considered, as they are amongst the Greater Antilles; the Windward; or the Leeward islands. Amongst the first we possess the large and noble island of Jamaica; amongst the second we have Barbadoes; and in the third St. Christopher's, Antigua, Nevis, Montserrat, and Barbuda. As all these islands lie between the tropics, whatever is to be said of the air, winds, meteors, and natural produce, shall fall under one head, as they are the same, or nearly the same, in all of them; their produce for the market is nearly the same too; and therefore whatever is to be said of the manufacturing of those shall come together, after we have given a concise description of the state of each island separately.

Jamaica lies between the 75th and 79th degrees of west longitude from London, and is between seventeen and nineteen degrees distant from the equinoctial. It is in length, from east to west, a hundred and forty English miles; in breadth about sixty; and of an oval form. This country is in a manner intersected with a ridge of lofty mountains, rugged and rocky, that are called the blue mountains. On each side of the blue mountains are chains of lesser mountains gradually lower. The greater mountains are little better than so many rocks; where there is any earth, it is only a stubborn clay fit for no sort of husbandry. The mountains are very steep, and the rocks tumbled upon one another in a manner altogether stupendous, the effect of the frequent earthquakes which have shaken this island in all times. Yet, barren as these mountains

Digitized by Google

are, they are all covered to the very top with a great variety of beautiful trees, flourishing in a perpetual spring; their roots penetrate the crannies of the rocks, and search out the moisture which is lodged there by the rains that fall so frequently on these mountains, and the mists that almost perpetually brood upon them. These rocks too are the parents of a vast number of fine rivulets, which tumble down their sides in cataracts, that form, amongst the rudeness of the rocks and precipices and the shining verdure of the trees, the most wildly-pleasing imagery imaginable. The face of this country is a good deal different from what is generally observed in other places. For as on one hand the mountains are very steep; so the plains between them are perfectly smooth and level. In these plains the soil, augmented by the wash of the mountains for so many ages, is prodigiously fertile. None of our islands produce so fine sugars. They formerly had here cacao in great perfection, which delights in a rich ground. Their pastures after the rains are of a most beautiful verdure and extraordinary fatness. They are called savannas. On the whole, if this island were not troubled with great thunders and lightnings, hurricanes, and earthquakes; and, if the air was not at once violently hot, damp, and extremely unwholesome in most parts, the fertility and beauty of this country would make it as desirable a situation for pleasure, as it is for the profits, which, in spite of these disadvantages, draw hither such a number of people.

The river waters are many of them unwholesome, and taste of copper; but some springs there are of a better kind. In the plains are found several salt fountains; and in the mountains, not far from Spanish-town, is a hot bath of extraordinary medicinal virtues. It relieves in the dry bellyache, one of the most terrible endemial distempers of Jamaica, and in various other complaints.

This island came into our possession during the usurpation of Cromwell, and by means of an armament which had another destination. Cromwell, notwithstanding the great abilities which enabled him to overturn the constitution and to trample

Digitized by Google

upon the liberties of his country, was not sufficiently acquainted with foreign politics. This ignorance made him connect himself closely with France, then rising into a dangerous grandeur, and to fight with great animosity the shadow which remained of the Spanish power. On such ideas he fitted out a formidable fleet, with a view to reduce the island of Hispaniola; and, though he failed in this design, Jamaica made amends not only for this failure, but almost for the ill policy which first drew him into hostilities with the Spaniards; by which, however, he added this excellent country to the British dominions.

There was nothing of the genius of Cromwell to be seen in the planning of this expedition. From the first to the last, all was wrong; all was a chain of little interested mismanagement, and had no air of the result of absolute power lodged in great hands. The fleet was ill victualled; the troops ill provided with necessaries to support and encourage men badly chosen and worse armed. They embarked in great discontent. The generals were but little better satisfied, and had little more hopes, than the soldiers. But the generals (for there were two in the command, Penn and Venables, one for the marine, the other for the land service) were men of no extraordinary talents. And, if they had been men of the best capacity, little was to be expected from two commanders not subordinate, and so differing in their ideas, and so envious of each other as land and sea officers generally are. But, to make this arrangement perfect in all respects, and to prove the advantages arising from a divided command, they added a number of commissioners as a check upon both. This tripartite generalship, in the truest Dutch taste, produced the effects that might be expected from it. The soldiers differed with the generals, the generals disagreed with one another, and all quarrelled with the commissioners. The place of their landing in Hispaniola was ill chosen, and the manner of it wretchedly contrived. The army had near forty miles to march before it could act; and the soldiers, without order, without heart, fainting and dying by the excessive heat of the

Digitized by Google

climate and the want of necessary provisions, and disheartened yet more by the cowardice and discontent of their officers, yielded an easy victory to a handful of Spaniards. They retired ignominiously and with great loss.

But the principal commanders, a little reconciled by their misfortunes, and fearing to return to England without effect, very wisely turned their thoughts another way. They resolved to attempt Jamaica, before the inhabitants of that island could receive encouragement by the news of their defeat in Hispaniola. They knew that this island was in no good posture of defence; and they set themselves vigorously to avoid the mistakes, which proved so fatal in the former expedition. They severely punished the officers who had shown an *ill* example by their cowardice; and they ordered, with respect to the soldiers, that, if any attempted to run away, the man nearest to him should shoot him.

Fortified with these regulations, they landed in Jamaica, and laid siege to St. Jago de la Vega, now called Spanish-town, the capital of the island. The people, who were in no condition to oppose an army of ten thousand men and a strong naval force, would have surrendered immediately, if they had not been encouraged by the strange delays of our generals and their commissioners. However at last the town with the whole island surrendered, but not until the inhabitants had secreted their most valuable effects in the mountains.

CHAPTER II.

THE SETTLEMENT OF JAMAICA—THE FAILURE OF CACAO—THE BUCCANEERS—THE FLOURISHING STATE OF THAT ISLAND—ITS DECLINE IN SOME RESPECTS.

After the Restoration, the Spaniards ceded the island to our court. Cromwell had settled there some of the troops employed in its reduction; some royalists, uneasy at home,

Digitized by Google

sought an asylum in this island; not a few planters from Barbadoes were invited to Jamaica by the extraordinary fertility of the soil, and the other advantages which it offered. These latter taught the former settlers the manner of raising the sugar cane and making sugar; for at first they had wholly applied themselves to the raising of cacao, as the Spaniards had done before them. It was happy for them that they fell into this new practice; for the cacao groves planted by the Spaniards began to fail, and the new plantations did not answer, as the negroes foretold they would not, because of the want of certain religious ceremonies always used by the Spaniards in planting them, at which none of the slaves were suffered to be present, and to the use of which they attributed the prosperity of these plantations. Probably there were methods taken at that time, that were covered by the veil of these religious ceremonies, which are necessary to the well-being of that plant. However that be, the cacao has never since equalled the reputation of the Spanish, but gave way to the more profitable cultivation of indigo and sugar.

But what gave the greatest life to this new settlement, and raised it at once to a surprising pitch of opulence, which it hardly equals even in our days, was the resort thither of those pirates called the buccaneers. These men, who fought with the most desperate bravery, and spent their plunder with the most stupid extravagance, were very welcome guests in Jamaica. They often brought two, three, and four hundred thousand pieces of eight at a time, which were immediately squandered in all the ways of excessive gaming, wine, and women. Vast fortunes were made, and the returns of treasure to England were prodigiously great. In the island they had by this means raised such funds, that, when the source of this wealth was stopped up by the suppression of the pirates, they were enabled to turn their industry into better channels. They increased so fast, that it was computed that, in the beginning of this century, they had sixty thousand whites and a hundred and twenty thousand negroes in this island. This calculation is certainly too large. However, the Jamaicans

Digitized by Google

were undoubtedly very numerous until reduced by earthquakes (one of which entirely ruined Port Royal, and killed a vast number of persons in all parts of the country), and by terrible epidemical diseases, which, treading on the heels of the former calamities, swept away vast multitudes: losses which have not been since sufficiently repaired. At present the white inhabitants scarcely exceed twenty-five thousand souls; the blacks are about ninety thousand; both much less numerous than formerly, and with a disproportion much greater on the side of the whites.

It appears at present, that Jamaica is rather upon the decline; a point this that deserves the most attentive consideration. A country which contains at least four millions of acres, has a fertile soil, an extensive sea-coast, and many very fine harbors; for an island so circumstanced, and at a time when the value of all its products at market is considerably risen; for such a country to fall short of its former numbers, and not to have above three or four hundred thousand acres employed in any sort of culture, shows clearly that something must be very wrong in the management of its affairs; and, what shows it even yet more clearly, land is so extravagantly dear in many of the other islands, as to sell sometimes for one hundred pounds an acre and upwards; a price that undoubtedly never would be paid, if convenient land was to be had, and proper encouragement given, in Jamaica. Whether this be owing to public or private faults, I know not; but certain it is, that, wherever they are, they deserve a speedy and effectual remedy from those, in whose power it is to apply it.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER III.

THE PRODUCTS OF JAMAICA—PIMENTO—SUGAR—RUM—MOLASSES—COTTON—GINGER—THE LOGWOOD TRADE—DISPUTES ABOUT IT—THE CONTRABAND—SLAVE TRADE.

The natural products of Jamaica, besides sugar, cacao, and ginger, are principally pimento, or, as it is called, allspice, or Jamaica pepper. The tree which bears the pimento rises to the height of above thirty feet. It is straight, of a moderate thickness, and covered with a grey bark extremely smooth and shining. It shoots out a vast number of branches upon all sides, that bear a plentiful foliage of very large and beautiful leaves of a shining green, in all things resembling the leaf of the bay tree. At the very ends of the twigs are formed bunches of flowers; each stalk bearing a flower which bends back, and within which bend are to be discerned some stamina of a pale green color; to these succeeds a bunch of small crowned berries, larger when ripe than juniper berries; at that season they change from their former green, and become black, smooth, and shining; they are taken unripe from the tree, and dried in the sun; in this case they assume a brown color, and have a mixed flavor of many kinds of spice, whence it is called allspice. But it is milder than the other spices, and is judged to be inferior to none of them for the service which it does to cold, watery, and languid stomachs. The tree grows mostly upon the mountains.

Besides this, they have the wild cinnamon tree, whose bark is so serviceable in medicine; the manchineel, a most beautiful tree to the eye, with the fairest apple in the world, and when cut down affording a very fine ornamental wood for the joiners, but the apple and the juice in every part of the tree contain one of the worst poisons in nature. Here is the mahogany, in such general use with our cabinet makers; the cabbage tree, a tall plant, famous for a substance looking and

Digitized by Google

tasting like cabbage, growing on the very top, and no less remarkable for the extreme hardness of its wood, which, when dry, is incorruptible, and hardly yields to any tool; the palma, from which is drawn a great deal of oil, much esteemed by the negroes both in food and medicine; the white wood, which never breeds the worm in ships; the soap tree, whose berries answer all purposes of washing; the mangrove and olive bark, useful to tanners; the fustic and redwood to the dyers, and lately the logwood; and their forests supply the apothecary with guaiacum, sarsaparilla, china, cassia, and tamarinds; they have aloes too; and do not want the cochineal plant, though they know nothing of the art of managing it; nor perhaps is the climate suitable. The indigo plant was formerly much cultivated; the cotton tree is still so, and they send home more of its wool than all the rest of our islands together.

The whole product therefore of the island may be reduced to these heads. First, sugars, of which they imported in 1753 twenty thousand three hundred and fifteen hogsheads, some vastly great even to a ton weight, which cannot be worth less in England than 424,725 pounds sterling. Most of this goes to London and Bristol, and some part of it to North America, in return for the beef, pork, cheese, corn, pease, staves, plank, pitch, and tar, which they have from thence. 2. Rum, of which they export about 4000 puncheons. The rum of this island is generally esteemed the best, and is the most used in England. 3. Molasses, in which they make a great part of their returns for New England, where there are vast distilleries. All these are the produce of their grand staple, the sugar cane. 4. Cotton, of which they send out 2000 bags. The indigo, formerly much cultivated, is now inconsiderable; but some cacao and coffee are exported, which latter is in no great esteem; though it is said to be little inferior to that of Mocha, provided it be kept for two or three years. With these they send home a considerable quantity of pimento, ginger, drugs for dyers and apothecaries, sweetmeats, and mahogany and manchineel plank. But some of the most con-

Digitized by Google

siderable articles of their trade are with the Spanish continent of New Spain and Terra Firma; for in the former they cut great quantities of logwood, and both in the former and latter they drive a vast and profitable trade in negroes, and all kinds of the same European goods which are carried thither from Old Spain by the flota.

Both the logwood trade and this contraband have been the subjects of much contention, and the cause of a war between ours and the Spanish nation. The former we avow, and we claim it as our right; though, in the last treaty of peace, that point was far from being well settled. The latter we permit; because we think, and very justly, that if the Spaniards find themselves aggrieved by any contraband trade, it lies upon them, and not upon us, to put a stop to it.

Formerly we cut logwood in the bay of Campeachy, on the northern side of the peninsula of Jucatan. But the Spaniards have driven our people entirely from thence, and built forts and made settlements to prevent them from returning. Expelled from thence, the logwood cutters settled upon the gulf of Honduras, on the southern side of the same peninsula, where they are in some sort established, and have a fort to protect them. They are an odd kind of people, composed mostly of vagabonds and fugitives from all parts of North America, and their way of life is suitable. They live pretty much in a lawless manner, though they elect one amongst them whom they call their king; and to him they pay as much obedience as they think fit. The country they are in is low and extremely marshy; the air is prodigiously molested with musquitoes; and the water dangerous with alligators; yet a life of licentiousness, a plenty of brandy, large gains, and a want of thought, have perfectly reconciled them to the hardships of their employment and the unwholesomeness of the climate. They go always well armed, and are about one thousand five hundred men.

In the dry season, when they cut the logwood, they advance a considerably way into the country, following the logwood, which runs amongst the other trees of the forest, like

Digitized by Google

the vein of a mineral in the earth. When the rains have overflowed the whole country, they have marks by which they know where the logwood is deposited. This is a heavy wood and sinks in the water. However it is easily buoyed up, and one diver can lift very large beams. These they carry by the favor of the land floods into the river, to a place which is called the Barcaderas or Port, where they meet the ships that come upon this trade.

In the year 1716, when the debate concerning this matter was revived, the lords of trade reported, that before the year 1676 we had a number of people settled and carrying on this trade on the peninsula of Jucatan; that we always considered this as our right, and were supported in it by our kings; and that this right was confirmed, if it had wanted any confirmation, by a clause of *uti possidetis* in the treaty of peace which was concluded with Spain and the court of London in 1676; and that we certainly were in full possession of those settlements and that trade, long before the time of that treaty; and further, that the Spaniards themselves have incidentally drawn a great advantage from it, since the pirates, who were formerly the most resolved and effectual enemies they ever had, were the more easily restrained from their enterprises, by having their minds diverted to this employment. Upon the whole, they concluded it an affair very well worth the attention of the government, as in some years it engaged near six thousand tons of shipping; found employment for a number of seamen proportionable; consumed a good deal of our manufactures, and was of considerable use in fabricating many others; and that the whole value of the returns were not less than sixty thousand pounds sterling a year. Notwithstanding this, our claim seems dropped, nor is it very clear how far it can be maintained, to carry on a trade by violence in a country, in which we can hardly claim, according to the common ideas of right in America, any property. However this may be, the trade, though with many difficulties and discouragements, still continues, and will probably continue whilst the Spaniards are so weak upon that side of

Digitized by Google

Mexico, and while the coast continues so disagreeable, that none but desperate persons will ventue to reside there. The logwood trade is generally carried on by vessels from New England, New York, and Pennsylvania, who take up the goods they want in Jamaica.

But there is a trade yet more profitable carried on between this island and the Spanish continent, especially in time of war. This too has been the cause of much bickering between us and the court of Spain, and it will yet be more difficult for them to put a stop to this trade than to the former, whilst the Spaniards are so eager for it, whilst it is so profitable to the British merchant, and whilst the Spanish officers from the highest to the lowest show so great a respect to presents properly made. The trade is carried on in this manner. The ship from Jamaica, having taken in negroes and a proper assortment of goods there, proceeds in time of peace to a harbor, called the Grout, within Monkey-key, about four miles from Porto-bello. A person, who understands Spanish, is directly sent ashore to give the merchants of the town notice of the arrival of the vessel; the same news is carried likewise with great speed to Panama; from whence the merchants set out disguised like peasants with their silver in jars covered with meal, to deceive the officers of the revenue. Here the ship remains trading frequently for five or six weeks together. The Spaniards usually come on board, leave their money, and take their negroes, and their goods packed up in parcels fit for one man to carry, after having been handsomely entertained on board, and receiving provisions sufficient for their journey homeward. If the whole cargo is not disposed of here, they bear off eastward to the Brew, a harbor about five miles distant from Carthagena, where they soon find a vent for the rest. There is no trade more profitable than this; for your payments are made in ready money, and the goods sell higher than they would at any other market. It is not on this coast only, but everywhere upon the Spanish main, that this trade is carried on; nor is it by the English only, but the French from Hispaniola, the Dutch from Curaçoa, and even

Digitized by Google

the Danes have some share in it. When the Spanish *guarda costas* seize upon one of these vessels, they make no scruple of confiscating the cargo, and of treating the crew in a manner little better than pirates.

This commerce in time of peace, and this with the prizes that are made in time of war, pour into Jamaica an astonishing quantity of treasure; great fortunes are made in a manner instantly, whilst the people appear to live in such a state of luxury as in all other places, leads to beggary. Their equipages, their clothes, their furniture, their tables, all bear the tokens of the greatest wealth and profusion imaginable; this obliges all the treasure they receive to make but a very short stay, as all this treasure, added to all the products of the island itself, is hardly more than sufficient to answer the calls of their necessity and luxury on Europe and North America, and their demand for slaves, of which this island is under the necessity of an annual recruit for its own use and that of the Spanish trade, of upwards of six thousand head, and which stand them one with another in thirty pounds apiece, and often more.

CHAPTER IV.

PORT-ROYAL—THE EARTHQUAKE, 1692—KINGSTON—ST. JAGO DE LA VEGA, OR SPANISH-TOWN—DISPUTES ABOUT THE REMOVAL OF THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT.

The whole island is divided into nineteen districts or parishes, which send each of them two members to the assembly, and allow a competent maintenance to a minister. Port-Royal was anciently the capital of the island; it stood upon the very point of a long narrow neck of land, which, towards the sea, formed part of the border of a very noble harbor of its own name. In this harbor above a thousand sail of the largest ships could anchor with the greatest convenience and safety;

Digitized by Google

and the water was so deep at the quay of Port-Royal, that vessels of the greatest burden could lay their broadsides to the wharves, and load and unload at little expense or trouble. This conveniency weighed so much with the inhabitants, that they chose in this spot to build their capital, though the place was a hot dry sand, which produced not one of the necessaries of life, no not even fresh water. However, this advantageous situation and the resort of the pirates soon made it a very considerable place. It contained two thousand houses very handsomely built, and which rented as high as those in London. It had a resort like a constant fair, by the great concourse of people of business, and grew to all this in about thirty years time; for before that there was scarcely a house upon the place. In short, there were very few places in the world, which for the size could be compared to this town for trade, wealth, and an entire corruption of manners.

It continued thus until the 9th of June, 1692, when an earthquake, which shook the whole island to its foundations, overwhelmed this city, and buried nine tenths of it eight fathoms under water. This earthquake not only demolished this city, but made a terrible devastation all over the island, and was followed by a contagious distemper, which was near giving the last hand to its ruin. Ever since it is remarked, that the air is far more unwholesome than formerly. This earthquake, one of the most dreadful that I think ever was known, is described in such lively colors in the philosophical transactions, and by persons who saw and had a large part in the terrors and losses of this calamity, that I shall say nothing of it, but refer thither; as I am certain no man from his fancy could assemble a greater number of images of horror, than the nature of things taught the persons who saw them to bring together, and which are there related very naturally and pathetically.

They rebuilt this city after the earthquake, but it was again destroyed. A terrible fire laid it in ashes about ten years after. Notwithstanding this, the extraordinary convenience of the harbor tempted them to rebuild it once more. But in

Digitized by Google

the year 1722 a hurricane, one of the most terrible on record, reduced it a third time to a heap of rubbish. Warned by these extraordinary calamities, that seemed to mark out this place as a devoted spot, by an act of assembly they removed the custom-house and public offices from thence, and forbid that any market should be held there for the future. The principal inhabitants came to reside at the opposite side of the bay, at a place which is called Kingston. The town is advantageously situated for fresh water, and all manner of accommodations. The streets are of a commodious wideness, regularly drawn, and cutting each other at equal distances and right angles. It consists of upwards of one thousand houses, many of them handsomely built, though low, with porticoes, and every conveniency for a comfortable habitation in that climate. The harbor was formerly in no good posture of defence; but by the care of the late governor, Mr. Knowles, it is now strongly fortified.

The river Cobre, a considerable but not navigable stream, falls into the sea not far from Kingston. Upon the banks of this river stands St. Jago de la Vega, or Spanish-town; the seat of government, and the place where the courts of justice are held, and consequently the capital of Jamaica, though inferior in size and resort to Kingston. However, this, though a town of less business, has more gayety. Here reside many persons of large fortunes, and who make a figure proportionable; the number of coaches kept here is very great; here is a regular assembly; and the residence of the governor and the principal officers of the government, who have all very profitable places, conspire with the genius of the inhabitants, ostentatious and expensive, to make it a very splendid and agreeable place. Mr. Knowles, the late governor, made an attempt to remove the seat of government from hence to Kingston, for reasons which, it must be owned, have a very plausible appearance; for it would certainly facilitate the carrying on of business, to have the courts of justice and the seat of government as near as possible to the centre of commercial affairs. But whether the consideration of a more

Digitized by Google

healthful situation, the division of the advantages of great towns, with the several parts of the country, and the mischief that might arise from shaking the settled order of things, and prejudicing the property of a great many private people, can weigh against the advantages proposed by this removal, I will not undertake to determine. One thing appears, I think, very plainly in the contest which this regulation produced; that the opposition was, at least, as much to the governor as to the measure; and that great natural warmth of temper upon all sides, enflamed and envenomed by a spirit of party which reigns in all our plantations, kindled a flame about this, which, if it had not happened, must have risen to the same height upon some other occasion, since there was a plenty of combustible materials ready upon all sides.

The government of this island is, next to that of Ireland, the best in the king's gift. The standing salary is two thousand five hundred pounds a year. The assembly vote the governor as much more; and this, with the other great profits of his office, make it in the whole little inferior to ten thousand pounds a year. But of the government I shall say little, until I speak of the government of the rest of the plantations, to which this is in all respects alike.

CHAPTER V.

BARBADOES—ITS SAVAGE CONDITION AT THE FIRST PLANTING—THE HARDSHIPS SUFFERED BY THE PLANTERS—THE SPEEDY INCREASE OF THE ISLAND—ITS GREAT WEALTH AND NUMBER OF INHABITANTS—ITS DECLINE—PRESENT STATE OF THE ISLAND.

The next island, in point of importance, which we possess in the West Indies, but the oldest in point of settlement, is Barbadoes. This is one, and by no means the most contemptible one, amongst the windward division of the Caribbee islands. It is not distinctly known when this island was first

Digitized by Google

discovered or settled; but it was probably some time about the year 1625. When the English first landed here, they found the place the most savage and destitute that can well be imagined. It had not the least appearance of ever having been peopled even by savages. There was no kind of beasts of pasture or of prey, no fruit, no herb, nor root fit for supporting the life of man. Yet as the climate was good, and the soil appeared fertile, some gentlemen of small fortunes in England resolved to become adventurers thither. But the first planters had not only the utter desolateness of the place, and the extreme want of provisions to struggle with, but the trees were so large, of a wood so hard and stubborn, and full of such great branches, that they proceeded in the clearing of the ground with a difficulty that must have worn down any ordinary patience. And even when they had tolerably cleared some little spot, the first produce it yielded for their subsistence was so small and ordinary, at the same time that their supplies from England were so slow and precarious, that nothing but the noblest courage, and a firmness which cannot receive too many praises, could have carried them through the discouragements which they met in the noblest work in the world, the cultivating and peopling a deserted part of the globe. But by degrees things were mollified; some of the trees yielded fustic for the dyers; cotton and indigo agreed well with the soil; tobacco, then becoming fashionable in England, answered tolerably; and the country began gradually to lay aside its savage disposition and to submit to culture.

These good appearances in America, and the storm which some time after began to gather in England, encouraged many to go over; but still the colony received no sort of encouragement from the government, which at that time understood the advantages of colonies but little; and which was besides much worse occupied in sowing those seeds of bitterness, which came afterwards so terribly to their own lips. The court took no other notice of this island than to grant it to a very unworthy and unfaithful favorite, the Earl of Carlisle;

Digitized by Google

which, as may be judged, proved of no advantage to the settlement.

However, as this colony had the hardiest breeding, and the most laborious infancy of any of our settlements, so it was far stronger in its stamina, and grew with greater speed; and that to a height, which, if it were not proved beyond any reasonable doubt, could scarcely be believed. For in this small island, which is but twenty-five miles in length, and in breadth but fourteen, in little more than twenty years after its first settlement, that is, in 1650, it contained upwards of fifty thousand whites of all sexes and ages, and a much greater number of blacks and Indian slaves; the former of which slaves they bought; the latter they acquired by means not at all to their honor; for they seized upon those unhappy men, without any pretence, in the neighboring islands, and carried them into slavery; a practice, which has rendered the Caribbee Indians irreconcilable to us ever since.

This small island, peopled by upwards of one hundred thousand souls, was not yet above half of it cultivated, nor was the industry of the inhabitants at a stand. A little before the period I have mentioned, they learned the method of making sugar; and this enlarging the sphere of their trade, they grew prodigiously rich and numerous.

About this time the government in England, which was then in the hands of Cromwell, confined the trade of Barbadoes to the mother country; before, it had been managed altogether by the Dutch. The rigor exercised towards the royal party, obliged several gentlemen of very good families to settle in this island, which was far from being peopled, like some other colonies, by fugitives and persons desperate at home. After the Restoration it continued still to advance by very hasty strides. Not long after the Restoration, King Charles created thirteen baronets from the gentlemen of this island, some of whom were worth ten thousand pounds a year, and none so little as one thousand.

In 1676, which was the meridian of this settlement, their whites were computed to be still much about fifty thousand,

Digitized by Google

but their negro slaves were increased so as to be upwards of one hundred thousand of all kinds. They employed four hundred sail of ships, one with another of an hundred and fifty tons, in their trade; their annual exported produce in sugar, indigo, ginger, cotton, &c. amounted to upwards of three hundred and fifty thousand pounds, and their circulating cash at home was two hundred thousand. It is probable that Holland itself, or perhaps even the best inhabited parts of China were never peopled to the same proportion, nor have they land of the same dimensions, which produces any thing like the same profits. But since that time the island has been much upon the decline. The growth of the French sugar islands and the settlement of Antigua, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat, as well as the greater establishment in Jamaica, have drawn away from time to time a vast number of their people. A terrible contagion, said to be brought over by the troops from England, but more probably derived from the coast of Africa, attacked the island in the year 1692; it raged like a pestilence; twenty have died in a day in their principal town; and all parts of the island suffered in proportion. This sickness continued, with some abatements, for several years, and left an ill disposition in the climate ever afterwards. War raged at the same time with this distemper; and the Barbadians, who raised a good number of men, lost many of them in fruitless expeditions against the French islands. The land too began not to yield quite so kindly as it formerly had done, and in some places they were obliged to manure it. All these causes contributed to reduce the numbers and opulence of this celebrated island. But it is only in comparison of itself, that it may be considered in any other than the most flourishing condition even at this day; for even now it contains twenty-five thousand whites, very near eighty thousand negroes, and it ships above twenty-five thousand hogsheads of sugar, to the value of three hundred thousand pounds, besides rum, molasses, cotton, ginger, and aloes; an immense peopling and produce for a country not containing more than one hundred thousand acres of land. By the rise

Digitized by Google

of sugars, the returns of this island are little less than they were in its most flourishing times.

This island can raise near five thousand men of its own militia, and it has generally a regiment of regular troops, though not very complete. It is fortified by nature all along the windward shore by the rocks and shoals, so as to be near two thirds utterly inaccessible. On the leeward side it has good harbors; but the whole coast is protected by a line of several miles in length, and several forts to defend it at the most material places.

They support their own establishment, which is very considerable, with great credit. The governor's place is worth at least five thousand pounds a year, and the rest of their officers have valuable appointments. They provide very handsomely for their clergy, who are of the church of England, which is the religion established here, as it is in the other islands. Here are very few dissenters. There is in general an appearance of something more of order and decency, and of a settled people, than in any other colony in the West Indies. They have here a college, founded and well endowed by the virtue and liberality of that great man, Colonel Christopher Codrington, who was a native of this island, and who for a great number of amiable and useful qualities both in public and private life, for his courage, and the zeal for the good of his country, his humanity, his knowledge and love of literature, was far the richest production and most shining ornament this island ever had.

This college does not so fully answer the intentions of the excellent founder as it might do. If the fund was applied to the education of a number of catechists for the instruction of the negroes, some of them of their own color, it would be a vast public advantage, besides the charity, or perhaps the indispensable duty of some such work.

This college is in Bridge-town, the capital of this island, which, before the late fire, contained about twelve hundred houses, very handsomely built and inhabited by a numerous and wealthy people. The country of Barbadoes has a most

Digitized by Google

beautiful appearance, swelling here and there into gentle hills; shining by the cultivation of every part, by the verdure of the sugar canes, the bloom, and fragrance of the number of orange, lemon, lime, and citron trees, the guavas, papas, aloes, and a vast multitude of other elegant and useful plants, that rise intermixed with the houses of the gentlemen, which are sown thickly on every part of the island. Even the negro huts, though mean, contribute to the beauty of the country; for they shade them with plantain trees, which give their villages the appearance of so many beautiful groves. In short, there is no place in the West Indies comparable to Barbadoes, in point of numbers of people, cultivation of the soil, and those elegancies and conveniences which result from both.

CHAPTER VI.

ST. CHRISTOPHER, ANTIGUA, NEVIS, MONTSERRAT; THEIR PRESENT CONDITION AND FORCE.

The island of St. Christopher is the chief of those which we possess amongst the Leeward islands. It was first settled by the French and English in the year 1626, but after various fortunes it was entirely ceded to us by the treaty of Utrecht. This island is about seventy-five miles in compass. The circuit of Antigua is but little inferior. Nevis and Montserrat are the smallest of the four, not exceeding for either of them about eighteen or twenty miles in circumference. The soil in all these islands is pretty much alike; light and sandy, but notwithstanding fertile in a high degree. Antigua has no rivulets of fresh water, and but very few springs; this made it to be deemed uninhabitable for a long time; but now they save the rains in ponds and cisterns with great care, and they are rarely in great distress for water. In a word, this island, which we formerly thought useless, has got the start of

Digitized by Google

all the Leeward islands, increasing every day in its produce and inhabitants both freemen and slaves. It has one of the best harbors in the West Indies; on it stands the principal town called St. John's, which is large and wealthy.

The island of St. Christopher is not so much on the increase. Neither that nor any of the Leeward islands yields any commodity of consequence but what is derived from the cane, except Montserrat, which exports some indigo, but of a very inferior kind.

It is judged that the island of St. Christopher contains about seven thousand whites and twenty thousand negroes; that Antigua has also about seven thousand of the former color and thirty thousand blacks; and that Nevis and Montserrat may have each about five thousand Europeans, who are the masters of ten or twelve thousand African slaves. So that the whole of the Leeward islands may be reckoned without exaggeration to maintain about twenty thousand English, of whom every single man gives bread to several in England, which is effected by the labor of near seventy thousand negroes. Of the island of Barbuda I say little, because it has no direct trade with England. It is employed in husbandry, and raising fresh provisions for the use of the neighboring colonies. It is the property of the Codrington family.

These islands are under the management of one governor, who has the title of captain-general and governor in chief of all the Caribbee islands from Guadaloupe to Porto Rico. His post is worth about three thousand five hundred pounds a year. Under him each island has its particular deputy governor at a salary of two hundred pounds a year, and its separate, independent legislative of a council, and an assembly of the representatives.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER VII.

CLIMATE OF THE WEST INDIES—THE RAINS AND WINDS—HURRICANES—THEIR PROGNOSTICS—PRODUCE OF THE WEST INDIES—SUGAR—THE MANNER OF MANUFACTURING IT—PLANTERS IN THE WEST INDIES—THEIR WAY OF LIFE AND MANAGEMENT OF THEIR AFFAIRS—THE NEGROES.

The climate in all our West India islands is nearly the same, allowing for those accidental differences which the several situations and qualities of the lands themselves produce. As they lie within the tropic, and the sun goes quite over their heads, passing beyond them to the north, and never retires further from any of them than about thirty degrees to the south, they are continually subjected to the extreme of a heat, which would be intolerable, if the trade wind rising gradually as the sun gathers strength did not blow in upon them from the sea, and refresh the air in such a manner as to enable them to attend their concerns even under the meridian sun. On the other hand, as the night advances, a breeze begins to be perceived, which blows smartly from the land as it were from its centre, towards the sea, to all points of the compass at once.

By the same remarkable providence in the disposing of things it is, that, when the sun has made a great progress towards the tropic of Cancer and becomes in a manner vertical, he draws after him such a vast body of clouds as shield them from his direct beams; and dissolving into rain, cool the air and refresh the country, thirsty with the long drought, which commonly reigns from the beginning of January to the latter end of May.

The rains in the West Indies are by no means the things they are with us. Our heaviest rains are but dews comparatively. They are rather floods of water poured from the clouds with a prodigious impetuosity; the rivers rise in a mo-

Digitized by Google

ment; new rivers and lakes are formed, and in a short time all the low country is under water. Hence it is, that the rivers which have their source within the tropics swell and overflow their banks at a certain season; and so mistaken were the ancients in their idea of the torrid zone, which they imagined to be dried and scorched up with a continual and fervent heat, and to be for that reason uninhabitable; when in reality some of the largest rivers in the world have their course within its limits, and the moisture is one of the greatest inconveniences of the climate in several places.

The rains make the only distinction of seasons in the West Indies; the trees are green the whole year round; they have no cold, no frosts, no snows, and but rarely some hail; the storms of hail are however very violent when they happen, and the hailstones very great and heavy. Whether it be owing to this moisture alone, which alone does not seem to be a sufficient cause, or to a greater quantity of a sulphurous acid, which predominates in the air in this country, metals of all kinds that are subject to the action of such causes rust and canker in a very short time; and this cause, perhaps as much as the heat itself, contributes to make the climate of the West Indies unfriendly and unpleasant to a European constitution.

It is in the rainy season (principally in the month of August, more rarely in July and September) that they are assaulted by hurricanes; the most terrible calamity to which they are subject from the climate; this destroys at a stroke the labors of many years and prostrates the most exalted hopes of the planter, and often just at the moment when he thinks himself out of the reach of fortune. It is a sudden and violent storm of wind, rain, thunder, and lightning, attended with a furious swelling of the seas and sometimes with an earthquake; in short, with every circumstance which the elements can assemble that is terrible and destructive. First, they see as the prelude to the ensuing havoc, whole fields of sugar canes whirled into the air, and scattered over the face of the country. The strongest trees of the forest are

Digitized by Google

torn up by the roots and driven about like stubble; their windmills are swept away in a moment; their works, the fixtures, the ponderous copper boilers and stills of several hundred weight, are wrenched from the ground and battered to pieces: their houses are no protection, the roofs are torn off at one blast; whilst the rain, which in an hour rises five feet, rushes in upon them with an irresistible violence.

There are signs, which the Indians of these islands taught our planters, by which they can prognosticate the approach of a hurricane. The hurricane comes on either in the quarters, or at the full change of the moon. If it comes at the full moon, when you are at the change observe these signs. That day you will see the sky very turbulent; you will observe the sun more red than at other times; you will perceive a dead calm, and the hills clear of all those clouds and mists which usually hover about them. In the clefts of the earth, and in the wells, you hear a hollow rumbling sound like the rushing of a great wind. At night the stars seem much larger than usual, and surrounded with a sort of burs; the north-west sky has a black and menacing look; the sea emits a strong smell, and rises into vast waves, often without any wind; the wind itself now forsakes its usual steady easterly stream, and shifts about to the west; from whence it sometimes blows with intermissions violently and irregularly for about two hours at a time. You have the same signs at the full of the moon; the moon herself is surrounded with a great bur, and sometimes the sun has the same appearence. These prognostics were taught by the Indians; and in general one may observe, that ignorant country people and barbarous nations are better observers of times and seasons, and draw better rules from them, than more civilized and reasoning people; for they rely more upon experience than theories, they are more careful of traditionary observations, and living more in the open air at all times, and not so occupied but they have leisure to observe every change, though minute, in that element, they come to have great treasures of useful matter, though, as it might be expected, mixed with many superstitious and idle notions as

Digitized by Google

to the causes. These make their observations to be rejected as chimerical in the gross by many literati, who are not near so nice and circumspect as they ought to be in distinguishing what this sort of people may be very competent judges of, and what not.

The grand staple commodity of the West Indies is sugar; this commodity was not at all known to the Greeks and Romans, though it was made in China in very early times, from whence we had the first knowledge of it; but the Portuguese were the first who cultivated it in America, and brought it into request as one of the materials of a very universal luxury in Europe. It is not settled whether the cane from which this substance is extracted be a native of America, or brought thither by the Portuguese from India and the coast of Africa; but, however the matter may be, in the beginning they made the most as they still do the best sugars which come to market in this part of the world. The sugar cane grows to the height of between six and eight feet, full of joints, about four or five inches asunder; the color of the body of the cane is yellowish, and the top, where it shoots into leaves, of a vivid green; the coat is pretty hard, and within contains a spungy substance full of a juice, the most lively, elegant, and least cloying sweet in nature; and which, sucked raw, has proved extremely nutritive and wholesome.

They are cultivated in this manner. In the month of August, that is, in the rainy part of the year, after the ground is cleared and well hoed, they lay a piece of six or seven joints of the cane flat in a channel made for it, above half a foot deep; this they cover with the earth, and so plant the whole field in lines regularly disposed and at proper distances. In a short time a young cane shoots out from every joint of the stock which was interred, and grows in twelve days to be a pretty tall and vigorous plant; but it is not until after sixteen months, or thereabouts, that the canes are fit to answer the purposes of the planter, though they may remain a few months after without any considerable prejudice to him. The longer they remain in the ground after they are come to maturity,

Digitized by Google

the less juice they afford; but this is somewhat compensated by the superior richness of the juice. That no time may be lost, they generally divide their cane-grounds into three parts. One is of standing canes, and to be cut that season; the second is of new-planted canes; and the third is fallow, ready to receive a fresh supply. In some places they make second and third cuttings from the same root. The tops of the canes, and the leaves which grow upon the joints, make very good provender for their cattle, and the refuse of the cane after grinding serves for fire; so that no part of this excellent plant is without its use.

The canes are cut with a billet, and carried in bundles to the mill, which is now generally a windmill; it turns three great cylinders or rollers plated with iron, set perpendicularly and cogged so as to be all moved by the middle roller. Between these the canes are bruised to pieces, and the juice runs through a hole into a vat which is placed under the rollers to receive it; from hence it is carried through a pipe into a great reservoir, in which however, for fear of turning sour, it is not suffered to rest long; but is conveyed out of that by other pipes into the boiling house, where it is received by a large caldron: here it remains, until the scum, which constantly arises during the boiling, is all taken off; from this it is passed successively into five or six more boilers, gradually diminishing in their size, and treated in the same manner. In the last of these it becomes of a very thick clammy consistence; but mere boiling is incapable of carrying it further: to advance the operation, they pour in a small quantity of limewater; the immediate effect of this alien mixture is, to raise up the liquor in a very vehement fermentation; but, to prevent it from running over, a bit of butter no larger than a nut is thrown in, upon which the fury of the fermentation immediately subsides; a vessel of two or three hundred gallons requires no greater force to quiet it. It is now taken out and placed in a cooler, where it dries, granulates, and becomes fit to be put into the pots, which is the last part of the operation.

The pots are conical, or of a sugar loaf fashion; open at

Digitized by Google

the point, which must be considered as their bottom; here a strainer is put across. In these pots the sugar purges itself of its remaining impurity; the molasses or treacly part disentangles itself from the rest, precipitates, and runs out of the aperture at the bottom; it is now in the condition called muscovado sugar, of a yellowish brown color, and thus it is generally put into the hogshead and shipped off.

But when they have a mind to refine it yet further, and leave no remains at all of the molasses, they cover the pots I have just mentioned with a sort of white clay, like that used for tobacco pipes, diluted with water; this penetrates the sugar, unites with the molasses, and with it runs off, leaving the sugar of a whitish color, but whitest at top. This is called clayed sugar; the operation is sometimes repeated once or twice more, and the sugar every time diminishing in quantity gains considerably in value; but still is called clayed sugar. Further than this they do not go in the plantations, because a heavy duty of sixteen shillings per hundred weight is laid upon all sugars refined there; it is therefore not to my purpose to carry the account any further.

Of the molasses rum is made, in a manner that needs no description, since it differs in nothing from the manner of distilling any other spirit. From the scummings of the sugar a meaner spirit is procured. Rum finds its market in North America, (where it is consumed by the English inhabitants, or employed in the Indian trade, or distributed from thence to the fishery of Newfoundland and the African commerce,) besides what comes to England and Ireland. However, a very great quantity of molasses is taken off raw and carried to New England to be distilled there.

They compute that, when things are well managed, the rum and molasses pay the charges of the plantation, and the sugars are clear gain. However, by the particulars we have seen, and by others which we may easily imagine, the expenses of a plantation in the West Indies are very great, and the profits at the first view precarious; for the chargeable articles of the windmill, the boiling, cooling, and distilling

Digitized by Google

houses, and the buying and subsisting a suitable number of slaves and cattle, will not suffer any man to begin a sugar plantation of any consequence, not to mention the purchase of the land, which is very high, under a capital of at least five thousand pounds. Neither is the life of a planter a life of idleness and luxury; at all times he must keep a watchful eye upon his overseers, and even oversee himself occasionally. But at the boiling season, if he is properly attentive to his affairs, no way of life can be more laborious, and more dangerous to the health, from a constant attendance day and night in the extreme united heats of the climate and so many fierce furnaces; add to this the losses by hurricanes, earthquakes, and bad seasons; and then consider, when the sugars are in the cask, that he quits the hazard of a planter, to engage in the hazards of a merchant, and ships his produce at his own risk. The sum of all might make one believe, that it could never answer to engage in this business; but, notwithstanding all this, there are no parts of the world, in which great estates are made in so short a time as in the West Indies. The produce of a few good seasons will provide against the ill effects of the worst; as the planter is sure of a speedy and profitable market for his produce, which has a readier sale than perhaps any other commodity in the world.

Large plantations are generally under the care of a manager or chief overseer, who has commonly a salary of a hundred and fifty pounds a year, with overseers under him in proportion to the greatness of the plantation, one to about thirty negroes, and at the rate of about forty pounds. Such plantations too have a surgeon at a fixed salary employed to take care of the negroes which belong to it. But the course which is the least troublesome to the owner of the estate is, to let the land, with all the works and the stock of cattle and slaves, to a tenant, who gives security for the payment of the rent and the keeping up repairs and the stock. The estate is generally estimated to such a tenant at half the nett produce of the best years. Such tenants, if industrious and frugal men, soon make good estates for themselves.

Digitized by Google

The negroes in the plantations are subsisted at a very easy rate. This is generally by allotting to each family of them a small portion of land, and allowing them two days in the week, Saturday and Sunday, to cultivate it. Some are subsisted in this manner, but others find their negroes themselves with a certain portion of Guinea or Indian corn, and to some a salt herring, or a small quantity of bacon or salt pork a day. All the rest of the charge consists in a cap, a shirt, a pair of breeches, stockings, and shoes; the whole not exceeding forty shillings a year.

To particularize the commodities proper for the West India market, would be to enumerate all the necessaries, conveniences, and luxuries of life; for they have nothing of their own but the commodities I have already mentioned. Traders there make a very large profit upon all they sell; and all kinds of handicraftsmen, especially carpenters, bricklayers, and braziers, get very great encouragement.

CHAPTER VIII.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE SETTLEMENT OF THE WEST INDIES—ADVANTAGES THERE FOR TEMPERS PREJUDICIAL AT HOME—BAD TEMPERS NOT ALWAYS NOXIOUS IN EVERY SENSE.

The disposition to industry has a variety of characters, and is by no means constantly of the same color. Some acquiesce in a moderate labor through the whole of their lives, attended with no risk either to their persons or their gains; such sort of people, who form the best citizens in general, are fit to stay at home. Others, full as remote from an indolent disposition, are of quite a different character. These are fiery, restless tempers, willing to undertake the severest labor, provided it promises but a short continuance, who love risk and hazard, whose schemes are always vast, and who put no medium between being great and being undone. Characters of this

Digitized by Google

sort, especially when they happen in low and middling life, are often dangerous members in a regular and settled community. But the West Indies open a fair and ample field to encourage persons of such a disposition; and it may be reckoned one very great benefit of our possessions in that part of the world, that, besides the vast quantities of our fabrics which they consume, our seamen that they employ, and our revenues that they support, they are a vent to carry off such spirits, whom they keep occupied greatly to the public benefit. Our dominions are so circumstanced, and afford such a variety, that all dispositions to business, of what kind soever, may, have exercise without pressing upon one another. It is besides a great happiness, that unfortunate men, whom unavoidable accidents, the frowns of the world, or the cruelty of creditors, would have rendered miserable to themselves, and useless to the public, may find a sort of asylum, where at last they often succeed so well, as to have reason to bless those accidents, which drove them from their country poor, deserted, and despised, to return them to it in opulence and credit. Of such a change every one can produce many instances of his own knowledge; as whoever looks about him cannot fail to see a great number of persons, who, having taken wrong steps in the beginning of their lives, have established such a character of weakness and imprudence, as prevents them ever after from being trusted or employed, wherever they are at all known, although their characters should be altogether changed and the passions quite subsided which gave occasion to their errors. Such persons become, first indigent, than desperate, and at last, abandoned; but when they have an opportunity of going where this prejudice does not operate against them, they set up as new men. With the advantage of an experience acquired by their mistakes, they are free from the ill reputation which attended them; and they prove of vast service to their country, to which they could be of no advantage whilst they remained in it. There are persons too, far more blameable than either of the former sorts, who, having erred without proper caution in points of morality, and deservedly

Digitized by Google

regarded with distrust and abhorrence, though they may be at bottom far from being utterly abandoned; and are still, excepting their character, the stuff proper for making very good men of the world.

These are the several sorts of people, who, with very few exceptions, have settled the West Indies, and North America in a good measure. And thus have we drawn, from the rashness of hot and visionary men, the imprudence of youth, the corruption of bad morals, and even from the wretchedness and misery of persons destitute and undone, the great source of our wealth, our strength, and our power. And, though this was neither the effect of our wisdom, nor the consequence of our foresight; yet, having happened, it may tend to give us more wisdom and a better foresight; for it will undoubtedly be a standing monitor to us, how much we ought to cherish the colonies we have already established, by every encouragement in our power, and by every reasonable indulgence; and it will be an additional spur to make us active in the acquisition of new ones: since experience has taught us, that, as there is no soil or climate which will not show itself grateful to culture, so that there is no disposition, no character in mankind, which may not be turned with dexterous management to the public advantage. Those rulers, who make complaints of the temper of their people in almost any respect, ought rather to lament their own want of genius, which blinds them to the use of an instrument purposely put into their hands by Providence, for effecting perhaps the greatest things. There are humors in the body, which, contained, may be noxious to it, yet which, sent abroad, are the proper materials for generating new bodies. Providence, and a great minister who should imitate Providence, often gain their ends by means that seem most contrary to them; for earthquakes, and hurricanes, and floods, are as necessary to the well-being of things, as calm and sunshine; life and beauty are drawn from death and corruption; and the most efficacious medicines are often found united with the most deadly poisons. This, as it is well known, is the order of nature, and perhaps it might not unwisely be considered as an example for government.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER IX.

OBSERVATIONS ON TAXING THE COLONIES—ON AN EXPENSIVE ESTABLISHMENT THERE—OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

THOUGH we have drawn such great advantages from our possessions in the West Indies, and are, even in our present way of acting, likely to continue to draw still more; and though we have not wholly neglected the culture of that useful province; yet some will think there are some things yet left undone, some things in which our neighbors have set us a laudable example, and some others which the inconveniencies we have felt from the want of them demonstrate to be necessary to ourselves. But it is not my purpose to handle this subject in its full extent, since it is the wisdom and power of the legislature, and not the unauthorized speculations of a private man, which can effect any thing useful in this way. A West Indian, who is naturally warm in his temper, and not too servilely obedient to the rules of the *bienséance*, might find some faults in our proceedings here, and would perhaps reason in a manner not unlike the following.

"One would think, from some instances, that, at the distance we are placed from the seat of authority, we were too remote to enjoy its protection, but not to feel its weight. Innumerable are the grievances which have oppressed us from our infancy, and which contribute to bring on us a premature old age. Not one of the least evils under which our plantations in the West Indies groan, is the support of an expensive civil establishment, suited rather to an established and independent country in the plenitude of wealth and power, than to newly settled colonies, to which nobody thinks himself to belong as to his country, and which struggle with a total want of almost all the necessaries and conveniencies of life. The building and maintaining of the public works and fortifications

Digitized by Google

is a weight to which we are totally unequal, and the laying of which upon our shoulders is directly contrary to the very purpose for which you cultivate the colonies; for, though the produce of these colonies is in general to be considered as a luxury, yet is it of the greatest value to you; first, as it supplies you with things, which, if not from us, you must certainly take from foreign nations. Even in this view the colonies are extremely useful. But there is another, and a much more advantageous light in which you may view them; you may consider them as they supply you with a commodity which you export to other countries, and which helps to bring the balance of trade in your favor.

"The whole secret of managing a foreign market is contained in two words, to have the commodity of a good kind, and to sell it cheap; and the whole domestic policy of trade consists in contriving to answer these two ends, and principally the latter. Now, by what magic can we effect to sell as cheap as the French at any foreign market, when our planters pay four and a half per cent. duty upon all the sugars, which they ship off in America, and this after having had the same commodity in effect heavily taxed before by the poll on the negroes which work it, and by other impositions, which the planters endure according to the exigencies of the government? when the French planter pays a very insignificant poll-tax at worst, and not one per cent. duty upon all the sugars he exports; when he buys his negroes at an easier rate than we can do; when he is more favored upon every occasion, and is besides of a temper more industrious and frugal, than is found in our people. Besides this, upon sudden emergencies, we run very much in debt; the island of Barbadoes at one stroke expended thirty thousand pounds upon a fortification, to say nothing of what this and what other islands have done in the same way and upon similar occasions. We are in reality only your factors; you in England ought to consider yourselves as the merchants, who should be at the whole expense, and should willingly abide by whatsoever loss accrues; since the profits are all your own, and since in the end, by the course

Digitized by Google

of trade, the loss too, let you take what shifting measures you please to avoid it, and to cheat yourselves with appearances. It is reasonable that you should lay what duty you please upon what is consumed amongst yourselves, because you govern that market as you please; but what you charge, or suffer to be charged, on the islands, is only the price of your own goods enhanced so much at the foreign market; there you have no exclusive privilege, and there you are sure to suffer. If that duty which is laid in England upon the produce of our islands, or even half of it, were expended, as in reason it ought, for the support of our establishment, we might well be freed from the heavy burdens which we bear, and consequently might be somewhat upon a par with our neighbors. In our present condition, we not only pay very ample salaries to our governors, but they are besides suffered to make the most they can, by management, of our weakness, to cheat us into voluntary gratuities, which we have given often without a due consideration of our circumstances. This custom prompts our governors to use a thousand arts, equally unbecoming their character and prejudicial to the provinces they govern. It is this which induces them to foment those divisions which tear us to pieces; and which prevent us from attending seriously and entirely to what will best advance the prosperity of our settlements.

"It were a tedious and disagreeable task, to run through all the mischiefs, of which that one error of sending a governor to make the most he can of us is the fruitful source. The governor, I allow, ought to have every where a certain, reasonable, and even a genteel salary; but then, when he has this, he ought not to be in a condition to hope for any thing further, and ought to consider nothing but how he may best perform the duty of his office.

"But I hear it objected, that we are already extremely chargeable to England, who sends her troops to protect us, and her fleets to cover our trade, at a very great expense, for which we ought to be contented, and even thankful; and that it is unreasonable to expect she should bear every part of

Digitized by Google

our burden, loaded as she is with the weight of a vast national debt, and a most expensive establishment of her own. But to this my answer is short, plain, and practical. The French do all this. They send armies and fleets to protect their colonies as well as you; but they support the establishment in their own plantations notwithstanding; and they are far from supposing this an insupportable burden. They know that a little judicious expense is often the best economy in the world, and that in this case, it is only sparing their own subjects in the West Indies, and levying the money laid out for their use upon the foreign consumer. What they do, I see no impossibility of our doing. They learned many of their maxims of trade, as well as many of the fabrics which supply it, from us; I wish we would learn from them in our turn. We have, indeed, some years ago eased the trade, by permitting ships from the islands to carry our produce out directly to foreign markets; but still it is so clogged, that we do not feel all the benefit which we might expect from a more general and better regulated liberty.

"Not to carry our inquiries further, see what you have gained by prohibiting us to land our sugars directly in Ireland, before they are first entered in an English port. What was the consequence? why, your sugars grew dear by this loading and unloading, and passing backward and forward. The Portuguese offered sugars of at least equal goodness, and at a much more moderate price. The merchants in Ireland would not refuse so good an offer out of a compliment to you, who in this instance paid them no compliment at all; and you cannot, for very good reasons, dispute with the Portuguese about it. If this has happened at home, the consequence must be infinitely worse abroad. But it is said that our failures abroad are only owing to this; that we have not ground enough conveniently situated to produce more sugars than satisfies the home demand. But this is far enough from the case. There is in several of the islands, but there is in Jamaica in particular, a great quantity of good land, and well enough situated too, if means were taken to bring it into culture, and a choice

Digitized by Google

of markets to animate the planter in the cultivation; who certainly deserves every sort of encouragement, as he asks for nothing but to be put into such a condition, as may enable him to be of more service to his mother country."

CHAPTER X.

STATE OF THE NEGROES IN THE WEST INDIES—DANGER FROM THEM—METHODS PROPOSED FOR REMEDYING THESE ABUSES—THE NECESSITY OF INCREASING THE WHITES—USE OF THIS REGULATION IN TRADE.

In the foregoing manner the West Indian would state some part of what he conceives to be his grievances; and those I believe he would be earnest enough to have remedied. But there are other regulations, which a person not concerned in their affairs might think very proper too, but which the West Indian would enter into with a much greater degree of phlegm.

There are now allowed to be in our West Indies, at least two hundred and thirty thousand negro slaves; and it is allowed too, that, upon the highest calculation, the whites there in all do not amount to ninety thousand souls. This disproportion shows so clearly at the first glance how much the colonies are endangered, both from within and without; how much exposed to the assaults of a foreign enemy, and to the insurrection of their own slaves (which latter circumstance in all our islands keeps the people in perpetual apprehensions,) that it may be a just cause of surprise, that no measures whatsoever are taken to correct this dangerous irregularity.

This disproportion between the freemen and negroes grows more visable every day. That enterprising spirit, which the novelty of the object and various concurrent causes had produced in the last century, has decayed very much. We have as many men indigent and unemployed at home as we had

Digitized by Google

then; but they have not the same spirit and activity they had at that time. The disposition of the people in the West Indies concurs with that of our people at home, to increase and perpetuate the evil of which I complain; for they choose to do every thing by negroes, which can possibly be done by them; and though they have laws and ordinances to oblige them to keep a certain number of white servants in some proportion to their blacks, in most places these laws are but a dead letter. They find it more easy to pay the penalty, when seldom it is exacted, than to comply with the law. Their avarice in these particulars makes them blind to the hazards to which they expose the sum total of their affairs. This disposition in the planters is now almost grown inveterate, and to such a degree, that the remedy will probably never be administered by themselves; and if this disposition continues, in a little time (which is indeed nearly the case already) all the English in our colonies there will consist of little more than a few planters and merchants; and the rest will be a despicable, though a dangerous, because a numerous and disaffected, herd of African slaves.

Indubitably the security as well as the solid wealth of every nation consists principally in the number of low and middling men of a free condition, and that beautiful gradation from the highest to the lowest, where the transitions all the way are almost imperceptible. To produce this ought to be the aim and mark of every well regulated commonwealth, and none has ever flourished upon other principles. But when we consider the colony out of that independent light, and as it is related to Great Britain, it is clear that this neglect is of great detriment to the mother country; because it is certain, that the consumption of our commodities there would be in a great measure in proportion to the number of white men; and there is nobody at all acquainted with the plantations, who will not readily allow, that, when I say one white man takes off as much of our manufactures as three negroes, I estimate his value to us at a very low rate.

But the necessity of having there a proper number of whites

Digitized by Google

is not only strongly enforced by the consideration of the great gain which would from thence accrue to us, but from the vast savings which such an arrangement would produce. The militia of the West Indies is exceedingly well trained, so as to be in discipline not very much inferior, but in courage and spirit beyond, most regular troops; and they really want nothing but sufficient numbers to be able fully to defend themselves, and occasionally to annoy the enemy; for both which purposes they are infinitely more fit, by being habituated to the climate, than raw troops, which in this part of the world can never meet the enemy in the field with much more than half their complement. A less number of troops would do there in all times, if this point was well studied; and I may venture to say, that the transporting and comfortably providing for a proper number of men effectually to secure our colonies, and even to make any attempt upon them desperate, would not have cost the government one third part of the money, which for these twenty years past has been expended in the transporting and maintaining of troops there, who die and waste away without any benefit to themselves or their country; whereas these settlers, who would so effectually intimidate a foreign enemy, and take away all hope of liberty from the negroes, would all the while be enriching their mother country, and paying a large interest for the sums she expended in their establishment.

I am conscious that many objections will be made against the very proposal, and that many more would be started against any effectual scheme for increasing the number of white servants in the West Indies. They are represented as of very little use, disorderly, idle, drunken, and fitter to pervert the negroes than to be any assistance to them in their business. This I believe to be in general true; but this is no sort of objection to having them; though it is an excellent argument for putting them, their masters, and the whole colony, under a better regulation. If we labor under great inconveniences from the want of a police at home, this want is infinitely more visible in the West Indies, where for the most

Digitized by Google

part, they all live without the least sense of religion, in a state of vice and debauchery, which is really deplorable to consider them as men and Christians, and of a very bad aspect in a political light. If therefore it should be thought convenient by the wisdom of our government, at any time to enter into a scheme for peopling these countries fully and properly, it will be equally convenient at the same time to take such strict measures as may preserve them from vice and idleness; a thing far enough from being impracticable. Whenever such regulations shall take place, they will in a good measure answer another end too, the preserving the health and lives of the people; a point which in all places every wise government will have very much at heart; but which is, above all, necessary in a colony, where the people are an inestimable treasure, and where the climate itself is sufficiently fatal.

These observations principally regard Jamaica, the largest and best of our islands, where there are prodigious tracts of uncultivated land. As the rivers there are not navigable, and as sugar is a bulky commodity which cannot afford to pay for a very long land carriage, the coasts, or only the land very near the coasts, can be turned to that commodity. But if poor people were sufficiently encouraged to settle in the inland parts, necessity would oblige them to raise cotton, cacao, coffee, ginger, aloes, allspice, the dyeing woods, and other things, which require no vast labor, are not so burdensome in carriage, and which have all a sufficient demand at home to encourage people who do not look to great and sudden fortunes. And as we bring all these, especially the cotton, which is of great use in our manufactures, from abroad, we might encourage the raising more of it by some moderate premium. The same necessity too would oblige them to try experiments on cochineal, and various other things which we do not now think of, and which the climate would not refuse. By degrees, and with good management, they would improve in the culture of many of these articles in which they are now defective; the careful would grow tolerably rich; and considerable works of many valuable commodities, as cacao, cochineal, and even

Digitized by Google

indigo, may be attempted with small capitals. Excepting the labor, I do not know that any of these require above two or three hundred pounds to begin with. So that, whilst the great stocks and the lands convenient to navigation are employed in sugars, the small capitals and the inland might be employed in the less expensive, though not less useful, articles I have mentioned; every part would flourish, and agriculture would have its share with the other improvements; so that the great number might be subsisted at less expense than the few are now maintained. All this, I am confident, could be effected for twenty thousand pounds, or less, properly laid out; and the island by this means be rendered in a few years three times more beneficial to us than it is at present. By the neglect of some encouragement of this kind, the great stocks, and the running into a staple which required them, have by degrees devoured the island. It is the nature of vast stocks to create a sort of monopoly; and it is the nature of monopoly to aim at great profits from a comparatively little produce; but diffuse business, and by bringing it within the compass of several, you will make them sit down each with a small profit, for all cannot hope a fortune, but the joint produce of all will be very considerable. Indigo was once very greatly produced in Jamaica, and it enriched the island to so great a degree, that in the parish of Vere, where this drug was cultivated, they are said to have had no less than three hundred gentlemen's coaches; a number I do not imagine even the whole island exceeds at this day; and there is great reason to believe, that there were many more persons of property in Jamaica formerly than are there now, though perhaps they had not those vast fortunes, which dazzle us in such a manner at present.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER XI.

MISERY OF THE NEGROES—GREAT WASTE OF THEM—METHODS OF PREVENTING IT—INSTRUCTION OF NEGROES IN RELIGION.

Since I have indulged myself so long in a speculation which appears to me very material to the welfare of these colonies, I shall venture to say something further concerning another part of the inhabitants, though it may perhaps meet no warm reception from those who are the most nearly concerned.

The negroes in our colonies endure a slavery more complete, and attended with far worse circumstances, than what any people in their condition suffer in any other part of the world, or have suffered in any other period of time. Proofs of this are not wanting. The prodigious waste which we experience in this unhappy part of our species, is a full and melancholy evidence of this truth. The island of Barbadoes (the negroes upon which do not amount to eighty thousand) notwithstanding all the means which they use to increase them by propagation, notwithstanding that the climate is in every respect, except that of being more wholesome, exactly resembling the climate from whence they come; notwithstanding all this, Barbadoes lives under a necessity of an annual recruit of five thousand slaves to keep up the stock at the number I have mentioned. This prodigious failure, which is at least in the same proportion in all our islands, shows demonstratively that some uncommon and insupportable hardship lies upon the negroes, which wears them down in such a surprising manner; and this, I imagine, is principally the excessive labor which they undergo. For previously, I suppose, that none of the inhabitants of the countries between the tropics are capable, even in their own climates, of near so much labor, without great prejudice to them, as our people are in ours. But in our plantations the blacks

Digitized by Google

work severely for five days, without any relaxation or intermission, for the benefit of the master, and the other two days they are obliged to labor for their own subsistence, during the rest of the week; and this, I imagine, with the other circumstances of great severity which depress their spirits, naturally cuts off great numbers, as well as disqualifies those who remain from supplying this waste by natural propagation.

The planter will say, that, if he is to allow his negroes more recreation and to indulge them in more hours of absence from their work, he can never reimburse himself for the charge he has been at in the purchase of the slave, nor make the profits which induced him to go to that expense. But this, though it appears plausible enough at first, because the slaves are very dear, and because they do not yield above ten or twelve pounds a head annually clear profit by their labor, is notwithstanding very fallacious. For let it be considered, that, out of their stock of eighty thousand in Barbadoes, there die every year five thousand negroes more than are born in that island: in effect, this people is under a necessity of being entirely renewed every sixteen years; and what must we think of the management of a people, who, far from increasing greatly, as those who have no loss by wars ought to do, must, in so short a space of time as sixteen years, without foreign recruits, be entirely consumed to a man? Let us suppose that these slaves stand the Barbadians in no more than twenty pounds a head out of the ship; whereas, in reality, they cost a great deal more; this makes one hundred thousand pounds every year, and in sixteen years, one million six hundred thousand pounds. A sum really astonishing, and amounting to a fourth of the value of every thing they export.

Now suppose, that, by allowing a more moderate labor and some other indulgences, a great number of these deaths might be prevented (and many I think it is probable would so be prevented,) and that they could keep up within a thousand of their stock (and why they could not entirely keep it up by such means, I cannot possibly guess) they would save in this way eighty thousand pounds every year. But from thence

Digitized by Google

we must deduct the time in which these slaves have been unemployed. I suppose that all reasonable indulgences might be given of every sort for the difference of forty thousand pounds, which is the labor of four thousand slaves. This will be far from a small allowance, especially as in this way less time will be lost by sickness, and the surgeon will have less employment. Then, after all deductions, by behaving like good men, good masters, and good Christians, the inhabitants of this one island would save forty thousand pounds a year; which if, instead of being saved, it were lost by such a proceeding, it ought to be considered as a necessary loss, and borne accordingly.

This matter, though not, I think, before shown in this same light, seems in itself extremely clear; but if it were yet clearer, there are several gentlemen of the West Indies who could not comprehend it; though a wagoner in England will comprehend very clearly, that, if he works his horse but moderately and feeds him well, he will draw more profit from him in the end, than if he never gave him an hour's respite in the day from his work, and at night turned him upon the common for his subsistence. I am far from contending in favor of an effeminate indulgence to these people. I know that they are stubborn and intractable for the most part, and that they must be ruled with the rod of iron. I would have them ruled, but not crushed with it. I would have a humanity exercised which is consistent with steadiness. And I think it clear from the whole course of history, that those nations which have behaved with the greatest humanity to their slaves were always best served, and ran the least hazard from their rebellions. And I am the more convinced of the necessity of these indulgencies, as slaves certainly cannot go through so much work as freemen. The mind goes a great way in every thing; and when a man knows that his labor is for himself, and that the more he labors, the more he is to acquire, this consciousness carries him through, and supports him beneath fatigues, under which he otherwise would have sunk.

Digitized by Google

The prejudice this saving would be to the African trade is, I know, an objection which to some would appear very plausible. But surely, one cannot hear without horror of a trade which must depend for its support upon the annual murder of several thousands of innocent men; and indeed nothing could excuse the slave trade at all, but the necessity we are under of peopling our colonies, and the consideration that the slaves we buy were in the same condition in Africa, either hereditary or taken in war. But, in fact, if the waste of these men should become less, the price would fall; then, if a due order were taken, the same demand might be kept, by extending our colonies, which is now produced by the havoc made of the people. This is the case on the continent, where, though the slaves increase, there is an annual call for seven thousand at least.

The principal time I would have reserved for the indulgence I propose to be granted to the slaves is Sunday, or the Lord's day; a day which is profaned in a manner altogether scandalous in our colonies. On this day, I would have them regularly attend at church; I would have them, particularly the children, carefully (full as carefully as any others) instructed in the principles of religion and virtue, and especially in the humility, submission, and honesty, which become their condition. The rest of the day might be devoted to innocent recreation; to these days of relaxation, and with the same exercises, should be added some days in the grand festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, and perhaps, four or five days in the year besides. Such methods would by degrees habituate their masters, not to think them a sort of beasts, and without souls, as some of them do at present, who treat them accordingly; and the slaves would of course grow more honest, tractable, and less of eye-servants; unless the sanctions of religion, the precepts of morality, and all the habits of an early institution, be of no advantage to mankind. Indeed I have before me an author,* if he may be so called, who treats

* Oldmixon.

Digitized by Google

the notion of bringing the negroes to Christianity with contempt, and talks of it at the best, as a thing of indifference. But, besides that, he appears to me a writer of very little judgment, I cannot conceive with what face any body, who pretends to inform the public, can set up as an advocate for irreligion, barbarism, and gross ignorance.

CHAPTER XII.

PROPOSALS FOR A SORT OF ENFRANCHISEMENT OF MULATTOES AND NEGROES—DANGER FROM THE MULTITUDE OF HOUSE NEGROES.

It is said, that the law of England is favorable to liberty; and so far this observation is just, that, when we had men in a servile condition amongst us, the law took advantage even of neglects of the masters to enfranchise the villain: and seemed for that purpose even to subtilize a little; because our ancestors judged, that freemen were the real support of the kingdom. What if in our colonies we should go so far as to find out some medium between liberty and absolute slavery, in which we might place all mulattoes after a certain limited servitude to the owner of the mother; and such blacks, who being born in the islands, their masters for their good services should think proper in some degree to enfranchise? These might have land allotted them, or, where that could not be spared, some sort of fixed employment, from either of which they should be obliged to pay a certain moderate rent to the public. Whatever they should acquire above this, to be the reward of their industry. The necessity of paying the rent would keep them from idleness; and when men are once set to work through necessity, they will not stop there; but they will gradually strive for conveniences, and some even for superfluities. All this will add to the demand for our goods, and the colony will be strengthened by the addition of so many men, who will have an interest of their own to fight for.

Digitized by Google

There is, amongst others, a very bad custom in our colonies of multiplying their household slaves far beyond reason and necessity. It is not uncommon for families of no very great fortunes, to have twenty-five or thirty in the capacity of menial servants only. These are so many hands taken from planting, to be of no manner of use to the public; but they are infinitely the most dangerous of the slaves; for being at all times about our people, they come to abate of that great reverence which the field negroes have for the whites, without losing any thing of the resentment of their condition, which is common to both. And besides, in any insurrection, they have it more in their power to strike a sudden and fatal blow. Surely a sumptuary law might be contrived to restrain the number of the menial slaves, as there might and ought to be one strictly enjoining all who keep five servants, to have one white man and one white woman amongst them, without any power of being indulged in a contrary practice; as it ought to be a rule never to be broken through, to have not only the overseers, but even all the drivers, white men.

The alarms we are under at the news of any petty armament in the West Indies is a demonstrative proof of the weakness of our condition there; which is, however, so far from rousing us to seek any proper remedy, that there are not wanting of the people of that country, many who would use a thousand pretences to prevent our taking the only possible means of securing their own possessions from danger; as the majority of men will always be found ready to prefer some present gain to their future and more permanent interests. But the apparent and dangerous progress of the French ought, methinks, to arouse us from our long inaction, and to animate us to enterprise some regulations, in a strain of policy far superior to any thing I have ventured to hint for the interest of the commerce and the honor of the councils of the British nation.

Digitized by Google

PART VII.

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

A GENERAL VIEW OF THE ENGLISH DOMINIONS IN NORTH AMERICA.

It is somewhat difficult to ascertain the bounds of the English property in North America to the northern and western sides; for to the northward, it should seem, that we might extend our claims quite to the pole itself, nor does any nation seem inclined to dispute the property of this northernmost country with us. France has, by the treaty of Utrecht, ceded to us Hudson's Bay, the straits of Hudson, and all the country bordering upon that bay and those straits. If we should choose to take our stand upon the northern extremity of New Britain, or Terra de Labrador, and look towards the south, we have a territory extending in that aspect from the 60th to the 31st degree of north latitude, and consequently more than seventeen hundred miles long in a direct line. This country is all the way washed by the Atlantic Ocean on the east; to the south it has the small remains of the Spanish Florida; but to the westward, our bounds are disputed by our enemies, and do not seem well agreed upon amongst ourselves. They who govern themselves by the charters to our colonies run their jurisdiction quite across the continent to the South Sea; others contract our rights to the hither banks of the Mississippi, and take four of the great lakes into our dominions; but

Digitized by Google

upon what grounds they have fixed upon that river as a barrier, other than that rivers or mountains seem to be a species of natural boundaries, I cannot determine. Others (upon the same grounds I suppose) have contracted us within limits yet narrower; they make the Apalachian mountains, the lake Ontario, and the river St. Lawrence, the most westerly frontier of our rights in America. The French, agreeing in some respects with these latter (or the latter rather agreeing with the French, whose maps they have for a long time servilely and shamefully copied) have made the mountains hem us in from their southern commencement to about the 44th degree of north latitude, or thereabouts, where this long chain terminates; then they draw a line slanting to the north-east, by which they cut off a great part of the provinces of New York, New England, and Nova Scotia, and leave our bounds at such a distance from the river St. Lawrence as they judge convenient.

This distribution, and the military dispositions which the French have made to support it, form the principal cause of the quarrel which now subsists between the two kingdoms; and it is the issue of this quarrel, which must instruct future geographers in adjusting the boundaries of the two nations. For the present, I shall only mention what we have settled, without offering any opinion of my own concerning our bounds. Our rights in Nova Scotia have been already ascertained and established in a clear and cogent manner; but, with regard to our claims in the Ohio and Mississippi, the rashness of some writers in a manner which is a public concern seems to me very blameable. Some of them timidly or ignorantly drawing our territories into a very inconvenient narrowness; whilst others have madly claimed all North America from sea to sea: some would give us very narrow bounds; whilst others will hear of no bounds at all.

Posterity will perhaps think it unaccountable, that, in a matter of such importance, we could have been so thoughtless as to leave on our back such a nation as France, without determining, in any manner, even sufficiently clear to settle

Digitized by Google

our own demands, what part of the country was our own right, or what we determined to leave to the discretion of our neighbors; or that, wholly intent upon settling the sea-coast, we have never cast an eye into the country, to discover the necessity of making a barrier against them with a proper force; which formerly did not need to have been a very great one, nor to be maintained at any great expense. That cheap and timely caution would have saved us thousands of lives and millions of money; but the hour is now passed.

In the ensuing discourse, I think it better neither to consider our settlements directly in the order of the time of their establishment, nor of their advantage to the mother country, but as they lie near one another, north and south, from New England to Carolina; reserving for the end the new settlements on the northern and southern extremities, those of Nova Scotia and Georgia, and the unsettled countries about Hudson's Bay.

CHAPTER II.

FIRST ATTEMPTS TO SETTLE NORTH AMERICA—THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE PURITANS—THEY ARE PERSECUTED BY LAUD—SEVERAL FLY INTO NEW ENGLAND.

We derive our rights in America from the discovery of Sebastian Cabot, who first made the northern continent in 1497. The fact is sufficiently certain to establish a right to our settlements in North America: but the particulars are not known distinctly enough to encourage me to enter into a detail of his voyage. The country was in general called Newfoundland, a name which is now appropriated solely to an island upon its coast. It was a long time before we made any attempt to settle this country; though in this point we were no more backward than our neighbors, who probably did not abstain so long out of respect to our prior discovery. Sir Walter Raleigh showed the way, by planting a colony in the

Digitized by Google

southern part, which he called Virginia. However, the spirit of colonization was not yet fully raised. Men lived at ease in their own country, and the new settlement of Virginia, though dressed up in all the showy colors which eloquence could bestow upon it, gave adventurers but little encouragement. The affairs of North America were in the hands of an exclusive company, and they prospered accordingly.

Things remained in this condition until the latter end of the reign of James the First. From the commencement of the Reformation in England, two parties of Protestants subsisted amongst us; the first had chosen gradually and almost imperceptibly to recede from the church of Rome; softening the lines rather than erasing the figure, they made but very little alteration in the appearances of things. And the people, seeing the exterior so little altered, hardly perceived the great changes they had made in the doctrines of their religion. The other party, of a warmer temper, had more zeal and less policy. Several of them had fled from the persecution in Queen Mary's days; and they returned in those of Queen Elizabeth with minds sufficiently heated by resentment of their sufferings, and by the perpetual disputations which had exercised them all the while they were abroad. Abroad they learned an aversion to the episcopal order, and to religious ceremonies of every sort; they were impregnated with a high spirit of liberty, and had a strong tendency to the republican form of government. Queen Elizabeth had enough of the blood of Harry the Eighth to make her impatient of an opposition to her will, especially in matters of religion, in which she had a high opinion of her own knowledge. She advised with the party but very little in the alterations which she thought proper to make; and, disliking the notions which they seemed to entertain in politics, she kept them down during the whole course of her reign with a uniform and inflexible severity.

However, the party was far enough from being destroyed. The merit of their sufferings, the affected plainness of their dress, the gravity of their deportment, the use of scripture

Digitized by Google

phrases upon the most ordinary occasions, and even their names, which had something striking and venerable, as being borrowed from the Old Testament, or having a sort of affected relation to religious matters, gained them a general esteem amongst sober people of ordinary understandings. This party was very numerous; and their zeal made them yet more considerable than their numbers. They were commonly called Puritans.

When King James came to the throne, he had a very fair opportunity of pacifying matters; or at worst he might have left them in the condition he found them; but it happened quite otherwise. The unkingly disputation at Hampton Court did more to encourage the Puritans to persevere in their opinions, by the notice which was taken of them, than all King James's logic as a scholar, backed with all his power as a king, could do to suppress that party. They were persecuted, but not destroyed; they were exasperated, and yet left powerful; and a severity was exercised towards them which at once exposed the weakness and the ill intentions of the government.

In this state things continued until the accession of Charles, when they were far from mending. This prince, endowed with many great virtues, had very few amiable qualities. As grave as the Puritans themselves, he could never engage the licentious part of the world in his favor; and that gravity being turned against the Puritans, made him but the more odious to them. He gave himself up entirely to the church and churchmen; and he finished his ill conduct in this respect, by conferring the first ecclesiastical dignity of the kingdom, and a great sway in temporal affairs, upon Dr. Laud. Hardly fit to direct a college, he was called to govern a kingdom. He was one of those indiscreet men of good intentions, who are the people in the world that make the worst figure in politics. This man thought he did good service to religion by a scrupulous inquiry into the manner in which the ministers everywhere conformed to the regulations of the former reigns. He deprived great numbers for nonconformity. Not satisfied with

Digitized by Google

this, in which perhaps he was justifiable enough if he had managed prudently, he made new regulations, and introduced on a people already abhorrent of the most necessary ceremonies, ceremonies of a new kind, of a most useless nature, and such as were even ridiculous, if the serious consequences which attended them may not entitle them to be considered as matters of importance.

Several great men, disgusted at the proceedings of the court, and entertaining very reasonable apprehensions for the public liberty, to make themselves popular, attached themselves to the popular notions of religion, and affected to maintain them with great zeal. Others became Puritans through principle. And now their affairs put on a respectable appearance; in proportion as they became of consequence, their sufferings seemed to be more and more grievous; the severities of Laud raised not terror as formerly, but a sort of indignant hatred; and they became every day further and further from listening to the least terms of agreement with surplices, organs, common-prayer, or table at the east end of the church. As they who are serious about trifles are serious indeed, their lives began to grow miserable to several on account of these ceremonies; and, rather than be obliged to submit to them, there was no part of the world to which they would not have fled with cheerfulness.

Early in the reign of King James a number of persons of this persuasion had sought refuge in Holland; in which, though a country of the greatest religious freedom in the world, they did not find themselves better satisfied than they had been in England. There they were tolerated indeed, but watched; their zeal began to have dangerous languors for want of opposition; and, being without power or consequence, they grew tired of the indolent security of their sanctuary; they chose to remove to a place where they should see no superior; and therefore they sent an agent to England, who agreed with the council of Plymouth, for a tract of land in America, within their jurisdiction, to settle in, after they had obtained from the king a privilege to do so. The Plymouth

Digitized by Google

council was a company, who, by their charter, had not only all the coast of North America from Nova Scotia to the southern parts of Carolina (the whole country being then distinguished by the names of South and North Virginia) as a scene for their exclusive trade; but they had the entire property of the soil besides.

This colony established itself at a place which they called New Plymouth. They were but few in number; they landed in a bad season; and they were not at all supported but from their private funds. The winter was premature and terribly cold. The country was all covered with wood, and afforded very little for the refreshment of persons sickly with such a voyage, or for sustenance of an infant people. Near half of them perished by the scurvy, by want, and the severity of the climate; but they who survived, not dispirited with their losses nor with the hardships they were still to endure, supported by the vigor which was then the character of Englishmen, and by the satisfaction of finding themselves out of the reach of the spiritual arm, reduced this savage country to yield them a tolerable livelihood, and by degrees a comfortable subsistence.

This little establishment was made in the year 1621. Several of their brethren in England, laboring under the same difficulties, took the same methods of escaping from them. The colony of Puritans insensibly increased; but as yet they had not extended themselves much beyond New Plymouth. It was in the year 1629, that the colony began to flourish in such a manner, that they soon became a considerable people. By the close of the ensuing year they had built four towns, Salem, Dorchester, Charlestown, and Boston, which has since become the capital of New England. That enthusiasm which was reversing every thing at home, and which is so dangerous in every settled community, proved of admirable service here. It became a principle of life and vigor, that enabled them to conquer all the difficulties of a savage country. Their exact and sober manners proved a substitute for a proper subordination and regular form of government, which they had for some

Digitized by Google

time wanted, and the want of which in such a country had otherwise been felt very severely.

And now, not only they who found themselves uneasy at home upon a religious account, but several by reason of the then profitable trade of furs and skins, and for the sake of the fishery, were invited to settle in New England. But this colony received its principal assistance from the discontent of several great men of the puritan party, who were its protectors, and who entertained a design of settling amongst them in New England, if they should fail in the measures they were pursuing for establishing the liberty, and reforming the religion of their mother country. They solicited grants in New England, and were at a great expense in settling them. Amongst these patentees, we see the Lords Brook, Say and Seal, the Pelhams, the Hampdens, and the Pyms; the names which afterwards appeared with so much eclat upon a greater stage. It was said that Sir Matthew Boynton, Sir William Constable, Sir Arthur Haslerig, and Oliver Cromwell were actually upon the point of embarking for New England, when Archbishop Laud, unwilling that so many objects of his hatred should be removed out of the reach of his power, applied for, and obtained, an order from the court to put a stop to these transportations; and thus he kept forcibly from venting itself that virulent humor which he lived to see the destruction of himself, his order, his religion, his master, and the constitution of his country. However, he was not able to prevail so far as to hinder New England from receiving vast reinforcements, as well of the clergy who were deprived of their livings, or not admitted to them for noncomformity, as of such of the laity who adhered to their opinions.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER III.

DIFFERENCE IN RELIGION DIVIDES THE COLONY—MASSACHUSETTS—CONNECTICUT—PROVIDENCE—SPIRIT OF PERSECUTION—PERSECUTION OF THE QUAKERS—DISPUTES ABOUT GRACE.

The part of New England called Massachusetts Bay had now settlements very thick all along the sea-shore. Some slips from these were planted in the province of Maine and New Hampshire, being torn from the original stock by the religious violence, which was the chief characteristic of the first settlers in New England. The patentees we last mentioned principally settled upon the river Connecticut, and established a separate and independent government there: some persons having before that fixed themselves upon the borders of this river, who fled from the tyranny arising from the religious differences which were moulded into the first principles of the Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies.

For a considerable time, the people of New England had hardly any that deserved the name of a regular form of government. The court took very little care of them. By their charter they were empowered to establish such an order, and to make such laws, as they pleased, provided they were not contrary to the laws of England. A point not easily settled, neither was there any means appointed for settling it. As they who composed the new colonies were generally persons of a contracted way of thinking and most violent enthusiasts, they imitated the Jewish polity in almost all respects; and adopted the books of Moses as the law of the land. The first laws which they made were grounded upon them, and were therefore very ill suited to the customs, genius or circumstances of that country and of those times; for which reason they have since fallen into disuse.

As to religion, it was, as I have said, the Puritan. In England, this could hardly be considered as a formed sect at the

Digitized by Google

time of their emigration, since several who had received episcopal ordination were reckoned to belong to it. But as soon as they found themselves at liberty in America, they fell into a way very little different from the independent mode. Every parish was sovereign within itself. Synods indeed were occasionally called; but they served only to prepare and digest matters, which were to receive their sanction from the approbation of the several churches. The synods could exercise no branch of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, either as to doctrine or to discipline. They had no power of excommunication. They could only refuse to hold communion with those whose principles and practices they disliked. The magistrates assisted in those synods, not only to hear, but to deliberate and determine. From such a form as this, great religious freedom might, one would have imagined, be well expected. But the truth is, they had no idea at all of such a freedom. The very doctrine of any sort of toleration was so odious to the greater part, that one of the first persecutions set up here was against a small party which arose amongst themselves, who were hardy enough to maintain, that the civil magistrate had no lawful power to use compulsory measures in affairs of religion. After harrassing these people by all the vexatious ways imaginable, they obliged them to fly out of their jurisdiction. These emigrants settled themselves to the southward, near Cape Cod, where they formed a new government upon their own principles, and built a town, which they called Providence. This has since made the fourth and smallest, but not the worst inhabited, of the New England governments, called Rhode Island, from an island of that name which forms a part of it. As a persecution gave rise to the first settlement of New England, so a subsequent persecution in this colony gave rise to new colonies, and this facilitated the spreading of the people over the country.

If men, merely for the moderation of their sentiments, were exposed to such severe treatment, it was not to be expected that others should escape unpunished. The very first colony had hardly set its foot in America, when, discovering that

Digitized by Google

some amongst them were false brethren and ventured to make use of the common prayer, they found means of making the country so uneasy to them, that they were glad to fly back to England.

As soon as they began to think of making laws, I find no less than five about matters of religion; all contrived, and not only contrived but executed in some respects, with so much rigor, that the persecution which drove the Puritans out of England might be considered as great lenity and indulgence in the comparison. For, in the first of these laws, they deprive every one, who does not communicate with their established church, of the right to his freedom, or a vote in the election of any of their magistrates. In the second, they sentence to banishment any who should oppose the fourth commandment, or deny the validity of infant baptism or the authority of magistrates. In the third, they condemn Quakers to banishment, and make it capital for them to return; and, not stopping at the offenders, they lay heavy fines upon all who should bring them into the province, or even harbor them for an hour. In the fourth, they provide banishment, and death in case of return, for Jesuits and Popish priests of every denomination. In the fifth, they decree death to any who shall worship images. After they had provided such a complete code of persecution, they were not long without opportunities of reading bloody lectures upon it. The Quakers, warmed with that spirit which animates the beginning of most sects, had spread their doctrines all over the British dominions in Europe, and began at last to spread them with equal zeal in America. The clergy and the magistrates in New England took the alarm; they seized upon some of those people, they set them in the stocks and in the pillory without effect; they scourged, they imprisoned, they banished them; they treated all those, who seemed to commiserate their sufferings, with great rigor; but their persecution had no other effect than to inflame their own cruelty and the zeal of the sufferers. The constancy of the Quakers under their sufferings begot a pity and esteem for their persons, and an approbation of their doctrines; their proselytes

Digitized by Google

increased; the Quakers returned as fast as they were banished; and the fury of the ruling party was raised to such a height, that they proceeded to the most sanguinary extremities. Upon the law they had made, they seized at different times upon five of those who had returned from banishment, condemned, and hanged them. It is unknown how far their madness had extended, if an order from the king and council in England about the year 1661 had not interposed to restrain them.

It is a task not very agreeable to insist upon such matters; but, in reality, things of this nature form the greatest part of the history of New England, for a long time. They persecuted the Anabaptists, who were no inconsiderable body amongst them, with almost an equal severity. In short, this people, who in England could not bear being chastised with rods, had no sooner got free from their fetters than they scourged their fellow refugees with scorpions; though the absurdity, as well as the injustice of such a proceeding in them might stare them in the face!

One may observe that men of all persuasions confine the word persecution, and all the ill ideas of injustice and violence which belong to it, solely to those severities which are exercised upon themselves, or upon the party they are inclined to favor. Whatever is inflicted upon others, is a just punishment upon obstinate impiety, and not a restraint upon conscientious differences. The persecution we have ourselves suffered is a good ground for retaliation against an old enemy; and if one of our friends and fellow-sufferers should prove so wicked as to quit our cause, and weaken it by his dissension, he deserves to be punished yet more than the old enemy himself. Besides this, the zealous never fail to draw political inferences from religious tenets, by which they interest the magistrate in the dispute; and then to the heat of a religious fervor is added the fury of a party zeal. All intercourse is cut off between the parties. They lose all knowledge of each other, though countrymen and neighbors; and are therefore easily imposed upon with the most absurd stories concerning each

Digitized by Google

other's opinions and practices. They judge of the hatred of the adverse side by their own. Then fear is added to their hatred; and preventive injuries arise from their fear. The remembrance of the past, the dread of the future, the present ill, will join together to urge them forward to the most violent courses.

Such is the manner of proceeding of religious parties towards each other; and in this respect the New England people are not worse than the rest of mankind, nor was their severity any just matter of reflection upon that mode of religion which they profess. No religion whatsoever, true or false, can excuse its own members, or accuse those of any other, upon the score of persecution. The principles which give rise to it are common to all mankind, and they influence them as they are men, and not as they belong to this or that persuasion. In all persuasions the bigots are persecutors; the men of a cool and reasonable piety are favorers of toleration; because the former sort of men, not taking the pains to be acquainted with the grounds of their adversaries' tenets, conceive them to be so absurd and monstrous, that no man of sense can give in to them in good earnest. For which reason they are convinced that some oblique bad motive induces them to pretend to the belief of such doctrines, and to the maintaining of them with obstinacy. This is a very general principle in all religious differences, and it is the corner stone of all persecution.

Besides the disputes with those of another denomination, the Independents were for a long time harrassed with one in the bowels of their own churches. The stale disputes about grace and works, produced dissensions, riots, and almost a civil war in the colony. The famous Sir Henry Vane the younger, an enthusiastic, giddy, turbulent man, of a no very good disposition, came hither with some of the adventurers; and rather than remain idle, played at small games in New England, where the people had chosen him governor. It is not hard to conceive, how such a man, at the head of such a people and engaged in such controversy, could throw every

Digitized by Google

thing into confusion. In the very height of this hopeful dispute, they had a war upon their hands with some of the Indian nations. Their country was terribly harrassed, and numbers were every day murdered, by the incursions of the enemy. All this time they had an army in readiness for action, which they would not suffer to march even to defend their own lives and possessions, because "many of the officers and soldiers were under a covenant of works."

CHAPTER IV.

THE WITCHCRAFT DELUSION—GREAT CRUELTIES—THE MADNESS ENDS IN THE ACCUSATION OF THE MAGISTRATES—REFLECTIONS.

When the New England Puritans began to breathe a little from these dissensions, and had their hands tied up from persecuting the Quakers and Anabaptists, they fell not long after into another madness of a yet more extraordinary and dangerous kind, which, like some epidemical disease, ran through the whole country, and which is perhaps one of the most extraordinary delusions recorded in history. This tragedy began in the year 1692.

There is a town in New England which they fanatically called Salem. One Paris was the minister there. He had two daughters troubled with convulsions; which being attended with some of those extraordinary appearances not unfrequent in such disorders, he imagined they were bewitched. As soon as he concluded upon witchcraft as the cause of the distemper, the next enquiry was, how to find out the person who had bewitched them. He cast his eyes upon an Indian servant woman of his own, whom he frequently beat, and used her with such severity, that she at last confessed herself the witch, and was committed to gaol, where she lay for a long time.

The imaginations of the people were not yet sufficiently

Digitized by Google

heated to make a very formal business of this; therefore they were content to discharge her from prison after a long confinement, and to sell her as a slave for her fees.

However, as this example set the discourse about witchcraft afloat, some people, troubled with a similar complaint, began to fancy themselves bewitched too. Persons in an ill state of health are naturally fond of finding out causes for their distempers; especially such as are extraordinary, and call the eyes of the public upon them. There was perhaps something of malice in the affair besides. For one of the first objects whom they fixed upon was Mr. Burroughs, a gentleman who had formerly been minister of Salem; but, upon some of the religious disputes which divided the country, he differed with his flock and left them. This man was tried with two others for witchcraft, by a special commission of oyer and terminer, directed to some of the gentlemen of the best fortunes, and reputed to be of the best understandings in the country. Before these judges, a piece of evidence was delivered, the most weak and childish, the most repugnant to itself and to common sense, that perhaps ever was known upon any serious occasion. Yet by those judges, upon that evidence, and the verdict founded upon it, this minister, a man of the most unexceptionable character, and two others, men irreproachable in their lives, were sentenced to die, and accordingly hanged. Then these victims of the popular madness were stript naked, and their bodies thrown into a pit, half covered with earth, and left to the discretion of birds and wild beasts. Upon the same evidence, in a little time after, sixteen more suffered death; the greatest part of them dying in the most exemplary sentiments of piety, and with the strongest professions of their innocence. One man, refusing to plead, suffered in the cruel manner the law directs on that occasion, by a slow pressure to death.

The imaginations of the people, powerfully affected by these shocking examples, turned upon nothing but the most gloomy and horrid ideas. The most ordinary and innocent actions metamorphosed into magical ceremonies, and the fury

Digitized by Google

of the peeple augmented in proportion as this gloom of imagination increased. The flame spread with rage and rapidity into every part of the country. Neither the tenderness of youth, nor the infirmity of age, nor the honor of the sex, nor the sacredness of the ministry, nor the respectable condition of fortune or character, was the least protection. Children of eleven years old were taken up for sorceries. The women were stripped in the most shameful manner to search them for magical teats. The scorbutic stains common on the skins of old persons. were called the devil's pinches. This was indisputable evidence against them. As such they admitted every idle flying report, and even stories of ghosts, which they honored with a name not found in our law books. They called them *Spectral Evidence.*

What these extraordinary testimonies wanted was completed by the torture, by which a number of these unhappy victims were driven to confess whatever their tormentors thought proper to dictate to them. Some women owned they had been lain with by the devil, and other things equally ridiculous and abominable.

It is not difficult to imagine the deplorable state of this province, when all men's lives depended upon the caprice and folly of diseased and distracted minds; when revenge and malice had a full opportunity of wreaking themselves in a most dreadful and bloody manner, by an instrument that was always in readiness, and to which the public phrenzy gave a certain and dangerous effect. What was a yet worse circumstance, the wretches who suffered the torture, being not more pressed to own themselves guilty than to discover their associates and accomplices, unable to give any real account, named people at random, who were immediately taken up, and treated in the same cruel manner upon this extorted evidence. An universal terror and consternation seized upon all. Some prevented accusation, and charged themselves with witchcraft, and so escaped death. Others fled the province; and many more were preparing to fly. The prisons were crowded; people were executed daily; yet the rage of the accusers was as

Digitized by Google

fresh as ever, and the number of the witches and the bewitched increased every hour. A magistrate, who had committed forty persons for this crime, fatigued with so disagreeable an employment, and ashamed of the share he had in it, refused to grant any more warrants. He was himself immediately accused of sorcery; and thought himself happy in leaving his family and fortune and escaping with life out of the province. A jury, struck with the affecting manner and the solemn assurances of innocence of a woman brought before them, ventured to acquit her, but the judges sent them out again; and in an imperious manner forced them to find the woman guilty; and she was hanged immediately.

The magistrates and ministers, whose prudence ought to have been employed in healing this distemper and assuaging its fury, threw in new combustible matter. They encouraged the accusers; they assisted at the examinations, and they extorted the confessions, of witches. None signalized their zeal more upon this occasion than Sir William Phips, the governor, a New-England man, of the lowest birth, and yet meaner education; who, having raised a sudden fortune by a lucky accident, was knighted, and afterwards made governor of the province. Doctor Increase Mather, and Doctor Cotton Mather, the pillars of the New-England church, were equally sanguine. Several of the most popular ministers, after twenty executions had been made, addressed Sir William Phips with thanks for what he had done, and with exhortations to proceed in so laudable a work.

The accusers, encouraged in this manner, did not know where to stop, nor how to proceed. They were at a loss for objects. They began at last to accuse the judges themselves. What was worse, the nearest relations of Mr. Increase Mather were involved, and witchcraft began even to approach the governor's own family. It was now high time to give things another turn. The accusers were discouraged by authority. One hundred and fifty who lay in prison were discharged. Two hundred more were under accusation; they were passed over; and those who had received sentence of death were

Digitized by Google

reprieved, and in due time pardoned. A few cool moments showed them the gross and stupid error that had carried them away, and which was utterly invisible to them all the while they were engaged in this strange prosecution. They grew heartily ashamed of what they had done. But what was infinitely mortifying, the Quakers took occasion to attribute all this mischief to a judgment on them for their persecution. A general fast was appointed; praying God to pardon all the errors of his servants and people in a late tragedy raised amongst them by Satan and his instruments.

This was the last paroxysm of the puritanic enthusiasm in New England. This violent fit carried off so much of that humor, that the people there are now grown somewhat like the rest of mankind in their manners, and have much abated of their persecuting spirit.

It is not an incurious speculation to consider these remarkable sallies of the human mind out of its ordinary course. Whole nations are often carried away by what would never influence one man of sense. The cause is originally weak, and to be suppressed without great difficulty; but then its weakness prevents any suspicion of the mischief, until it is too late to think of suppressing it at all. In such cases the more weak, improbable, and inconsistent any story is, the more powerful and general is its effect, being helped on by design in some, by folly in others, and kept up by contagion in all. The more extraordinary the design, the more dreadful the crime, the less we examine into the proofs. The charge and the evidence of some things is the same. However, in some time the minds of people cool, and they are astonished how they ever came to be so affected.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER V.

THE SITUATION, CLIMATE, ETC. OF NEW ENGLAND—INDIAN CORN DESCRIBED—CATTLE OF NEW ENGLAND.

The events in the history of New England, their disputes with their governors, the variations in their charters, and their wars with the Indians, afford very little useful or agreeable matter. In their wars there was very little conduct shown; and though they prevailed in the end, in a manner to the extirpation of that race of people, yet the Indians had always great advantages in the beginning; and the measures of the English to oppose them were generally injudiciously taken. Their manner too of treating them in the beginning was so indiscreet (for it was in general no worse) as to provoke them as much to those wars, as the French influence has done since that time.

The country which we call New England is in length something less than three hundred miles; at the broadest part it is about two hundred, if we carry it on to those tracts which are possessed by the French; but if we regard the part we have settled, in general, it does not extend any where much above sixty miles from the sea-coast.

This country lies between the 41st and 45th degrees of north latitude. Though it is situated almost ten degrees nearer the sun than we are in England, yet the winter begins earlier, lasts longer, and is incomparably more severe than it is with us. The summer again is extremely hot, and more fervently so than in places which lie under the same parallels in Europe. However, both the heat and the cold are now far more moderate, and the constitution of the air in all respects far better, than our people found it at their first settlement. The clearing away of the woods, and the opening of the ground everywhere, has, by giving a free passage to the air, carried off those noxious vapors which were so prejudicial

Digitized by Google

to the health of the first inhabitants. The temper of the sky is generally, both in summer and in winter, very steady and serene. Two months frequently pass without the appearance of a cloud. Their rains are heavy and soon over.

The soil of New England is various, but best as you approach the southward. It affords excellent meadows in the low grounds, and very good pasture almost everywhere. They commonly allot at the rate of two acres to the maintenance of a cow. The meadows, which they reckon the best, yield about a ton of hay by the acre. Some produce two tons, but the hay is rank and sour. This country is not very favorable to any of the European kinds of grain. The wheat is subject to be blasted; the barley is an hungry grain, and the oats are lean and chaffy. But the Indian corn, which makes the general food of the lowest sort of people, flourishes here. This, as it is a species of grain not so universally known in England, and as it is that of all others which yields the greatest increase, I shall give a short description of.

This plant, which the native Americans call the Weachin, is known in some of the southern parts of America by the name of Maize. The ear is about a span in length, consisting of eight rows of the corn, or more, according to the goodness of the ground, with about thirty grains in each row. On the top of the grain hangs a sort of flower, not unlike a tassel of silk, of various colors, white, blue, greenish, black, speckled, striped, which gives this corn, as it grows, a very beautiful appearance. The grain is of all the colors which prevail in the flower, but most frequently yellow and white. The stalks grow six or eight feet high, and are of a considerable thickness. They are less high in New England, and other northern countries, than in Virginia and those which lie more to the southward. They are jointed like a cane, and at each of these joints shoot out a number of leaves like flags, that make very good fodder for the cattle. The stalk is full of a juice of which a syrup as sweet as sugar has been frequently made.

This grain is generally sowed in little squares, and requires

Digitized by Google

a very attentive cultivation. The ground in which it flourishes most is light and sandy, with a small intermixture of loam. About a peck of seed is sufficient for an acre, which at a medium produces about twenty-five bushels. The New-England people not only make bread of this grain, but they malt and brew it into a beer, which is not contemptible. However, the greater part of their beer is made of molasses, hopped; with the addition sometimes of the tops of the spruce fir infused.

They raise in New England, besides this and other species of grain, a large quantity of flax, and have made essays upon hemp, that have been far from unsuccessful. An acre of their cow-pen land produces about a ton of this commodity; but the land is pretty soon exhausted. This plant probably requires a climate more uniformly warm than New England; for though the greater part of our hemp is brought to us from northern ports, yet it is in the most southerly provinces of Russia, that the best which comes to our market is produced.

Their horned cattle are very numerous in New England, and some of them very large. Oxen have been killed there of eighteen hundred weight. Hogs likewise are numerous, and particularly excellent; and some so large as to weigh twenty-five score. They have, besides, a breed of small horses which are extremely hardy. They pace naturally, though in no very graceful or easy manner; but with such swiftness, and for so long a continuance, as must appear almost incredible to those who have not experienced it. They have a great number of sheep too, and of a good kind. The wool is of a staple sufficiently long, but it is not near so fine as that of England. However, they manufacture a great deal of it very successfully. I have seen cloths made there, which were of as close and firm a contexture, though not so fine, as our best drabs; they were thick, and, as far as I could judge, superior for the ordinary wear of country people, to any thing we make in England.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER VI.

PEOPLE OF NEW ENGLAND—THEIR NUMBERS—HISTORY OF THE CHARTERS OF THE COLONIES HERE, AND THE FORFEITURE OF SOME.

THERE are in this country many gentlemen of considerable landed estates, which they let to farmers, or manage by their stewards or overseers; but the greater part of the people is composed of a substantial yeomanry, who cultivate their own freeholds, without a dependence upon any but Providence and their own industry. These freeholds generally pass to their children in the way of gavelkind; which keeps them from being almost ever able to emerge out of their original happy mediocrity. This manner of inheriting has here an additional good effect. It makes the people the more ready to go backward into the uncultivated parts of the country, where land is to be had at an easy rate and in larger portions. The people, by their being generally freeholders, and by their form of government, have a very free, bold, and republican spirit. In no part of the world are the ordinary sort so independent, or possess so many of the conveniences of life; they are used from their infancy to the exercise of arms; and they have a militia, which for a militia is by no means contemptible; and certainly if these men were somewhat more regularly trained, and in better subordination, it would be impossible to find in any country, or in any time, ancient or modern, an army better constituted than that which New England can furnish. This too is much the best peopled of any of our colonies upon the continent. It is judged that the four provinces which it comprises, contain about three hundred and fifty thousand souls, including a very small number of blacks

Digitized by Google

and Indians; the rest are whites. Douglass, who seems to be well informed in this point, proportions them as follows,

Massachusetts Bay,	200,000
Connecticut,	100,000
Rhode Island,	30,000
New Hampshire,	24,000
	354,000

These four governments are confederated for their common defence. We have shown how these several governments have arisen. The most considerable of them for riches and number of people, though not for extent of territory, is Massachusetts Bay. This province like the others had originally a power of choosing every one of their own magistrates; the governor, the council, the assembly,—all; and of making such laws as they thought proper, without sending them home for the approbation of the crown. But being accused of having abused this freedom, in the latter end of the reign of Charles the Second, they were deprived of it by a judgment in a *quo warranto* in the king's bench in England. They remained from that time to the Revolution without any charter. Some time after the Revolution they received a new one, which, though very favorable, was much inferior to the extensive privileges of the former charter, which indeed were too extensive for a colony, and what left little more than a nominal dependence on the mother country and the crown itself. But now, as the governor, lieutenant governor and the chief places of the law and in the revenue, are in the disposal of the crown; so is the militia; and though the council is chosen by the representatives of the people, yet the governor has a negative which gives him an influence sufficient to preserve the prerogative entire. Appeals for sums above three hundred pounds are admitted to the king and council, and all laws passed here must be remitted to England; where, if they do not receive a negative from the crown in three years, they are to be considered as valid, and are to have the effect of laws;

Digitized by Google

which they are to have likewise until the time that the king's resolution is known. But one point has been long and resolutely disputed in this colony; the grant of a certain salary to their governor. Many attempts have been made to induce them to this measure; but to no effect. They think a dependence on the people for his salary the most effectual method of restraining the governor from any unpopular acts. To the Massachusetts government is united the ancient colony of Plymouth, and the territory which is called Maine.

The colony of Connecticut, which lies upon a river of the same name to the south of this province, has preserved its ancient privileges, which are now as considerable as those of Massachusetts were formerly. At the time that the charter of the former was attacked, that of this government was threatened with the same fate. But they agreed to submit to the king's pleasure; therefore, no judgment was given against them; and being found in this condition at the Revolution, it was judged that they were in full possession of their old charter, and have so continued ever since.

The third and smallest of the provinces which compose New England is Rhode Island. This consists of a small island of that name, and the old plantation of Providence. These united plantations had a charter the same with that of Connecticut, and they have preserved it by the same method. In this province is an unlimited freedom of religion, agreeable to the first principles of its foundation; and though very small, it is from thence extremely well peopled.

New Hampshire, the fourth province, is much the largest of them all; but not inhabited in proportion. This is more northerly for the greater part than any of the rest. It is a royal government; that is, the crown has the nomination of all the officers of justice and of the militia, and the appointment of the council.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER VII.

BOSTON, ITS HARBOR—TRADE—SHIP-BUILDING—DISTILLERY—FOREIGN TRAFFIC—REFLECTIONS ON THE SCHEME OF LIMITING IT—DECLENSION OF THE TRADE OF NEW ENGLAND.

THERE is not one of our settlements which can be compared, in the abundance of people, the number of considerable and trading towns, and the manufactures that are carried on in them, to New England. The most populous and flourishing parts of the mother country hardly make a better appearance. Our provinces to the southward on this continent are recommendable for the generous warmth of the climate, and a luxuriance of soil which naturally throws up a vast variety of beautiful and rich vegetable productions; but New England is the first in America, for cultivation, for the number of people, and for the order which results from both.

Though there are in all the provinces of New England large towns which drive a considerable trade, the only one which can deserve to be much insisted upon in a design like ours, is Boston, the capital of Massachusetts Bay, the first city of New England, and of all North America. This city is situated on a peninsula, at the bottom of a fine, capacious and safe harbor, which is defended from the outrages of the sea, by a number of islands and rocks which appear above water. It is entered but by one safe passage; and that is narrow, and covered by the cannon of a regular and very strong fortress. The harbor is more than sufficient for the great number of vessels which carry on the extensive trade of Boston. At the bottom of the bay is a noble pier, near two thousand feet in length, along which on the north side extends a row of warehouses. The head of this pier joins the principal street of the town, which is, like most of the others, spacious and well built. The town lies at the bottom of the harbor, and forms a very agreeable view. It has a town

Digitized by Google

house, where the courts meet, and the exchange is kept, large, and of a very tolerable taste of architecture. Round the exchange are a great number of well furnished booksellers' shops, which find employment for five printing presses. There are ten churches within this town; and it contains at least twenty thousand inhabitants.

That we may be enabled to form some judgment of the wealth of this city, we must observe that from Christmas 1747, to Christmas 1748, five hundred vessels cleared out from this port only for a foreign trade; and four hundred and thirty were entered inwards; to say nothing of coasting and fishing vessels, both of which are extremely numerous, and said to be equal in number to the others. Indeed the trade of New England is great, as it supplies a large quantity of goods from within itself; but it is yet greater, as the people of this country are in a manner the carriers for all the colonies of North America and the West Indies, and even for some parts of Europe. They may be considered in this respect as the Dutch of America.

The commodities which the country yields are principally masts and yards, for which they contract largely with the royal navy; pitch, tar, and turpentine; staves, lumber, boards; all sorts of provisions, beef, pork, butter and cheese, in large quantities; horse and live cattle; Indian corn and pease; cider, apples, hemp, and flax. Their peltry trade is not very considerable. They have a very noble cod fishery upon their coast, which employs a vast number of their people; they are enabled by this to export annually above thirty-two thousand quintals of choice codfish, to Spain, Italy, and the Mediterranean, and about nineteen thousand quintals of the refuse sort to the West Indies, as food for the negroes. The quantity of spirits, which they distil in Boston from the molasses they bring in from all parts of the West Indies, is as surprising as the cheap rate at which they vend it, which is under two shillings a gallon. With this they supply almost all the consumption of our colonies in North America, the Indian trade there, the vast demands of their own and the Newfound-

Digitized by Google

land fishery, and in great measure those of the African trade; but they are more famous for the quantity and cheapness, than for the excellency of their rum.

They are almost the only one of our colonies which have much of the woolen and linen manufactures. Of the former they have nearly as much as suffices for their own clothing. It is a close and strong, but a coarse stubborn sort of cloth. A number of Presbyterians from the North of Ireland, driven thence, as it is said by the severity of their landlords, from an affinity in religious sentiments chose New England as their place of refuge. Those people brought with them their skill in the linen manufactures, and meeting with very large encouragement, they exercised it to the great advantage of this colony. At present they make large quantities, and of a very good kind; their principal settlement is in a town, which in compliment to them is called Londonderry. Hats are made in New England, which, in a clandestine way, find a good vent in all the other colonies. The setting up of these manufactures has been in a great measure a matter necessary to them; for as they have not been properly encouraged in some staple commodity, by which they might communicate with their mother country, while they were cut off from all other resources, they must either have abandoned the country, or have found means of employing their own skill and industry to draw out of it the necessaries of life. The same necessity, together with their convenience for building and manning ships, has made them the carriers for the other colonies.

The business of ship-building is one of the most considerable which Boston or the other seaport towns in New England carry on. Ships are sometimes built here upon commission; but frequently, the merchants of New England have them constructed upon their own account; and loading them with the produce of the colony, naval stores, fish, and fish oil, principally, they send them out upon a trading voyage to Spain, Portugal, or the Mediterranean; where, having disposed of their cargo, they make what advantage they can by freight, until such time as they can sell the vessel herself to

Digitized by Google

advantage, which they seldom fail to do in a reasonable time. They receive the value of the vessel, as well as of the freight of the goods, which from time to time they carried, and of the cargo with which they sailed originally, in bills of exchange upon London; for as the people of New England have no commodity to return for the value of above a hundred thousand pounds, which they take in various sorts of goods from England, but some naval stores, and those in no great quantities, they are obliged to keep the balance somewhat even by this circuitous commerce, which, though not carried on with Great Britain nor with British vessels, yet centres in its profits, where all the money which the colonies can make in any manner must centre at last.

I know that complaints have been made of this trade, principally because the people of New England, not satisfied with carrying out their own produce, become carriers for the other colonies, particularly for Virginia and Maryland, from whom they take tobacco, which, in contempt of the act of navigation, they carry directly to the foreign market; where, not having the duty and accumulated charges to which the British merchant is liable to pay, they in a manner wholly oust him of the trade. Again, our sugar colonies complain as loudly, that the vast trade which New England drives in lumber, live stock, and provisions, with the French and Dutch sugar islands, particularly with the former, enables these islands, together with the internal advantages they possess, greatly to undersell the English plantations. That, the returns which the people of New England make from these islands being in sugar, or, the productions of sugar, syrups and molasses, the rum which is thence distilled prevents the sale of our West India rum. That this trade proves doubly disadvantageous to our sugar islands; first, as it enables the French to sell their sugars cheaper than they could otherwise afford to do; and then as it finds them a market for their molasses, and other refuse of sugars, for which otherwise they could find no market at all; because rum interferes with brandy, a considerable manufacture of Old France.

Digitized by Google

These considerations were the ground of a complaint made by the islands to the legislature in England some years ago. They desired that the exportation of lumber, &c. to the French colonies, and the importation of sugars and molasses from thence, might be entirely prohibited. This was undoubtedly a very nice point to settle. On one hand, the growth of the French West Indies was manifest and alarming, and it was not to be thought that the French would ever wink at this trade, if it had not been of the greatest advantage to them. On the other hand, the northern colonies declared, that, if they were deprived of so great a branch of their trade, it must necessitate them to the establishment of manufactures. For if they were cut off from their foreign trade, they never could purchase in England the many things for the use or the ornament of life, which they have from thence. Besides this, the French, deprived of the provision and lumber of New England, must of necessity take every measure to be supplied from their own colonies, which would answer their purposes better, if they could accomplish it, at the same time that it would deprive the New England people of a large and profitable branch of their trade.

These points, and many more, were fully discussed upon both sides. The legislature took a middle course. They did not entirely prohibit the carrying of lumber to the French islands; but they laid a considerable duty upon whatever rum, sugars, or molasses, they should import from thence; to enhance by this means the price of lumber and other necessaries to the French; and, by laying them under difficulties, to set the English sugar plantations, in some measure, upon an equal footing with theirs.

This was undoubtedly a very prudent regulation. For though it was urged, that the Mississippi navigation was so bad, that there was no prospect that the French could ever be supplied with lumber and provisions from thence; and that there were no snows in Louisiana, the melting of which might facilitate the transportation of lumber into that river, yet it was by no means safe to trust to that, so as utterly to destroy

Digitized by Google

a trade of our own, which employed so much shipping and so many sailors: because we have a thousand instances, wherein the driving people to the last straits, and putting them under the tuition of such a master as absolute necessity, has taught them inventions, and excited them to an industry, which have compassed things as much regretted at last, as they were unforeseen at first.

Though no great snows fall in the southern parts of Louisiana, yet to the northward a great deal falls, and not only the Mississippi, but the number of other great rivers which it receives overflow annually, and they can be in no want of timber convenient enough to navigation. And though the passage to the French islands be for such a great way to the windward, as to bring them these commodities in a more tedious manner, and at a dearer rate, is it not much better that they should have them cheap from us than dear from themselves? Nor perhaps would even this difficulty, which is indeed much less than it is represented, bring down the French to the par of our sugar colonies, loaded as they are with taxes, groaning under the pressure of many grievances, and deformed by an infinite multitude of abuses and enormities; nor can they with reason or justice hope for a cure of the evils which they suffer, partly from errors of their own, and partly from mistakes in England, at the expense of the trade of their sister colonies on the continent of America, who are entirely guiltless of their sufferings; nor is it by restraints on the trade of their enemies, but by an effectual and judicious encouragement of their own, that they can hope to remedy these evils, and rival the French establishments.

The French, in permitting us to supply them, it is true, give us a proof that they have advantages from this trade; but this is no proof at all that we derive none from it; for, on that supposition, no trade could be mutually beneficial. Nor is it at all certain, as it has been suggested, that, if we left their refuse of sugars upon their hands, they could turn them to no profit. If the council of commerce could be made to see distinctly that this trade could not prejudice the sale of

Digitized by Google

their brandy, and would only make the trade of rum change hands, as the case probably would be; and if they could show, as they might, what a loss it might be to them entirely to throw away a considerable part of the produce of their lands, and which was formerly so valuable to them, there is no doubt but the court would give sufficient encouragement to their own plantations to distil rum, and to vend it in such a manner as might the least prejudice the brandies of France; and then, instead of sending us molasses, as they could distil the spirit far cheaper than our islands, they would send us the spirit itself; and we may know by experience, especially in that part of the world, how insufficient all regulations are to prevent a contraband, which would be so gainful to particulars.

After all, are we certain, that the French would trust for the supply of their islands to Louisiana, or to the precarious supplies from Canada? would they not redouble their application, now made necessary, to Cape Breton? what experiments would they not make in Cayenne for the timber trade? they would certainly try every method, and probably would succeed in some of their trials. Restraints upon trade are nice things, and ought to be well considered. Great care ought to be taken in all such how we sacrifice the interests of one part of our territories to those of another; and it would be a mistake of the most fatal consequence, if we came to think that the shipping, seamen, commodities, or wealth, of the British colonies, were not effectually the shipping, seamen, and wealth, of Great Britain herself. Sentiments of another kind have frequently done us mischief.

The general plan of our management with regard to the trade of our colonies, methinks, ought to be, to encourage in every one of them some separate and distinct articles, such as, not interfering, might enable them to trade with each other, and all to trade to advantage with their mother country. And then, where we have rivals in any branch of the trade carried on by our colonies, to enable them to send their goods to the foreign market directly; using, at the same time, the wise pre-

Digitized by Google

caution which the French put in practice, to make the ships so employed take the English ports in their way home; for our great danger is, that they should in that case make their returns in foreign manufactures, against which we cannot guard too carefully. This, and that they should not go largely into manufactures interfering with ours, ought to be the only points at which our restrictions should aim. These purposes ought not to be compassed by absolute prohibitions and penalties, which would be unpolitical and unjust, but by the way of diversion, by encouraging them to fall into such things as find a demand with ourselves at home. By this means Great Britain and all its dependencies will have a common interest, they will mutually play into each other's hands, and the trade, so dispersed, will be of infinitely more advantage to us, than if all its several articles were produced and manufactured within ourselves.

I venture on these hints concerning restraints on trade, because in fact that of New England rather wants to be supported than to be checked by such restraints. Its trade, in many of its branches, is clearly on the decline; and this circumstance ought to interest us deeply; for very valuable is this colony, if it never sent us any thing, nor took any thing from us, as it is the grand barrier of all the rest; and as it is the principal magazine which supplies our West Indies, from whence we draw such vast advantages. That this valuable colony is far from advancing will appear clearly from the state of one of the principal branches of its trade, that of ship-building, for four years. In the year 1738, they built in Boston forty-one topsail vessels, burden in all 6324 tons; in 1743, only thirty; in '46, but twenty; in '49, they were reduced to fifteen, making in the whole but 2450 tons of shipping; in such a time an astonishing declension! How it has been since I have not sufficient information; but, allowing that the decline has ceased here, yet this is surely sufficient to set us upon the nicest inquiry into the cause of that decay, and the most effectual measures to retrieve the affairs of so valuable a province; particularly if by any ill judged or ill intended schemes, or by any misgovernment, this mischief has happened to them.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER VIII.

NEW YORK, NEW JERSEY, AND PENNSYLVANIA—DESCRIPTION OF THEIR SITUATION, ETC.—SHORT ACCOUNT OF THEIR SETTLEMENT.

It is not certainly known at what time the Swedes and Dutch made their first establishment in North America; but it was certainly posterior to our settlement in Virginia, and prior to that of New England. The Swedes, who were no considerable naval power, had hardly fixed the rudiments of a colony there, ere they deserted it. The inhabitants, without protection or assistance, were glad to enter into a coalition with the Dutch, who had settled there upon a better plan, and to submit to the government of the States. The whole tract possessed or claimed by the two nations, whose two colonies were now grown into one, extended from the 38th to the 41st degree of latitude, all along the sea-coast. They called it Nova Belgia, or New Netherlands. It continued in their hands until the reign of Charles the Second. The Dutch war then breaking out, in the year 1664, Sir Robert Carr with three thousand men was sent to reduce it, which he did with so little resistance, as not to gain him any great honor by the conquest. A little after, the Dutch, by way of reprisal, fell upon our colony of Surinam in South America, and conquered it after much the same opposition that we met in the New Netherlands. By the treaty of peace which was signed at Breda, in 1667, it was agreed that things should remain in the state they were at that time; Surinam to the Dutch, the New Netherlands to the English. At that time, this was looked upon by many as a bad exchange; but it now appears, that we have made an excellent bargain; for, to say nothing of the great disadvantage of having our colonies as it were, cut in two by the intervention of a foreign territory, this is now one of the best peopled and richest parts of our plantations, extremely useful to the

Digitized by Google

others, and making very valuable returns to the mother country; whereas Surinam is comparatively a place of very small consequence, very unhealthy, and by no art to be made otherwise.

The New Netherlands were not long in our possession before they were divided into distinct provinces, and laid aside their former appellation. The north-east part, which joined New England, was called New York, in compliment to the Duke of York, who had at first the grant of the whole territory. This province runs up to the northward on both sides of the river Hudson, for about two hundred miles into the country of the Five Nations or Iroquois; but it is not in any part above forty or fifty miles wide. It comprehends within its limits Long Island, which lies to the south of Connecticut, and is an island inferior to no part of America in excellent ground for the pasturage of horses, oxen, and sheep, or the plentiful produce of every sort of grain.

The part of Nova Belgia, which lies along the ocean, between that and the river Delaware, from the southern part of New York quite down to Maryland, was granted to Sir George Carteret and others, and called New Jersey from him, because he had, as the family still has, estates in the island of that name. This province is bounded upon the west by the river Delaware, which divides it from Pennsylvania. It is in length about one hundred and fifty miles, or thereabouts, and about fifty in breadth.

Pennsylvania, which lies between New York, New Jersey, and Maryland, and only communicates with the sea by the mouth of the river Delaware, is in length about two hundred and fifty miles, and in breadth two hundred. This territory was granted to the famous Mr. William Penn, the son of Sir William Penn the admiral, in the year 1680.

The climate and soil in the three provinces of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, admit of no very remarkable difference. In all these, and indeed in all our North American colonies, the land near the sea is in general low, flat, and marshy; at a considerable distance from the sea, it swells into

Digitized by Google

little hills, and then into great even ridges of mountains, which hold their course, for the most part, north-east, and south-west. The soil throughout these three provinces is in general extremely fruitful; abounding not only in its native grain, the Indian corn, but in all such as have been naturalized there from Europe. Wheat in such abundance, and of so excellent a quality, that few parts of the world, for the tract which is cultivated, exceed it in the one or the other of these particulars; nor in barley, oats, rye, buckwheat, and every sort of grain which we have here. They have a great number of horned cattle, horses, sheep, and hogs. All our European poultry abound there; game of all kinds is wonderfully plenty; deer of several species; hares of a kind peculiar to America, but inferior in relish to ours; wild turkies of a vast size and equal goodness; a beautiful species of pheasants, only found in this country. Every species of herbs or roots which we force in our gardens grows here with great ease; and every species of fruit; but some, as those of peaches and melons, in far greater perfection.

Their forests abound in excellent timber, the oak, the ash, the beech, the chestnut, the cedar, the walnut, the cypress, the hickory, the sassafras, and the pine. In all parts of our plantations, comprehending New York to the northward, quite to the southern extremity, the woods are full of wild vines of three or four species, all different from those we have in Europe. But, whether from some fault in their nature, or in the climate, or the soil where they grow, or, what is much more probable, from a fault in the planters, they have yet produced no wine that deserves to be mentioned. It may be remarked in general of the timber of these provinces, that it is not so good for shipping as that of New England and Nova Scotia. The further southward you go, the timber becomes less compact, and rives easily; which property, as it makes it more useful for staves, renders it less serviceable for ships.

They raise in all these provinces, but much the most largely in Pennsylvania, great quantities of flax; hemp is a promising article. Nor are they deficient in minerals. In New York,

Digitized by Google

a good deal of iron is found. In New Jersey, a very rich copper mine has been opened. There is no manner of doubt but in time, when the people come to multiply sufficiently, and experience and want have made them ingenious in opening resources for trade, these colonies will become as remarkable for useful metals as they now are for grain. These three provinces, as are all those we have in North America, are extremely well watered. They have however observed in New England, that, as they clear the country, a vast number of little brooks are quite lost, and the mills upon them by this loss rendered useless. They even observe, that this cutting down of the woods has affected the river Connecticut itself, the largest in New England, and that it has grown distinguishably shallower. I do not know whether the same remark has been made in Pennsylvania and New York. But whatever they have lost in water, which, where there is such a plenty, is no great loss, has been amply compensated by the great salubrity of the air, which has arisen from the cultivation of the country. At present those I describe are, for the greater part, as healthy as can be wished.

As the climate and soil of the provinces of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, are, with very little variation, the same, so there is no difference in the commodities in which they trade, which are wheat, flour, barley, oats, Indian corn, pease, beef, pork, cheese, butter, cider, beer, flax, hemp and flax seed; linseed oil, fur and deer skins, staves, lumber, and iron. Their markets are the same with those which the people of New England use; and these colonies have a share in the logwood trade, and that which is carried on with the Spanish and French plantations.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER IX.

CITY OF NEW YORK—ITS FLOURISHING TRADE—ALBANY—THE INDIAN TRADE THERE—THE IROQUOIS OR FIVE NATIONS.

The province of New York has two cities; the first is called by the name of the province itself. It was denominated New Amsterdam when the Dutch possessed it, but it has changed its name along with its masters. This city is most commodiously situated for trade, upon an excellent harbor, in an island called Manhattan, about fourteen miles long, though not above one or two broad. This island lies just in the mouth of the river Hudson, which discharges itself here after a long course. This is one of the noblest rivers in America. It is navigable upwards of two hundred miles. The tide flows one hundred and fifty.

The city of New York contains upwards of two thousand houses and above twelve thousand inhabitants, the descendants of Dutch and English. It is well and commodiously built, extending a mile in length and about half that in breadth, and has a very good aspect from the sea; but it is by no means properly fortified. The houses are built of brick in the Dutch taste; the streets not regular, but clean and well paved. There is one large church built for the church of England worship; and three others, a Dutch, a French, and a Lutheran. The town has a very flourishing trade, and in which great profits are made. The merchants are wealthy, and the people in general most comfortably provided for, and with a moderate labor. From the year 1749 to 1750, two hundred and thirty-two vessels have been entered in this port, and two hundred and eighty six cleared outwards. In these vessels were shipped six thousand seven hundred and thirty-one tons of provisions, chiefly flour, and a vast quantity of grain; of which I have no particular account. In the year 1755, the export of flax-seed to Ireland amounted to 12,528 hogsheads.

Digitized by Google

The inhabitants are between eighty and an hundred thousand; the lower class easy; the better rich and hospitable; great freedom of society; and the entry to foreigners made easy by a general toleration of all religious persuasions. In a word, this province yields to no part of America in the healthfulness of its air, and the fertility of its soil. It is much superior in the great convenience of water carriage, which speedily and at the slightest expense carries the product of the remotest farms to a certain and profitable market.

Upon the river Hudson, about one hundred and fifty miles from New York, is Albany; a town of not so much note for its number of houses or inhabitants, as for the great trade which is carried on with the Indians, and indeed, by connivance, with the French for the use of the same people. This trade takes off a great quantity of coarse woolen goods, such as strouds and duffils; and with these, guns, hatchets, knives, hoes, kettles, powder and shot; besides shirts and clothes ready made, and several other articles. Here it is that the treaties and other transactions between us and the Iroquois Indians are negotiated.

This nation, or combination of five nations, united by an ancient and inviolable league amongst themselves, were the oldest, the most steady, and most effectual ally we have found amongst the Indians. This people, by their unanimity, firmness, military skill, and policy, have raised themselves to be the greatest and most formidable power in all America; they have reduced a vast number of nations, and brought under their power a territory twice as large as the kingdom of France; but they have not increased their subjects in proportion. As their manner of warring is implacable and barbarous, they reign the lords of a prodigious desert, inhabited only by a few scattered insignificant tribes, whom they have permitted to live out of a contempt of their power, and who are all in the lowest state of subjection. And yet this once mighty and victorious nation, though it has always used the policy of incorporating with itself a great many of the prisoners they make in war, is in a very declining condition. About sixty

Digitized by Google

years ago, it was computed, that they had ten thousand fighting men; at this day, they cannot raise upwards of fifteen hundred. So much have wars, epidemical diseases, and the unnatural union of the vices of civilized nations with the manners of savages, reduced this once numerous people. But they are not only much lessened at this day in their numbers, but in their disposition to employ what numbers they have left in our service. Amongst other neglects, which I have no pleasure in mentioning and no hopes of seeing amended, this of inattention, or worse treatment, of the Indians, is one, and a capital one. The Iroquois have lately had three other nations added to their confederacy, so that they ought now to be considered as eight; and the whole confederacy seems much more inclined to the French interest than ours.

CHAPTER X.

NEW JERSEY—ITS TRADE; AND INHABITANTS.

New Jersey, by the perpetual disputes which subsisted between the people and the proprietaries whilst it continued a proprietary government, was kept for a long time in a very feeble state; but within a few years it has begun to reap some of the advantages which it might have had earlier from the proper management of so fine a province and so advantageous a situation. They raise very great quantities of grain at present, and are increased to near sixty thousand souls; but they have yet no town of any consequence. Perth Amboy, which is their capital, has not upwards of two hundred houses; and, though this town has a very fine harbor, capable of receiving and securing ships of great burden, yet, as the people of New Jersey have been used to send their produce to the markets of New York and Philadelphia, to which they are contiguous, they find it hard, as it always is in such cases, to draw the trade out of the old channel; for there the cor-

Digitized by Google

respondencies are fixed, the method of dealing established, credits given, and a ready market for needy dealers, who in all countries are sufficiently numerous; so that the trade of this town, which is the only town of any trade worth notice in New Jersey, is still inconsiderable; in the year 1751, only forty-one vessels have entered inwards, and only thirty-eight cleared out, in which were exported six thousand four hundred and twenty-four barrels of flour; one hundred and sixty-eight thousand weight of bread; three hundred and fourteen barrels of beef and pork; seventeen thousand nine hundred and forty-one bushels of grain; fourteen thousand weight of hemp; with some butter, hams, beer, flax seed, bar iron, and lumber.

CHAPTER XI.

ACCOUNT OF WILLIAM PENN—THE PRINCIPLES ON WHICH HE SETTLED THE COLONY—HIS DEATH.

I FIND it of late a notion pretty current, that proprietary governments are a sort of check to the growth of the colonies which they superintend. It is certain, that abuses have been, and still do subsist, in that species of government; and abuses of as bad a kind may, I believe, be found, by persons of no great penetration, in all our governments; but, if there were any truth in this observation, the province of Pennsylvania would prove an illustrious exception to it.

William Penn, in his capacity of a divine and of a moral writer, is certainly not of the first rank; and his works are of no great estimation, except amongst his own people; but, in his capacity of a legislator and the founder of so flourishing a commonwealth, he deserves great honor amongst all mankind; a commonwealth, which, in the space of about seventy years, from a beginning of a few hundreds of refugees and indigent men, has grown to be a numerous and flourishing people; a

Digitized by Google

people, who, from a perfect wilderness, have brought their territory to a state of great cultivation, and filled it with wealthy and populous towns; and who, in the midst of a fierce and lawless race of men, have preserved themselves, with unarmed hands and passive principles, by the rules of moderation and justice, better than any other people has done by policy and arms. For Mr. Penn, when, for his father's services and by his own interest at court, he obtained the inheritance of this country and its government, saw that he could make the grant of value to him only by rendering the country as agreeable to all people, as ease and good government could make it. To this purpose, he began by purchasing the soil, at a very low rate indeed, from the original possessors, to whom it was of little use. By this cheap act of justice at the beginning, he made all his dealings for the future the more easy, by prepossessing the Indians with a favorable opinion of him and his designs. The other part of his plan, which was, to people this country after he had taken possession of it, he saw much facilitated by the uneasiness of his brethren, the Quakers in England, who, refusing to pay tithes and other church dues, suffered a great deal from the spiritual courts. Their high opinion of and regard for the man, who was an honor to their new church, made them the more ready to follow him over the vast ocean into an untried climate and country. Neither was he himself wanting in anything which could encourage them. For he expended large sums in transporting and finding them in all necessaries; and, not aiming at a sudden profit, he disposed of his land at a very light purchase. But what crowned all was, that noble charter of privileges, by which he made them as free as any people in the world; and which has since drawn such vast numbers, of so many different persuasions and such various countries, to put themselves under the protection of his laws. He made the most perfect freedom, both religious and civil, the basis of this establishment; and this has done more towards the settling of the province, and towards the settling of it in a strong and permanent manner, than the wisest regulations could have done upon any other plan. All

Digitized by Google

persons who profess to believe one God, are freely tolerated: those who believe in Jesus Christ, of whatever denomination, are not excluded from employments and posts.

This great man lived to see an extensive country called after his own name; he lived to see it peopled by his own wisdom, the people free and flourishing, and the most flourishing people in it of his own persuasion; he lived to lay the foundations of a splendid and wealthy city; he lived to see it promise every thing from the situation which he himself had chosen, and the encouragement which he himself had given it: he lived to see all this; but he died in the Fleet prison.

It is but just, that, in such a subject, we should allot a little room, to do honor to those great men, whose virtue and generosity have contributed to the peopling of the earth, and to the freedom and happiness of mankind; who have preferred the interest of a remote posterity, and times unknown, to their own fortunes, and to the quiet and security of their own lives. Now, Great Britain and all America reap great benefits from his labors and his losses; and his posterity have a vast estate out of the quitrents of that province, whose establishment was the ruin of their predecessor's moderate fortune.

CHAPTER XII.

INHABITANTS OF PENNSYLVANIA—VARIETY OF NATIONS AND RELIGIONS THERE—PACIFIC PRINCIPLES OF THE QUAKERS—REFLECTIONS ON THE PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS THERE.

Pennsylvania is inhabited by upwards of two hundred and fifty thousand people, half of whom are Germans, Swedes, or Dutch. Here you see the Quakers, Churchmen, Calvinists, Lutherans, Catholics, Methodists, Menists, Moravians, Independents, the Anabaptists, and the Dumplers, a sort of German

Digitized by Google

sect, that live in something like a religious society, wear long beards, and a habit resembling that of friars. In short, the diversity of people, religions, nations, and languages here, is prodigious, and the harmony in which they live together no less edifying. For, though every man who wishes well to religion is sorry to see the diversity which prevails, and would by all humane and honest methods endeavor to prevent it; yet, when once the evil has happened, when there is no longer a union of sentiments, it is glorious to preserve at least a union of affections; it is a beautiful prospect, to see men take and give an equal liberty; to see them live, if not as belonging to the same church, yet to the same Christian religion; and if not to the same religion, yet to the same great fraternity of mankind. I do not observe, that the Quakers, who had, and who still have in a great measure, the power in their hands, have made use of it in any sort to persecute; except in the single case of George Keith, whom they first imprisoned, and then banished out of the province. This Keith was originally a minister of the Church of England, then a Quaker, and afterwards returned to his former ministry. But whilst he remained with the Friends, he was a most troublesome and litigious man; was for pushing the particularities of Quakerism to yet more extravagant lengths, and for making new refinements, even where the most enthusiastic thought they had gone far enough; which rash and turbulent conduct raised such a storm, as shook the church he then adhered to, to the very foundations.

This little sally into intolerance, as it is a single instance, and with great provocation, ought by no means to be imputed to the principles of the Quakers, considering the ample and humane latitude they have allowed in all other respects. It was certainly a very right policy to encourage the importation of foreigners into Pennsylvania, as well as into our other colonies. By this we are great gainers, without any diminution of the inhabitants of Great Britain. But it has been frequently observed, and, as it should seem, very justly complained of, that they are left still foreigners, and likely to con-

Digitized by Google

tinue so for many generations; and they have schools taught, books printed, and even the common newspaper in their own language; by which means, and as they possess large tracts of the country without any intermixture of English, there is no appearance of their blending and becoming one people with us. This certainly is a great irregularity, and the greater, as these foreigners, by their industry, frugality, and a hard way of living, in which they greatly exceed our people, have in a manner thrust them out in several places; so as to threaten the colony with the danger of being wholly foreign in language, manners, and perhaps even inclinations. In the year 1750, were imported into Pennsylvania and its dependencies four thousand three hundred and seventeen Germans, whereas of British and Irish but one thousand arrived; a considerable number, if it was not so vastly overbalanced by that of the foreigners.

I do by no means think that this sort of transplantations ought to be discouraged; I only observe, along with others, that the manner of their settlement ought to be regulated, and means sought to have them naturalized in reality.

The present troubles have very unhappily reversed the system so long pursued, and with such great success, in this part of the world. The Pennsylvanians have suffered severely by the incursions of the savage Americans as well as their neighbors; but the Quakers could not be prevailed upon, by what did not directly affect those of their own communion (for they were out of the way of mischief in the more settled parts), to relinquish their pacific principles; for which reason, a considerable opposition, in which, however, we must do the Quakers the justice to observe they were not unanimous, was made, both within their assembly as well as without doors, against granting any money to carry on the war; and the same, or a more vigorous opposition, was made against passing a militia bill. A bill of this kind has at length passed, but scarcely such as the circumstances of the country and the exigencies of the times required. It may perhaps appear an error, to have placed so great a part of the government in the

Digitized by Google

hands of men, who hold principles directly opposite to its end and design. As a peaceable, industrious, honest people, the Quakers cannot be too much cherished; but surely they cannot themselves complain, that when, by their opinions, they make themselves sheep, they should not be entrusted with the office, since they have not the nature of dogs.

CHAPTER XIII.

DESCRIPTION OF PHILADELPHIA—ITS TRADE—NUMBER OF PEOPLE IN PENNSYLVANIA—ITS FLOURISHING CONDITION—FEW NEGROES THERE.

There are so many good towns in the province of Pennsylvania, even exceeding the capitals of some other provinces, that nothing could excuse our passing them by, had not Philadelphia drawn our attention wholly to itself. This city stands upon a tongue of land, immediately at the confluence of two fine rivers, the Delaware and the Schuylkill. It is disposed in the form of an oblong, designed to extend two miles from river to river; but the buildings do not extend above a mile and a half on the west side of Delaware in length, and not more than half a mile where the town is broadest. The longest stretch, when the original plan can be fully executed, is to compose eight parallel streets, all of two miles in length; these are to be intersected by sixteen others, each in length a mile, broad, spacious, and even; with proper spaces left for the public buildings, churches, and market-places. In the centre is a square of ten acres, round which most of the public buildings are disposed. The two principal streets of the city are each one hundred feet wide, and most of the houses have a small garden and orchard; from the rivers are cut several canals, equally agreeable and beneficial. The quays are spacious and fine; the principal quay is two hundred feet wide, and to this a vessel of five hundred tons may lay her

Digitized by Google

broadside. The warehouses are large, numerous, and commodious, and the docks for ship-building every way well adapted to their purposes. A great number of vessels have been built here; twenty have been upon the stocks at a time. The city contains, exclusive of warehouses and outhouses, about two thousand houses, most of them of brick and well built; it is said, there are several of them worth four or five thousand pounds. The inhabitants are now about thirteen thousand.

There are in this city a great number of very wealthy merchants; which is no way surprising, when one considers the great trade which it carries on with the English, French, Spanish, and Dutch colonies in America; with the Azores, the Canaries, and the Madeira islands; with Great Britain and Ireland; with Spain, Portugal, and Holland, and the great profits which are made in many branches of this commerce. Besides the quantity of all kinds of the produce of this province, which is brought down the rivers Delaware and Schuylkill (the former of which is navigable, for vessels of one sort or other, more than two hundred miles above Philadelphia) the Dutch employ between eight and nine thousand wagons, drawn each by four horses, in bringing the product of their farms to this market. In the year 1749, three hundred and three vessels entered inwards at this port, and two hundred and ninety-one cleared outwards. There are, at the other ports of this province, custom-house officers; but the foreign trade in these places is not worth notice.

The city of Philadelphia, though, as it may be judged, far from completing the original plan, yet, so far as it is built, is carried on conformable to it, and increases in the number and beauty of its buildings every day. And as for the province, of which this city is the capital, there is no part of British America in a more growing condition. In some years, more people have transported themselves into Pennsylvania, than into all the other settlements together. In 1729, six thousand two hundred and eight persons came to settle here as passengers or servants, four fifths of whom at least were from Ireland.

Digitized by Google

In short, this province has increased so greatly from the time of its first establishment, that, whereas lands were given by Mr. Penn, the founder of the colony, at the rate of twenty pounds for a thousand acres, reserving only a shilling for every hundred acres for quit rent; and this in some of the best situated parts of the province: yet now, at a great distance from navigation, land is granted at twelve pounds the hundred acres, and a quit rent of four shillings reserved; and the land which is near Philadelphia rents for twenty shillings the acre. In many places, and at the distance of several miles from that city, land sells for twenty years' purchase.

The Pennsylvanians are an industrious and hardy people; they are most of them substantial, though but a few of the landed people can be considered as rich; but they are all well lodged, well fed, and, for their condition, well clad too; and this at the more easy rate, as the inferior people manufacture most of their own wear, both linens and woolens. There are but few blacks, not in all the fortieth part of the people of the province.

CHAPTER XIV.

SITUATION, ETC. OF VIRGINIA—CONVENIENCY OF ITS RIVERS FOR NAVIGATION—BEASTS AND BIRDS OF THE COUNTRY—THE OPOSSUM.

The whole country which the English now possess in North America was at first called Virginia; but, by the parcelling of several portions of it into distinct grants and governments, the country which still bears the name is now reduced to that tract which has the river Potomac upon the north; the bay of Chesapeake upon the east; and Carolina upon the south. To the westward, the grants extend it to the South Sea; but their planting goes no further than the great Alleghany mountains, which boundaries leave this province in length two

Digitized by Google

hundred and forty miles, and in breadth about two hundred, lying between the fifty-fifth and fortieth degrees of north latitude.

The whole face of this country is so extremely low towards the sea, that, when you are come even within fifteen fathom soundings, you can hardly distinguish land from the mast head. However, all this coast of America has one useful particularity, that you know your distance exactly by the soundings, which uniformly and gradually diminish as you approach the land. The trees appear as if they rose out of the water, and afford the stranger a very uncommon, and not a disagreeable, view. In sailing to Virginia or Maryland, you pass a strait, between two points of land, called the Capes of Virginia, which opens a passage into the bay of Chesapeake, one of the largest and safest bays perhaps in the world; for it enters the country near three hundred miles from the south to the north, having the eastern side of Maryland, and a small portion of Virginia on the same peninsula, to cover it from the Atlantic ocean. This bay is about eighteen miles broad for a considerable way, and seven where it is narrowest, the waters in most places being nine fathom deep. Through its whole extent, it receives, both on the eastern and western side, a vast number of fine navigable rivers. Not to mention those of Maryland; from the side of Virginia, it receives James River, York River, the Rappahannoc, and the Potomac.

All these great rivers, in the order they are here set down from south to north, discharge themselves, with several smaller ones, into the bay of Chesapeake; and they are all not only navigable themselves for very large vessels a prodigious way into the country, but have so many creeks, and receive such a number of smaller navigable rivers, as renders the communication of all parts of this country infinitely more easy than that of any country, without exception, in the world. The Potomac is navigable for near two hundred miles, being nine miles broad at its mouth, and for a vast way not less than seven. The other three are navigable upwards of eighty, and in the windings of their several courses approach one another

Digitized by Google

so nearly, that the distance between one and the other is in some parts not more than ten, sometimes not above five miles; whereas in others there is fifty miles' space between each of these rivers. The planters load and unload vessels of great burden each at his own door; which, as their commodities are bulky, and of small value in proportion to their bulk, is a very fortunate circumstance, else they could never afford to send their tobacco to market low as they sell it, and charged, as it is in England, with a duty of six times its original value.

The climate and soil of Virginia was undoubtedly much heightened in the first description for political reasons; but, after making all the necessary abatements which experience since taught us, we still find it a most excellent country. The heats in summer are excessively great, but not without the allay of refreshing sea breezes. The weather is changeable, and the changes sudden and violent. Their winter frosts come on without the least warning. After a warm day, towards the setting in of winter, so intense a cold often succeeds as to freeze over the broadest and deepest of their great rivers in one night; but these frosts, as well as their rains, are rather violent than of long continuance. They have frequent and terrible thunder and lightning, but it does rarely any mischief. In general the sky is clear, and the air thin, pure, and penetrating.

The soil in the low grounds of Virginia is a dark fat mould, which, for many years, without any manure, yields plentifully whatever is committed to it. The soil, as you leave the rivers, becomes light and sandy, is sooner exhausted than the low country, but is yet of a warm and generous nature, which, helped by a kindly sun, yields tobacco and corn extremely well. There is no better wheat than what is produced in this province and Maryland; but the culture of tobacco employs all their attention, and almost all their hands; so that they scarcely cultivate wheat enough for their own use.

It may be judged, from the climate and the soil I have described, in what excellence and plenty every sort of fruit is found in Virginia. Their forests are full of timber trees of

Digitized by Google

all kinds; and their plains are covered for almost the whole year with a prodigious number of flowers, and flowering shrubs, of colors so rich, and of a scent so fragrant, that they occasioned the name of Florida to be originally given to this country. This country produces several medicinal herbs and roots, particularly the snakeroot; and of late the celebrated ginseng of the Chinese has been discovered there.

Horned cattle and hogs have multiplied almost beyond belief; though at the first settlement the country was utterly destitute of these animals. The meat of the former is as much below the flesh of our oxen, as that of the latter exceeds that of our hogs. The animals natural to the country are deer, of which there are great numbers; a sort of panther or tiger; bears, wolves, foxes, racoons, squirrels, wild cats, and one very uncommon animal called the opossum. This creature is about the size of a cat, and, besides the belly which it has in common with all others, has a false one beneath it, with a pretty large aperture at the end towards the hinder legs. Within this bag or belly, on the usual parts of the common belly, are a number of teats; upon these, when the female of this creature conceives, the young are formed, and there they hang like fruit upon the stalk, until they grow in bulk and weight to their appointed size; then they drop off, and are received in the false belly, from which they go out at pleasure, and in which they take refuge when any danger threatens them.

They have all our sorts of tame and wild fowl in equal perfection, and some which we have not; and a vast number of birds of various kinds, valuable for their beauty or their note. The white owl of Virginia is far larger than the species which we have, and is all over of a bright silver-colored plumage, except one black spot upon his breast; they have the nightingale, called from the country, a most beautiful one, whose feathers are crimson and blue; the mocking bird, thought to excel all others in his own note, and imitating the notes of every one; the rock bird, very sociable, and his society very agreeable by the sweetness of his music; the humming bird,

Digitized by Google

the smallest of all the winged creation, and the most beautiful, all arrayed in scarlet, green, and gold. This bird is said to live by licking off the dew that adheres to the flowers; he is too delicate to be brought alive into England. The sea-coasts and rivers of Virginia abound not only in several of the species of fish known in Europe, but in most of those kinds which are peculiar to America. The reptiles are many; it were tedious to enumerate all the kinds of serpents bred here; the rattlesnake is the principal, and too well known in general to need any description.

CHAPTER XV.

TOWNS IN VIRGINIA FEW AND SMALL—TOBACCO, ITS CULTIVATION —TRADE IN THAT AND OTHER COMMODITIES—PEOPLE IN VIRGINIA—WHITE AND BLACK.

The great commodiousness of navigation and the scarcity of handicraftsmen have rendered all the attempts of the government to establish towns in Virginia ineffectual. Jamestown, which was anciently the capital, is dwindled into an insignificant village; and Williamsburg, though the capital at present, the seat of the governor, the place of holding the assembly and courts of justice, and a college for the study of arts and sciences, is yet but a small town. However, in this town are the best public buildings in British America. The college, one hundred and thirty-five feet long in front, resembling Chelsea hospital; the capitol directly facing it, at the other end of the design of a noble street, not unlike the college in the fashion and the size of the building, where the assembly and courts of justice are held, and the public offices kept; and the church, in the form of a cross, large and well ornamented.

The great staple commodity of this country, as well as Maryland, is tobacco. This plant is aboriginal in America,

Digitized by Google

and of very ancient use, though neither so generally cultivated nor so well manufactured as it has been since the coming of the Europeans. When at its just height, it is as tall as an ordinary sized man; the stalk is straight, hairy, and clammy; the leaves alternate, of a faded yellowish green, and towards the lower part of the plant of a great size. The seeds of tobacco are first sown in beds, from whence they are transplanted, the first rainy weather, into a ground disposed into little hillocks like a hop garden. In a month's time from their transplantation they become a foot high; they then top them, and prune off the lower leaves, and with great attention clean them from weeds and worms twice a week; in about six weeks after, they attain to their full growth, and they begin then to turn brownish. By these marks they judge the tobacco to be ripe. They cut down the plants as fast as they ripen, heap them up and let them lie a night to sweat; the next day they carry them to the tobacco house, which is built to admit as much air as is consistent with keeping out rain, where they are hung separately to dry, for four or five weeks; then they take them down in moist weather, for else they will crumble to dust. After this they are laid upon sticks, and covered up close to sweat for a week or two longer; the servants strip and sort them, the top being the best, the bottom the worst tobacco; then they make them up in hogsheads, or form them into rolls. Wet seasons must be carefully laid hold on for all this work, else the tobacco will not be sufficiently pliable.

In trade they distinguish two sorts of tobacco, the first is called Aranokoe, from Maryland and the northern parts of Virginia; this is strong and hot in the mouth, but it sells very well in the markets of Holland, Germany, and the north. The other sort is called sweet-scented, the best of which is from James and York Rivers in the southern parts of Virginia. There is no commodity to which the revenue is so much obliged as to this. It produces a vast sum, and yet appears to lay but a very inconsiderable burden upon the people in England; all the weight in reality falls upon the planter,

Digitized by Google

who is kept down by the lowness of the original price; and as we have two provinces which deal in the same commodity, if the people of Virginia were to take measures to straiten the market and raise the price, those of Maryland would certainly take the advantage of it; the people of Virginia would take the same advantage of those of Maryland in a like case. They have no prospect of ever bettering their condition; and they are the less able to endure it as they live in general luxuriously, and to the full extent of their fortunes. Therefore any failure in the sale of their goods brings them heavily in debt to the merchants in London, who get mortgages on their estates which are consumed to the bone, with the canker of an eight per cent. usury. But, however the planters may complain of the tobacco trade, the revenue flourishes by it, for it draws near three hundred thousand a year from this one article only; and the exported tobacco, the far greater part of the profits of which come to the English merchant, brings almost as great a sum annually into the kingdom. To say nothing of the great advantage we derive from being supplied from our own colonies with that for which the rest of Europe pays ready money, besides the employment of two hundred large vessels, and a proportionable number of seamen, which are occupied in this trade. From us the Virginians take every article for convenience or ornament which they use; their own manufacture does not deserve to be mentioned. The two colonies export about eighty thousand hogsheads of tobacco of eight hundred weight. They likewise trade largely with the West Indies in lumber, pitch, tar, corn, and provisions. They send home flax, hemp, iron, staves, and walnut and cedar plank.

The number of white people in Virginia, is between sixty and seventy thousand; and they are growing every day more numerous, by the migration of the Irish, who, not succeeding so well in Pennsylvania as the more frugal and industrious Germans, sell their lands in that province to the latter, and take up new ground in the remote counties in Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina. These are chiefly Presbyterians

Digitized by Google

from the northern part of Ireland, who in America are generally called Scotch Irish. In Virginia there are likewise settled a considerable number of French refugees; but much the larger part of the inhabitants are the negro slaves, who cannot be much fewer than a hundred thousand souls; they annually import into the two tobacco colonies between three and four thousand of these slaves. The negroes here do not stand in need of such vast recruits as the West India stock; they rather increase than diminish; a blessing derived from a more moderate labor, better food, and a more healthy climate. The inhabitants of Virginia are a cheerful, hospitable, and many of them a genteel, though something vain and ostentatious, people; they are for the greater part of the established church of England; nor until lately did they tolerate any other. Now they have some few meeting-houses of Presbyterians and Quakers.

CHAPTER XVI.

ATTEMPTS TO SETTLE VIRGINIA, THREE UNSUCCESSFUL—SETTLED AT LAST BY LORD DELAWARE.

This of Virginia is the most ancient of our colonies. Though, strictly speaking, the first attempts to settle a colony were not made in Virginia, but in that part of North Carolina which immediately borders upon it. Sir Walter Raleigh, the most extraordinary genius of his own or perhaps any other time, a penetrating statesman, an accomplished courtier, a deep scholar, a fine writer, a great soldier, and one of the ablest seamen in the world; this vast genius, that pierced so far and ran through so many things, was of a fiery eccentric kind, which led him into daring expeditions and uncommon projects, which not being understood by a timid prince and envied and hated by the rivals he had in so many ways of life, ruined him at last. In person, he ran infinite risks in

Digitized by Google

Guiana in search of gold mines: and when this country was first discovered, he looked through the work of an age at one glance, and saw how advantageous it might be made to the trade of England. He was the first man in England who had a right conception of the advantages of settlements abroad; he was then the only person who had a thorough insight into trade, and who saw clearly the proper methods of promoting it. He applied to court, and got together a company, which was composed of several persons of distinction and several eminent merchants, who agreed to open a trade and settle a colony in that part of the world, which, in honor of Queen Elizabeth, he called Virginia.

Raleigh had too much business upon his hands at court, and found too few to second him in his designs, to enable him to support the establishment with the spirit in which he began it. If ever any design had an ominous beginning, and seemed to forbid any attempts for carrying it on, it was that of the first settlement of Virginia. Near half of the first colony was destroyed by the savages; and the rest, consumed and worn down by fatigue and famine, deserted the country, and returned home in despair. The second colony was cut off, to a man, in a manner unknown; but they were supposed to be destroyed by the Indians. The third had the same dismal fate; and the fourth, quarreling amongst themselves, neglecting their agriculture to hunt for gold, and provoking the Indians by their insolent and unguarded behavior, lost several of their people, and were returning, the poor remains of them, in a famishing and desperate condition, to England, when just in the mouth of Chesapeake Bay they met the Lord Delaware, with a squadron loaded with provisions, and every thing for their relief and defence, who persuaded them to return.

This nobleman traveled with as much zeal and assiduity to cherish and support the froward infancy of this unpromising colony, as some have used in its better times for purposes of another kind. Regardless of his life, and inattentive to his fortune, he entered upon this long and dangerous voyage, and accepted this barren province, which had nothing of a govern-

Digitized by Google

ment but its anxieties and its cares, merely for the service of his country; and he had no other reward than that retired and inward satisfaction, which a good mind feels in indulging its own propensity to virtue, and the prospect of those just honors which the latest posterity will take a pleasure in bestowing upon those, who prefer the interest of posterity to their own. After he had prevailed upon the people to return, he comforted them under their misfortunes, he pointed out their causes, and uniting the tenderness of a father with the steady severity of a magistrate, he healed their divisions, and reconciled them to authority and government, by making them feel by his conduct what a blessing it could be made.

When he had settled the colony within itself, his next care was to put them upon a proper footing with regard to the Indians, whom he found very haughty and assuming on account of the late miserable state of the English; but, by some well-timed and vigorous steps, he humbled them, showed he had power to chastise them, and courage to exert that power; and, after having awed them into very peaceable dispositions and settled his colony in a very growing condition, he retired home for the benefit of his health, which, by his constant attention to business and the air of an uncultivated country, had been impaired; but he left his son, with the spirit of his father, his deputy; and Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Summers, the Honorable George Piercy, Sir Ferdinand Wenman, and Mr. Newport, for his council. These, with other persons of rank and fortune, attended him on this expedition, which gave a credit to the colony. Though there are in England many young gentlemen of fortunes disproportioned to their rank, I fear we should not see the names of so many of them engaged in an expedition, which had no better appearance than this had at that time.

Lord Delaware did not forget the colony on his return to England; but, considering himself as nearer the fountain head, thought it his duty to turn the spring of the royal favor more copiously upon the province which he superintended. For eight years together he was indefatigable in doing every

Digitized by Google

Guiana in search of gold mines: and when this country first discovered, he looked through the work of an age a glance, and saw how advantageous it might be made trade of England. He was the first man in England had a right conception of the advantages of settle abroad; he was then the only person who had a thor insight into trade, and who saw clearly the proper meth promoting it. He applied to court, and got together a pany, which was composed of several persons of distin and several eminent merchants, who agreed to open a and settle a colony in that part of the world, which, in of Queen Elizabeth, he called Virginia.

Raleigh had too much business upon his hands at cou found too few to second him in his designs, to enable support the establishment with the spirit in which he it. If ever any design had an ominous beginning, and to forbid any attempts for carrying it on, it was that of settlement of Virginia. Near half of the first colony stroyed by the savages; and the rest, consumed a down by fatigue and famine, deserted the country, and home in despair. The second colony was cut off, t in a manner unknown; but they were supposed t stroyed by the Indians. The third had the sam fate; and the fourth, quarreling amongst themselves, ing their agriculture to hunt for gold, and provoking dians by their insolent and unguarded behavior, los of their people, and were returning, the poor remains in a famishing and desperate condition, to England, in the mouth of Chesapeake Bay they met the Lord D with a squadron loaded with provisions, and every th their relief and defence, who persuaded them to retur

This nobleman traveled with as much zeal and ass cherish and support the froward infancy of this un colony, as some have used in its better times for pr another kind. Regar his life, and inattentiv fortune, he entered u g and dangerous voy accepted t n pr ich had nothing of a

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

thing that could tend to the peopling, the support, and the good government of this settlement; and he died in the pursuit of the same object in his voyage to Virginia, with a large supply of people, clothing, and goods.

It is one of the most necessary, and I am sure it is one of the most pleasing, parts of this design to do justice to the names of those men, who, by their greatness of mind, their wisdom, and their goodness, have brought into the pale of civility and religion these rude and uncultivated parts of the globe; who could discern the rudiments of a future people, wanting only time to be unfolded in the seed; who could perceive, amidst the losses and disappointments and expenses of a beginning colony, the great advantages to be derived to their country from such undertakings; and who could pursue them in spite of the malignity and narrow wisdom of the world. The ancient world had its Osiris and Erichthonius, who taught them the use of grain; their Bacchus, who instructed them in the culture of the vine; and their Orpheus and Linus, who first built towns and formed civil societies. The people of America will not fail, when time has made things venerable, and when an intermixture of fable has moulded useful truths into popular opinions, to mention with equal gratitude, and perhaps similar heightening circumstances, her Columbus, her Castro, her Gasca, her De Poincy, her Delaware, her Baltimore, and her Penn.

CHAPTER XVII.

VIRGINIA HOLDS OUT AGAINST CROMWELL, AND IS REDUCED—BACON'S REBELLION—ITS CAUSES—BACON DIES—PEACE RESTORED.

The colony of Virginia was so fast rooted by the care of Lord Delaware, that it was enabled to stand two terrible storms; two massacres made by the Indians, in which the whole colony was nearly cut off; and to subdue that people,

Digitized by Google

so as to put it utterly out of their power for many years past to give them the least disturbance.

In the fatal troubles which brought Charles the First to the block, and overturned the constitution of England, many of the cavaliers fled for refuge to this colony, which, by the general disposition of the inhabitants and the virtue of Sir William Berkeley, held out for the crown, until the parliament, rather by stratagem than force, reduced them. And what is remarkable, if it may be depended upon with any certainty, they deposed Cromwell's governor, set up Sir William Berkeley again, and declared for King Charles the Second, a good while even before the news of Oliver's death could arrive in America.

After the Restoration, there is nothing very interesting in their history; except that soon after, a sort of rebellion arose in the province, from mismanagement in the government, from the decay of their trade, and from exorbitant grants inconsiderately made, which included the settled property of many people. These grievances raised a general discontent amongst the planters, which was fomented and brought to blaze out into an actual war, by a young gentleman whose name was Bacon. He was an agreeable man, of a graceful presence and winning carriage. He had been bred to the law, had a lively and fluent expression, fit to set off a popular cause, and to influence men who were ready to hear whatever could be said to color in a proper manner what was already strongly drawn by their own feelings. This man, by a specious, or perhaps a real, though ill-judged, regard for the public good, finding the governor slow in his preparations against the Indians, who were at that time ravaging the frontiers of the province, took up arms, without any commission, to act against the enemy. When he had a sufficient force for this purpose, he found himself in a condition not only to act against the enemy, but to give law to the governor, and to force him to give a sanction by his authority to those proceedings which were meant to destroy it.

Bacon, armed with the commission of a general and followed

Digitized by Google

by the whole force of the colony, prepared to march against the Indians; when Sir William Berkeley, the governor, freed from the immediate terror of his forces, recalled him, proclaimed him a traitor, and issued a reward for apprehending him as such. This brought matters to extremities; the people were universally inflamed; Bacon adhered to what he had done, the people adhered to Bacon; and the governor, who seemed no ways inclined to temporize or yield to the storm, fled over the river Potomac, and proclaimed all Bacon's adherents traitors. He put himself at the head of a small body of troops which he had raised in Maryland, and of such of the Virginians as were faithful to him, and wrote to England for supplies. On the other hand, Bacon marched to the capital, called an assembly, and for six months together disposed all things according to his own pleasure. Every thing was now hastening to a civil war, when all was quieted, in as sudden a manner as it had begun, by the natural death of Bacon, in the very height of the confusion. The people, unable to act without a head, proposed terms of accommodation; the terms were listened to, and peace was restored and kept without any disturbance, not so much by the removal of the grievances complained of, as by the arrival of a regiment from England, which remained a long time in the country. It must be remarked, in honor of the moderation of the government, that no person suffered, in his life or his estate, for this rebellion, which was the more extraordinary, as many people, at that time, were very earnest in soliciting grants of land in Virginia.

The events in all countries which are not the residence of the supreme power, and have no concern in the great business of transacting war and peace, have generally but little to engage the attention of the reader. I have therefore entirely omitted the tedious detail of the governors and their several transactions, with which my materials so plentifully supply me; and, for the same reason, I shall be very concise in my account of Maryland, which, agreeing altogether with Virginia in its climate, soil, products, trade, and genius of the

Digitized by Google

inhabitants, and having few or no remarkable events to recommend it, will save much trouble in that article.

CHAPTER XVIII.

MARYLAND—THE TIME OF SETTLING IT—GRANT TO LORD BALTIMORE—ATTEMPTS OF KING JAMES TO DEPRIVE HIM OF HIS JURISDICTION—HE IS DEPRIVED OF IT ON THE REVOLUTION—HE IS RESTORED—CAPITAL OF MARYLAND—ITS TRADE AND INHABITANTS.

It was in the reign of Charles the First, that the Lord Baltimore applied for a patent for a part of Virginia, and obtained, in 1632, a grant of a tract of land upon Chesapeake bay, of about an hundred and forty miles long, and an hundred and thirty broad, having Pennsylvania, then in the hands of the Dutch, upon the north, the Atlantic Ocean upon the east, and the river Potomac upon the south; in honor of the Queen, he called this province Maryland.

Lord Baltimore was a Roman Catholic, and was induced to attempt this settlement in America, in hopes of enjoying liberty of conscience for himself, and for such of his friends to whom the severity of the laws might loosen their ties to their country, and make them prefer an easy banishment with freedom, to the conveniences of England, embittered as they were by the sharpness of the laws, and the popular odium which hung over them. The court at that time was certainly very little inclined to treat the Roman Catholics in a harsh manner, neither had they in reality the least appearance of reason to do so; but the laws themselves were of a rigorous constitution; and, however the court might be inclined to relax them, they could not in policy do it, but with great reserve. The Puritan party perpetually accused the court, and indeed the episcopal church, of a desire of returning to popery; and this accusation was so popular, that it was

Digitized by Google

not in the power of the court to show the Papists that indulgence which they desired. The laws were still executed with very little mitigation; and they were in themselves of a much keener temper, than those which had driven the Puritans about the same time to seek a refuge in the same part of the world. These reasons made Lord Baltimore desirous to have, and the court willing to give him, a place of retreat in America.

The settlement of the colony cost the Lord Baltimore a large sum. It was made, under his auspices, by his brother, and about two hundred persons, Roman Catholics, and most of them of good families. This settlement, at the beginning, did not meet with the same difficulties, which embarrassed and retarded most of the others we had made. The people were generally of the better sort; a proper subordination was observed amongst them; and the Indians gave and took so little offence, that they ceded one half of their principal town, and some time after the whole of it, to these strangers. The Indian women taught ours how to make bread of their corn; their men went out to hunt and fish with the English; they assisted them in the chase, and sold them the game they took themselves for a trifling consideration; so that the new settlers had a sort of town ready built, ground ready cleared for their subsistence, and no enemy to harass them.

They lived thus, without much trouble or fear, until some ill-disposed persons in Virginia insinuated to the Indians, that the Baltimore colony had designs upon them; that they were Spaniards and not Englishmen; and such other stories as they judged proper to sow the seeds of suspicion and enmity in the minds of these people. Upon the first appearance, that the malice of the Virginians had taken effect, the new planters were not wanting to themselves. They built a good fort with all expedition, and took every other necessary measure for their defence; but they continued still to treat the Indians with so much kindness, that, partly by that and partly by the awe of their arms, the ill designs of their enemies were defeated.

Digitized by Google

As the colony met with so few obstructions, and as the Roman Catholics in England were yet more severely treated in proportion as the court party declined, numbers constantly arrived to replenish the settlement; which the lord proprietor omitted no care, and withheld no expense, to support and encourage; until the usurpation overturned the government at home, and deprived him of his rights abroad. Maryland remained under the governors appointed by the parliament and by Cromwell until the Restoration, when Lord Baltimore was reinstated in his former possessions, which he cultivated with his former wisdom, care, and moderation. No people could live in greater ease and security; and his lordship, willing that as many as possible should enjoy the benefits of his mild and equitable administration, gave his consent to an act of assembly, which he had before promoted in his province, for allowing a free and unlimited toleration for all who professed the Christian religion, of whatever denomination. This liberty, which was never in the least instance violated, encouraged a great number, not only of the church of England, but of Presbyterians, Quakers, and all kinds of dissenters, to settle in Maryland, which before that was almost wholly in the hands of Roman Catholics.

This lord, though guilty of no mal-administration in his government, though a zealous Roman Catholic, and firmly attached to the cause of King James the Second, could not prevent his charter from being questioned in that arbitrary reign, and a suit from being commenced, to deprive him of the property and jurisdiction of a province granted by the royal favor, and peopled at such a vast expense of his own. But it was the error of that weak and unfortunate reign, neither to know its friends, nor its enemies; but, by a blind precipitate conduct, to hurry on every thing of whatever consequence with almost equal heat, and to imagine that the sound of the royal authority was sufficient to justify every sort of conduct to every sort of people. But these injuries could not shake the honor and constancy of Lord Baltimore, nor tempt him to desert the cause of his master. Upon the Revolution, he had

Digitized by Google

no reason to expect any favor; yet he met with more than King James had intended him; he was deprived indeed of all his jurisdiction, but he was left the profits of his province, which were by no means inconsiderable; and when his descendants had conformed to the church of England, they were restored to all their rights as fully as the legislature has thought fit that any proprietor should enjoy them.

When, upon the Revolution, power changed hands in that province, the new men made but an indifferent requital for the liberties and indulgences they had enjoyed under the old administration. They not only deprived the Roman Catholics of all share in the government, but of all the rights of freemen; they have even adopted the whole body of the penal laws of England against them; they are at this day meditating new laws in the same spirit, and they would undoubtedly go to the greatest lengths in this respect, if the moderation and good sense of the government in England did not set some bounds to their bigotry; thinking very prudently that it were highly unjust, and equally impolitic, to allow an asylum abroad to any religious persuasions which they judged it improper to tolerate at home, and then to deprive them of its protection; recollecting at the same time, in the various changes which our religion and government have undergone, which have in their turns rendered every sort of party and religion obnoxious to the reigning powers, that this American asylum, which has been admitted in the hottest times of persecution at home, has proved of infinite service, not only to the present peace of England, but to the prosperity of its commerce and the establishment of its power. There are a sort of men, who will not see so plain a truth; and they are the persons who would appear to contend most warmly for liberty; but it is only a party liberty for which they contend; a liberty, which they would stretch out one way only to narrow it in another; they are not ashamed of using the very same pretences for persecuting others, that their enemies use for persecuting them.

This colony, as for a long time it had with Pennsylvania

Digitized by Google

the honor of being unstained with any religious persecution, so neither they nor the Pennsylvanians have ever until very lately been harassed by the calamity of any war, offensive or defensive, with their Indian neighbors, with whom they always lived in the most exemplary harmony. Indeed, in a war which the Indians made upon the colony of Virginia, by mistake they made an excursion into the bounds of Maryland; but they were soon sensible of their mistake, and atoned for it. This present war indeed has changed every thing, and the Indians have been taught to laugh at all their ancient alliances.

Maryland, like Virginia, has no considerable town, and for the same reason; the number of navigable creeks and rivers. Annapolis is the seat of government. It is a small but beautifully situated town, upon the river Severn.

Here is the seat of the governor, and the principal custom-house collection. The people of Maryland have the same established religion with those of Virginia, that of the church of England; but here the clergy are provided for in a much more liberal manner, and they are the most decent, and the best of the clergy in North America. They export from Maryland the same things in all respects that they do from Virginia. Their tobacco is about forty thousand hogsheads. The white inhabitants are about forty thousand; the negroes upwards of sixty thousand.

CHAPTER XIX.

ATTEMPTS OF THE FRENCH TO SETTLE CAROLINA—THEY ARE BEAT OFF BY THE SPANIARDS.

It must not be forgot, that we formerly called all the coast of North America by the name of Virginia. The province properly so called, with Maryland and the Carolinas, was known by the name of South Virginia. By the Spaniards it

Digitized by Google

was considered as part of Florida, which country they made to extend from New Mexico to the Atlantic Ocean. By them it was first discovered; but they treated the natives with an inhumanity, which filled them with so violent a hatred to the Spanish name, as rendered their settlement there very difficult; nor did they push it vigorously, as the country showed no marks of producing gold or silver, the only things for which the Spaniards then valued any country. Florida therefore remained under an entire neglect in Europe, until the reign of Charles the Ninth, king of France.

The celebrated leader of the Protestants in that kingdom, the Admiral Chastillon, who was not only a great commander, but an able statesman, was a man of too comprehensive views not to see the advantages of a settlement in America; he procured two vessels to be fitted out for discoveries upon that coast. He had it probably in his thoughts to retire thither with those of his persuasion, if the success, which hitherto suited so ill with his great courage and conduct, should at last entirely destroy his cause in France. These ships in two months arrived upon the coast of America, near the river now called Albemarle, in the province of North Carolina. The French gave the Indians to understand, in the best manner they were able, that they were enemies to the Spaniards, which secured them a friendly reception and the good offices of the inhabitants. They were, however, in no condition to make any settlement.

On their return to France, the admiral, at this time by the abominable policy of the court apparently in great favor, was so well satisfied with the account they had given of the country, that, in 1564, he fitted out five or six ships, with as many hundred men aboard, to begin a colony there. This was accordingly done at the place of their landing in the first expedition. They built a fort here, which they called Fort Charles, as they called the whole country Carolina, in honor of their king then reigning. The Spaniards, who had intelligence of their proceedings, despatched a considerable force to attack this colony, who, not satisfied with reducing it, put all the

Digitized by Google

people to the sword, after quarter given; and, committing great outrages upon the natives, they paved the way for the vengeance which soon after fell upon them for such an unnecessary and unprovoked act of cruelty. For, though the admiral and his party were by this time destroyed in the infamous massacre of St. Bartholomew, and though the design of a colony died with him, one M. de Gorgues, a private gentleman, fitted out some ships, which sailed to that coast purely to revenge the murder of his countrymen and his friends. The Indians greedily embraced the opportunity of becoming associates in the punishment of the common enemy. They joined in the siege of two or three forts the Spaniards had built there; they took them, and, in all of them, put the garrison to the sword without mercy.

Satisfied with this action, the adventurers returned, and, happily for us, the French court did not understand, blinded as they were by their bigotry, the advantages which might have been derived from giving America to the Protestants, as we afterwards did to the Dissenters, as a place of refuge. If they had taken this step, most certainly we should have either had no settlements in America at all, or they must have been small in extent, and precarious in their tenure, to what they are at this day.

CHAPTER XX.

CAROLINA IS SETTLED BY THE ENGLISH—ITS CONSTITUTION—THE LORDS PROPRIETORS RESIGN THEIR CHARTER—MADE A ROYAL GOVERNMENT, AND DIVIDED INTO TWO PROVINCES.

After the French expedition, the country of Carolina remained without any attention from Spaniards, French, or English, until, as we observed in the article of Virginia, Sir Walter Raleigh projected an establishment there. It was not in the part now called Virginia, but in North Carolina, that

Digitized by Google

our first unhappy settlements were made and destroyed. Afterwards the adventurers entered the bay of Chesapeake, and fixed a permanent colony to the northward; so that, although Carolina was the first part of the Atlantic coast of America, which had an European colony, yet, by an odd caprice, it was for a long time deserted by both England and France, who settled with infinitely more difficulty in climates much less advantageous or agreeable.

It was not until the year 1663, in the reign of Charles the Second, that we had any notion of formally settling that country. In that year, the Earl of Clarendon, Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Albemarle, the Lord Craven, Lord Berkeley, Lord Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkeley, and Sir George Colleton, obtained a charter for the property and jurisdiction of that country, from the 31st degree of north latitude to the 36th; and, being invested with full power to settle and govern the country, they had the model of a constitution framed, and a body of fundamental laws compiled, by the famous philosopher, Mr. Locke. On this plan, the lords proprietors themselves stood in the place of the king, gave their assent or dissent, as they thought proper, to all laws, appointed all officers, and bestowed all titles of dignity. In his turn, one of these lords acted for the rest. In the province they appointed two other branches in a good measure analogous to the legislature in England. They made three ranks, or rather classes, of nobility. The lowest was composed of those to whom they had made grants of twelve thousand acres of land, whom they called barons; the next order had twenty-four thousand acres, or two baronies, with the titles of caciques; these were to answer our earls; the third had two caciqueships, or forty-eight thousand acres, and were called landgraves, a title in that province analogous to duke. This body formed the upper house; their lands were not alienable by parcels. The lower house was formed, as it is in the other colonies, of representatives from the several towns or counties. But the whole was not called, as in the rest of the plantations, an assembly, but a parliament.

Digitized by Google

They began their first settlement at a point of land towards the southward of their district, between two navigable rivers, though of no long course, called Ashley and Cooper Rivers; and there laid the foundation of a city, called Charleston, which was designed to be, what it now is, the capital of the province. They expended about twelve thousand pounds in the first settlement. But it was not chiefly to the funds of the lords proprietors, that this province owed its establishment. They observed what advantages the other colonies derived from opening a harbor for refugees; and, not only from this consideration, but from the humane disposition of that excellent man who formed the model of their government, they gave an unlimited toleration to people of all religious persuasions. This induced a great number of dissenters, over whom the then government held a more severe hand than was consistent with justice or policy, to transport themselves with their fortunes and families into Carolina. They became soon at least as numerous as the churchmen; and, though they displayed none of that frantic bigotry which disgraced the New England refugees, they could not preserve themselves from the jealousy and hatred of those of the church of England, who, having a majority in one of the assemblies, attempted to exclude all dissenters from a right of sitting there. This produced dissensions, tumults, and riots every day, which tore the colony to pieces, and hindered it for many years from making that progress which might be expected from its great natural advantages. The people fell into disputes of no less violent a nature with the lords proprietors; and, provoking the Indians by a series of unjust and violent actions, they gave occasion to two wars, in which however they were victorious, and subdued almost all the Indian nations within their own bounds on this side of the Apalachian mountains.

Their intestine distractions and their foreign wars kept the colony so low, that an act of parliament, if possible to prevent the last ruinous consequences of these divisions, put the province under the immediate care and inspection of the crown. The lords proprietors, making a virtue of necessity,

Digitized by Google

accepted a recompense of about twenty-four thousand pounds, both for the property and jurisdiction; except the Earl Granville, who kept his eighth part of the property, which comprehends very near half of North Carolina, on that part which immediately borders upon the province of Virginia. Their constitution, in those points wherein it differed from that of the other colonies, was altered; and the country, for the more commodious administration of affairs, was divided into two distinct independent governments, called North Carolina and South Carolina. This was in the year 1728. In a little time, a firm peace was established with all the neighboring Indian nations, the Cherokees, the Creeks, and the Catawbas; the province began to breathe from its internal quarrels, and its trade has advanced every year since that time with an astonishing rapidity.

CHAPTER XXI.

SITUATION, CLIMATE, ETC., OF CAROLINA—ITS ANIMAL AND VEGETABLE PRODUCTIONS.

These two provinces, lying between the 31st and 36th degrees of latitude, are upwards of four hundred miles in length, and in breadth to the Indian nations near three hundred. The climate and soil in these countries do not considerably differ from those of Virginia; but, where they differ, it is much to the advantage of Carolina, which, on the whole, may be considered one of the finest climates in the world. The heat in summer is very little greater than in Virginia; but the winters are milder and shorter, and the year, in all respects does not come to the same violent extremities. However, the weather, though in general serene as the air is healthy, yet, like all American weather, makes such quick changes, and those so sharp, as to oblige the inhabitants to rather more caution in their dress and diet, than we are obliged to use in Europe.

Digitized by Google

Thunder and lightning is frequent; and it is the only one of our colonies upon the continent which is subject to hurricanes; but they are very rare, and not near so violent as those of the West Indies. Part of the month of March, and all April, May, and the greatest part of June, are here inexpressibly temperate and agreeable, but in July, August, and for almost the whole of September, the heat is very intense; and, though the winters are sharp, especially when the north-west wind prevails, yet they are seldom severe enough to freeze any considerable water, affecting only the mornings and evenings; the frosts have never sufficient strength to resist the noon-day sun, so that many tender plants, which do not stand the winter of Virginia, flourish in Carolina; for they have oranges in great plenty near Charleston, and excellent in their kinds, both sweet and sour. Olives are rather neglected by the planter than denied by the climate. The vegetation of every kind of plant is here almost incredibly quick; for there is something so kindly in the air and soil, that, where the latter has the most barren and unpromising appearance, if neglected for awhile, of itself it shoots out an immense quantity of those various plants and beautiful flowering shrubs and flowers, for which this country is so famous, and of which Mr. Catesby, in his Natural History of Carolina, has made such fine drawings.

The whole country is in a manner one forest, where our planters have not cleared it. The trees are almost the same in every respect with those produced in Virginia; and, by the different species of these, the quality of the soil is easily known; for those grounds which bear the oak, the walnut, and the hickory, are extremely fertile; they are of a dark sand, intermixed with loam, and, as all their land abounds with nitre, it is a long time before it is exhausted; for here they never use any manure. The pine barren is the worst of all; this is an almost perfectly white sand, yet it bears the pine tree and some other useful plants naturally, yielding good profit in pitch, tar, and turpentine. When this species of land is cleared, for two or three years together it produces

Digitized by Google

very tolerable crops of Indian corn and pease; and, when it lies low and is flooded, it even answers well for rice. But, what is the best of all for this province, this worst species of its land is favorable to a species of the most valuable of all its products to one of the kinds of indigo. There is another sort of ground, which lies low and wet upon the banks of some of their rivers; this is called swamp, which in some places is in a manner useless, in others it is far the richest of all their grounds; it is a black fat earth, and bears their great staple rice, which must have in general a rich moist soil, in the greatest plenty and perfection. The country near the sea and at the mouths of the navigable rivers is much the worst; for the most of the land there is of the species of the pale, light, sandy-colored ground; and what is otherwise in those parts is little better than an unhealthy and unprofitable salt marsh; but the country, as you advance in it, improves continually; and at a hundred miles' distance from Charleston, where it begins to grow hilly, the soil is of a prodigious fertility, fitted for every purpose of human life. The air is pure and wholesome, and the summer heats much more temperate than in the flat country; for Carolina is all an even plain for eighty miles from the sea; no hill, no rock, scarce even a pebble to be met with: so that the best part of the maritime country, from this sameness, must want something of the fine effect which its beautiful products would have by a more variegated and advantageous disposition; but nothing can be imagined more pleasant to the eye than the back country, and its fruitfulness is almost incredible. Wheat grows extremely well there, and yields a prodigious increase. In the other parts of Carolina they raise but little, where it is apt to mildew and spend itself in straw; and these evils the planters take very little care to redress, as they turn their whole attention to the culture of rice, which is more profitable, and in which they are unrivaled; being supplied with what wheat they want in exchange for this grain from New York and Pennsylvania.

The land in Carolina is very easily cleared every where, as

Digitized by Google

there is little or no underwood. Their forests consist mostly of great trees at a considerable distance asunder; so that they can clear in Carolina more land in a week, than in the forests of Europe they can do in a month. Their method is to cut them at about a foot from the ground, and then saw the trees into boards, or convert them into staves, heading, or other species of lumber, according to the nature of the wood or the demands at the market. If they are too far from navigation, they heap them together, and leave them to rot. The roots soon decay; and before that, they find no inconvenience from them, where land is so plenty.

The aboriginal animals of this country are in general the same with those of Virginia, but there is yet a greater number and variety of beautiful fowls. All the animals of Europe are here in plenty; black cattle are multiplied prodigiously. About fifty years ago, it was a thing extraordinary to have above three or four cows, now some have a thousand; some in North Carolina a great many more; but to have two or three hundred is very common. These ramble all day at pleasure in the forests; but, their calves being separated and kept in fenced pastures, the cows return every evening to them; they are then milked, detained all night, milked in the morning, and then let loose again. The hogs range in the same manner, and return like the cows, by having shelter and some victuals provided for them at the plantation; these are vastly numerous, and many quite wild; many horned cattle and horses too run wild in their woods; though at their first settlement there was not one of these animals in the country. They drive a great many cattle from North Carolina every year into Virginia, to be slaughtered there; and they kill and salt some beef, and a good deal of pork, for the West Indies, within themselves; but the beef is neither so good, nor does it keep near so long as what is sent to the same market from Ireland. They export a considerable number of live cattle to Pennsylvania and the West Indies. Sheep are not so plenty as the black cattle or hogs, neither is their flesh so good; their wool is very ordinary.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER XXII.

THE COMMODITIES OF CAROLINA FOR EXPORT—RICE, INDIGO, PITCH, AND TAR—PROCESS IN RAISING AND MANUFACTURING THESE COMMODITIES.

The trade of Carolina, besides the lumber, provisions, and the like, which it yields in common with the rest of America, has three great staple commodities, indigo, rice, and the produce of the pine, turpentine, tar, and pitch. The two former commodities South Carolina has entirely to itself; and, taking in North Carolina, this part of America yields more pitch and tar than all the rest of our colonies.

Rice anciently formed by itself the staple of this province; this wholesome grain makes a great part of the food of all ranks of people in the southern parts of the world; in the northern it is not so much in request. Whilst the rigor of the act of navigation obliged them to send all their rice directly to England, to be re-shipped for the markets of Spain and Portugal, the charges incident to this regulation lay so heavy upon the trade, that the cultivation of rice, especially in time of war, when these charges were greatly aggravated by the rise of the freight and insurance, hardly answered the charges of the planter; but now the legislature has relaxed the law in this respect, and permits the Carolinians to send their rice directly to any place to the southward of Cape Finisterre. This prudent indulgence has again revived the rice trade; and, though they have gone largely, and with great spirit, into the profitable article of indigo, it has not diverted their attention from the cultivation of rice; they raise now above double the quantity of what they raised some years ago; and this branch alone of their commerce is, at the lowest estimation, worth one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling annually.

Indigo is a dye made from a plant of the same name,

Digitized by Google

which probably was so called from India, where it was first cultivated, and from whence we had for a considerable time, the whole of what we consumed in Europe. This plant is very like the fern when grown, and when young hardly distinguishable from lucerne grass; its leaves in general are pennated and terminated by a single lobe; the flowers consist of five leaves, and are of the papilionaceous kind; the uppermost petal being larger and rounder than the rest, and lightly furrowed on the side; the lower ones are short, and end in a point; in the middle of the flower is situated the stile, which afterwards becomes a pod, containing the seeds.

They cultivate three sorts of indigo in Carolina, which demand the same variety of soils. First, the French or Hispaniola indigo, which striking a long taproot, will only flourish in a deep rich soil; and therefore, though an excellent sort, is not so much cultivated in the maritime parts of Carolina, which are generally sandy; but no part of the world is more fit to produce it in perfection than the same country, a hundred miles backwards; it is neglected too on another account, for it hardly bears a winter so sharp as that of Carolina.

The second sort, which is the false Guatimala or true Bahama, bears the winter better, is a more tall and vigorous plant, is raised in greater quantities from the same compass of ground, is content with the worst soils in the country, and is therefore more cultivated than the first sort, though inferior in the quality of its dye.

The third sort is the wild indigo, which is indigenous here; this, as it is a native of the country, answers the purposes of the planter the best of all, with regard to the hardiness of the plant, the easiness of the culture, and the quantity of the produce. Of the quality there is some dispute, not yet settled amongst the planters themselves; nor can they as yet distinctly tell when they are to attribute the faults of their indigo to the nature of the plant, to the seasons, which have much influence upon it, or to some defect in the manufacture.

The time of planting the indigo is generally after the first rains succeeding the vernal equinox; the seed is sowed in

Digitized by Google

small straight trenches, about eighteen or twenty inches asunder; when it is at its height, it is generally eighteen inches tall. It is fit for cutting, if all things answer well, in the beginning of July. Towards the end of August, a second cutting is obtained; and, if they have a mild autumn, there is a third cutting at Michaelmas. The indigo land must be weeded every day, and the plants cleansed from worms, and the plantation attended with the greatest care and diligence. About twenty-five negroes may manage a plantation of fifty acres, and complete the manufacture of the drug, besides providing their own necessary subsistence, and that of the planter's family. Each acre yields, if the land be very good, sixty or seventy pounds weight of Indigo; at a medium the produce is fifty pounds. When the plant is beginning to blossom it is fit for cutting; and, when cut, great care ought to be taken to bring it to the steeper, without pressing or shaking it, as a great part of the beauty of the indigo depends upon the fine farina which adheres to the leaves of this plant.

The apparatus for making indigo is pretty considerable, though not very expensive; for, besides a pump, the whole consists only of vats and tubs of cypress wood, common and cheap in this country. The indigo, when cut, is first laid in a vat about twelve or fourteen feet long, and four deep, to the height of about fourteen inches, to macerate and digest. Then this vessel, which is called the steeper, is filled with water; the whole having lain from about twelve to sixteen hours, according to the weather, begins to ferment, swell, rise, and grow sensibly warm: at this time spars of wood are run across to prevent its rising too much, and a pin is then set to mark the highest point of its ascent; when it falls below this mark, they judge that the fermentation has attained its due pitch, and begins to abate; this directs the manager to open a cock, and let off the water into another vat, which is called the beater; the gross matter that remains in the first vat is carried off to manure the ground, for which purpose it is excellent, and new cuttings are put in as long as the harvest of this weed continues.

Digitized by Google

When the water, strongly impregnated with the particles of the indigo, has run into the second vat or beater, they attend with a sort of bottomless buckets, with long handles, to work and agitate it; which they do incessantly, until it heats, froths, ferments, and rises above the rim of the vessel which contains it; to allay this violent fermentation, oil is thrown in as the froth rises, which instantly sinks it. When this beating has continued for twenty, thirty, or thirty-five minutes, according to the state of the weather (for in cool weather it requires the longest continued beating,) a small muddy grain begins to be formed, the salts and other particles of the plant united and dissolved before with the water, are now re-united, and begin to granulate.

To discover these particles the better, and to find when the liquor is sufficiently beaten, they take up some of it from time to time on a plate or in a glass; when it appears in a hopeful condition, they let loose some lime water from an adjacent vessel, gently stirring the whole, which wonderfully facilitates the operation; the indigo granulates more fully, the liquor assumes a purplish color, and the whole is troubled and muddy; it is now suffered to settle; then the clearer part is left to run off into another succession of vessels, from whence the water is conveyed away as fast as it clears at the top, until nothing remains but a thick mud, which is put into bags of coarse linen. These are hung up and left for some time, until the moisture is entirely drained off. To finish the drying, this mud is turned out of the bags, and worked upon boards of some porous timber with a wooden spatula; it is frequently exposed to the morning and evening sun, but for a short time only; and then it is put into boxes or frames, which is called the curing, exposed again to the sun in the same cautious manner, until with great labor and attention the operation is finished, and that valuable drug, called indigo, fitted for the market. The greatest skill and care is required in every part of the process, or there may be great danger of ruining the whole; the water must not be suffered to remain too short or too long a time, either in the steeper or beater; the beating itself must be

Digitized by Google

nicely managed so as not to exceed or fall short; and, in the curing, the exact medium between too much and too little drying is not easily attained. Nothing but experience can make the overseer skilful in these matters.

There are two methods of trying the goodness of indigo; by fire and by water; if it swims it is good, if it sinks it is naught, the heavier the worse; so if it wholly dissolves in water it is good. Another way of proving is, by the fire ordeal; if it entirely burns away, it is good; the adulterations remain untouched.

There is perhaps no branch of manufacture in which so large profits may be made upon so moderate a fund, as that of indigo; and there is no country in which this manufacture can be carried on to such advantage as in Carolina, where the climate is healthy, provision plentiful and cheap, and every thing necessary for that business had with the greatest ease. To do justice to the Carolinians, they have not neglected these advantages; and, if they continue to improve them with the same spirit in which they have begun, and attend diligently to the quality of their goods, they must naturally and necessarily come to supply the whole consumption of the world with this commodity; and consequently make their country the richest, as it is the pleasantest and most fertile, part of the British dominions.

In all parts of Carolina, but especially in North Carolina, they make great quantities of turpentine, tar, and pitch. They are all the produce of the pine. The turpentine is drawn simply from incisions made in the tree; they are made from as great a height as a man can reach with a hatchet; these incisions meet at the bottom of the tree in a point, where they pour their contents into a vessel placed to receive them. There is nothing further in this process. But tar requires a more considerable apparatus and great trouble. They prepare a circular floor of clay, declining a little towards the centre; from this is laid a pipe of wood, the upper part of which is even with the floor, and reaches ten feet without the circumference; under the end the earth is dug away, and barrels

Digitized by Google

placed to receive the tar as it runs. Upon the floor is built up a large pile of pine wood split in pieces, and surrounded with a wall of earth, leaving only a small aperture at the top where the fire is first kindled. When the fire begins to burn, they cover this opening likewise to confine the fire from flaming out, and to leave only sufficient heat to force the tar downwards to the floor. They temper the heat as they please, by running a stick into the wall of clay, and giving it air. Pitch is made by boiling tar in large iron kettles set in furnaces, or burning it in round clay holes made in the earth. The greatest quantity of pitch and tar is made in North Carolina.

CHAPTER XXIII.

NORTH CAROLINA—SOME ACCOUNT OF ITS SETTLEMENT—BAD STATE OF THAT PROVINCE—IS CONSIDERABLY IMPROVED—CHIEF TOWN.

THERE are, in the two provinces which compose Carolina, ten navigable rivers of a very long course, and innumerable smaller ones, which fall into them, all abounding in fish. About fifty or sixty miles from the sea, there are falls in most of the great rivers, which, as you approach their sources, become more frequent. This is the case of almost all the American rivers. At these falls, those who navigate these rivers land their goods, carry them beyond the cataract on horses or wagons, and then reship them below or above it.

The mouths of the rivers in North Carolina form but ordinary harbors, and do not admit, except one at Cape Fear, vessels of above seventy or eighty tons; so that larger ships are obliged to lie off in a sound called Ocracock, which is formed between some islands and the continent. This lays a weight upon their trade by the expense of lighterage. North Carolina, partly upon that occasion, but principally that the first settlements were made as near as possible to the capital, which lies considerably to the southward, was greatly

Digitized by Google

neglected. For a long time it was but ill inhabited, and by an indigent and disorderly people, who had little property, and hardly any law or government to protect them in what they had. As commodious land grew scarce in the other colonies, people in low circumstances, observing that a great deal of excellent and convenient land was yet to be patented in North Carolina, were induced by that circumstance to plant themselves there. Others, who saw how they prospered, followed their example. The government became more attentive to the place as it became more valuable. By degrees something of a better order was introduced; the effect of which is, that, though by no means as wealthy as South Carolina, North Carolina has many more white people; things begin to wear a face of settlement; and the difficulties they have lain under are not so many nor so great, as to make us neglect all future efforts, or hinder us from forming very reasonable expectations of seeing the trade of this country, with proper management, become a flourishing and fruitful branch of the British American commerce. That even now it is far from contemptible, may appear by a list of their exported commodities, which I shall subjoin.

Edenton was formerly the capital of North Carolina, if a trifling village can deserve that denomination; but the present governor, Mr. Dobbs, has projected one further south upon the river Neus; which, though it has the advantage of being something more central, is by no means equally well situated for trade, which ought always to be of the first consideration in whatever regards any of the colonies. However, none of their towns are worth mentioning; the conveniency of inland navigation in all our southern colonies, and the want of handicraftsmen, are great and almost insuperable obstacles to their ever having any considerable.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER XXIV.

AN ACCOUNT OF CHARLESTON—PORT-ROYAL—THE TRADE OF CAROLINA—ITS VAST INCREASE—ARTICLES NOT SUFFICIENTLY ATTENDED TO THERE.

The only town in either of the Carolinas which can draw our attention is Charleston; and this is one of the first in North America for size, beauty, and traffic. Its situation I have already mentioned, so admirably chosen at the confluence of two navigable rivers. Its harbor is good in every respect, but that of a bar, which hinders vessels of more than two hundred tons burden from entering. The town is regularly and pretty strongly fortified both by nature and art; the streets are well cut; the houses are large and well built, and rent extremely high. The church is spacious, and executed in a very handsome taste, exceeding every thing of that kind which we have in America. Here, besides, the several denominations of dissenters have their meeting-houses. It contains about eight hundred houses, and is the seat of the governor and the place of meeting of the assembly. Several handsome equipages are kept here. The planters and merchants are rich and well bred; the people are showy and expensive in their dress and way of living; so that every thing conspires to make this by much the liveliest and politest place, as it is one of the richest too, in all America.

The best harbor in this province is far to the southward, on the borders of Georgia, called Port-Royal. This might give a capacious and safe reception to the largest fleets of the greatest bulk and burden; yet the town, which is called Beaufort, built upon an island of the same name with the harbor, is not as yet considerable, but it bids fair in time for becoming the first trading town in this part of America.

The import trade of South Carolina from Great Britain and the West Indies is the same in all respects with that of the

Digitized by Google

rest of the colonies, and is very large. Their trade with the Indians is likewise in a very flourishing condition. As for its export, both the nature of that and its prodigious increase may be discerned from the following comparative tables, which let us see how much this colony has really advanced in a few years; as an attentive consideration of its natural advantages must show us how much it must advance, if properly managed, as there is scarce any improvement of which this excellent country is not capable.

Exported from Charleston,

In the year 1731,		In the year 1754,	
Rice,	41,957 barrels	Rice,	104,682 barrels
Indigo,	100,000 pounds	Indigo,	216,924 pounds
Deerskins,	300 hhds.	Deerskins,	460 hhds. 114 bund. 508 loose
Pitch,	10,750 barrels	Pitch,	5,869 barrels
Tar,	2,063 do.	Tar,	2,945 do.
Turpentine,	759 do.	Turpentine,	759 do.
Beef, pork, &c. not particularized.		Beef,	416 do.
		Pork,	1,560 do.
		Indian corn,	16,428 bush.
		Pease,	9,162 do.
		Tanned leather,	4,196 cwt.
		Hides in the hair,	1,200
		Shingles,	1,114,000
		Staves,	206,000
		Lumber,	395,000 feet.

Besides a great deal of live cattle, horses, cedar, cypress, and walnut plank; beeswax, myrtle, and some raw silk and cotton.

North Carolina, which is reputed one of the least flourishing of our settlements, and which certainly lay under great difficulties, yet is within a few years greatly improved. The consequence of this inferior province may appear by the following view of its trade, which I can take upon me to say is not very far from being exact; it is at least sufficiently so to enable us to form a proper idea of this province, and its commerce.

Digitized by Google

Exported from all the ports of North Carolina in 1753,

Tar,	61,528 barrels
Pitch,	12,055 do.
Turpentine,	10,429 do.
Staves,	762,330
Shingles,	2,500,000
Lumber,	2,000,647 feet
Corn,	61,580 bushels
Pease, about	10,000 do.
Pork and Beef,	3,300 barrels
Tobacco, about	100 hogsheads
Tanned leather, about	1,000 cwt.
Deerskins, in all ways, about	30,000.

Besides a very considerable quantity of wheat, rice, bread, potatoes, beeswax, tallow, candles, bacon, hogs' lard, some cotton, and a vast deal of squared timber of walnut and cedar, and hoops and headings of all sorts. Of late they raise indigo, but in what quantity I cannot determine, for it is all exported from South Carolina. They raise likewise much more tobacco than I have mentioned, but this, as it is produced on the frontiers of Virginia, so it is exported from thence. They export too no inconsiderable quantity of beaver, raccoon, otter, fox, minx, and wild cats' skins, and in every ship a good deal of live cattle, besides what they vend in Virginia. Both in North and South Carolina they have made frequent, but I think not vigorous nor sufficiently continued efforts in the cultivation of cotton and silk. What they have sent home of these commodities is of so excellent a kind, as to give us great encouragement to proceed in a business which we have not taken to heart with all that warmth which its importance in trade and the fitness of the climate for these most valuable articles certainly deserve. It was a long time before this province went into the profitable trade of indigo, notwithstanding a premium subsisted a good many years for all that should be

Digitized by Google

raised in our plantations. The thing was at first despaired of, and it was never judged that Carolina could produce this drug; but no sooner had a few shown a spirited and successful example, than all went into it so heartily, that, though it is but about six years since they began, I am informed that five hundred thousand weight was made last year; and as they go on, in a very little time they will supply the market with a commodity, which before we purchased every ounce from the French and Spaniards. Silk requires still more trouble, and a closer attention; as yet it proceeds with languor, nor will a premium alone ever suffice to set on foot in a vigorous manner a manufacture which will find great difficulties in any country, which does not abound in hands that can work for very trifling wages. The want of this advantage in Carolina, though no part of the world is fitter for this business, and no business could be so advantageous to England, will, for a very long time, be an impediment to the manufacture of raw silk, unless some proper, well studied, and vigorously executed scheme be set on foot for that purpose; and surely it is a matter worthy of a very serious consideration. America is our great resource; this will remain to us when other branches of our trade are decayed, or exist no more; and therefore we ought to grudge no expense that may enable them to answer this end so effectually, as one day to supply the many losses we have already had, and the many more we have but too much reason to apprehend, in our commerce. These expenses are not like the expenses of war, heavy in their nature, and precarious in their effects; but, when judiciously ordered, the certain and infallible means of rich and successive harvests of gain to the latest posterity, at the momentary charge of a comparatively small quantity of seed, and of a moderate husbandry to the present generation.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER XXV.

SETTLEMENT OF GEORGIA—REASONS FOR IT—THE PLAN OF THE SETTLEMENT DEFECTIVE—ATTEMPTS TO REMEDY IT.

In the year 1732, the government, observing that a great tract of land in Carolina, upon the borders of the Spanish Florida, lay waste and unsettled, resolved to erect it into a separate province, and to send a colony thither. This they were the rather induced to do, because it lay on the frontier of all our provinces, naked and defenceless; whereas, if it could be properly settled, it would be a strong barrier to them upon that side, or at least would be sufficient to protect Carolina from the incursions which the Indians, instigated by the French or Spaniards, might make upon that province. They had it likewise in their view to raise wine, oil, and silk, and to turn the industry of this new people from the timber and provision trade, which the other colonies had gone into too largely, into channels more advantageous to the public. Laudable designs in every respect; though perhaps the means which were taken to put them in execution were not altogether answerable.

That whole country which lies between the rivers Savannah and Alatamaha north and south, and from the Atlantic Ocean on the east to the great South Sea upon the west, was vested in trustees; at the end of that period, the property in chief was to revert to the crown. This country extends about sixty miles from north and south near the sea, but widens in the more remote parts to above one hundred and fifty. From the sea to the Apalachian mountains it is not much short of three hundred.

In pursuance of the original design, the trustees resolved to encourage poor people to settle in the province, which had been committed to their care; and to this purpose found them in necessaries to transport them into a country, of which they

Digitized by Google

had previously published a most exaggerated and flattering description. In reality, the country differs little from South Carolina, but that the summers are yet hotter, and the soil in general of a poorer kind. The colony was sent over under the care of Mr. Oglethorpe, who very generously bestowed his own time and pains, without any reward, for the advancement of the settlement.

The trustees had very well observed, that many of our colonies, especially that of South Carolina, had been very much endangered, both internally and externally, by suffering the negroes to grow so much more numerous than the whites. An error of this kind, they judged, in a colony which was not only to defend itself, but to be in some sort a protection to the others, would have been inexcusable; they, for that reason, forbid the importation of negroes into Georgia. In the next place, they observed that great mischiefs happened in the other settlements from making vast grants of land, which the grantees jobbed out again to the discouragement of the settlers; or, what was worse, suffered to lie idle and uncultivated. To avoid this mischief, and to prevent the people from becoming wealthy and luxurious, which they thought inconsistent with the military plan upon which this colony was founded, they allowed in the common course of each family but twenty-five acres; and none could, according to the original scheme, by any means come to possess more than five hundred. Neither did they give an inheritance in fee simple, or to the heirs general of the settlers, but granted them their lands inheritable only by their male issue. They likewise forbid the importation of rum into the province, to prevent the great disorders which they observed to arise in the other parts of North America from the abuse of spirituous liquors.

These regulations, though well intended and meant to bring about very excellent purposes, yet it might at first, as it did afterwards, appear that they were made without sufficiently consulting the nature of the country or the disposition of the people which they regarded. For, in the first place, as the

Digitized by Google

climate is excessively hot, and field work very laborious in a new colony, as the ground must be cleared, tilled, and sowed, all with great and incessant toil for their bare subsistence, the load was too heavy for the white men, especially men who had not been seasoned to the country. The consequence of which was, that the greatest part of their time, all the heat of the day, was spent in idleness, which brought certain want along with it. It is true, that all our colonies on the continent, even Virginia and Carolina, were originally settled without the help of negroes. The white men were obliged to the labor, and they underwent it, because they then saw no other way; but it is the nature of man not to submit to extraordinary hardships in one spot, when they see their neighbors on another, without any difference in the circumstances of things, in a much more easy condition. Besides, there were no methods taken to animate them under the hardships they endured. All things contributed to dispirit them.

A leveling scheme in a new colony is a thing extremely unadvisable. Men are seldom induced to leave their country, but upon some extraordinary prospects; there ought always to be something of a vastness in the view that is presented to them, to strike powerfully upon their imagination; and this will operate, because men will never reason well enough to see, that the majority of mankind are not endued with dispositions proper to make a fortune any where, let the proposed advantages be what they will. The majority of mankind must always be indigent; but in a new settlement they must be all so, unless some persons there are on such a comfortable and substantial footing as to give direction and vigor to the industry of the rest; for, in every well-contrived building, there must be strong beams and joists, as well as smaller bricks, tiles, and laths. Persons of substance found themselves discouraged from attempting a settlement, by the narrow bounds which no industry could enable them to pass; and the design of confirming the inheritance to the male line was an additional discouragement. The settlers found themselves not upon a par with the other colonies. There was an

Digitized by Google

obvious inconvenience in leaving no provision at all for females, as in a new colony the land must be, for some time at least, the only wealth of the family. The quantity of twenty-five acres was undoubtedly too small a portion, as it was given without any consideration of the quality of the land, and was therefore in many places of very little value. Add to this, that it was clogged, after a short free tenure, with a much greater quitrent than is paid in our best and longest settled colonies. Indeed, through the whole manner of granting land, there appeared, I know not what low attention to the trifling profits that might be derived to the trustees or the crown by rents and escheats, which clogged the liberal scheme that was first laid down, and was in itself extremely injudicious. When you have a flourishing colony, with extensive settlements, from the smallest quitrents the crown receives a large revenue; but, in an ill-settled province, the greatest rents make but a poor return, and yet are sufficient to burden and impoverish the people.

The tail male grants were so grievous, that the trustees themselves corrected that error in a short time. The prohibition of rum, though specious in appearance, had a very bad effect. The waters in this unsettled country, running through such an extent of forest, were not wholesome for drinking, and wanted the corrective of a little spirit, as the settlers themselves wanted something to support their strength in the extraordinary and unusual heat of the climate, and the dampness of it in several places disposing them to agues and fevers. But, what was worse, this prohibition in a manner deprived them of the only vent they had for the only commodities they could send to market, lumber and corn, which could sell nowhere but in the sugar islands, and, with this restriction of negroes and rum, they could take very little from them in return.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER XXVI.

COLONY NEW MODELED—FAULTS IN THE NEW CONSTITUTION—TRADE OF THIS PROVINCE.

All these and several other inconveniences, in the plan of the settlement, raised a general discontent in the inhabitants; they quarreled with one another and with their magistrates; they complained; they remonstrated; and, finding no satisfaction, many of them fled out of Georgia, and dispersed themselves where they deemed the encouragement better, to all the other colonies. So that of above two thousand people, who had transported themselves from Europe, in a little time not above six or seven hundred were to be found in Georgia; so far were they from increasing. The mischief grew worse and worse every day, until the government revoked the grant to the trustees, took the province into their own hands, and annulled all the particular regulations that were made. It was then left exactly on the same footing with Carolina.

Though this step has probably saved the colony from entire ruin, yet it was not perhaps so well done to neglect entirely the first views upon which it was settled. These were undoubtedly judicious; and, if the methods taken to compass them were not so well directed, it was no argument against the designs themselves, but a reason for some change in the instruments designed to put them in execution. Certainly nothing wants a regulation more, than the dangerous inequality in the number of negroes and whites in such of our provinces where the former are used. South Carolina, in spite of its great wealth, is really in a more defenceless condition than a knot of poor townships on the frontiers of New England. In Georgia, the first error of absolutely prohibiting the use of negroes might be turned to very good account; for they would have received the permission to employ them under what qualifications soever, not as a restriction, but as

Digitized by Google

a favor and indulgence; and by executing whatever regulations we should make in this point with strictness, by degrees we might see a province fit to answer all the ends of defence and traffic too; whereas we have let them use such a latitude in that affair, which we were so earnest to prevent, that Georgia, instead of being any defence to Carolina, does actually stand in need of a considerable force to defend itself.

As for the scheme of vines and silk, we were extremely eager in this respect in the beginning, and very supine ever since. At that time such a design was clearly impracticable; because a few people seated in a wild country must first provide every thing for the support of life, by raising corn and breeding cattle, before they can think of manufactures of any kind; and they must grow numerous enough to spare a number of hands from that most necessary employment, before they can send such things in any degree of cheapness or plenty to a good market. But now there is little said of either of these articles, though the province is longer settled and grown more populous. But the misfortune is, that, though no people upon earth originally conceive things better than the English do, they want the unremitting perseverance which is necessary to bring designs of consequence to perfection. We are apt suddenly to change our measures upon any failure; without sufficiently considering whether the failure has been owing to a fault in the scheme itself. This does not arise from any defect peculiar to our people, for it is the fault of mankind in general, if left to themselves. What is done by us is generally done by the spirit of the people; as far as that can go we advance, but no further. We want political regulations, and a steady plan in government, to remedy the defects that must be in all things, which depend merely on the character and disposition of the people.

At present, Georgia is beginning to emerge, though slowly, out of the difficulties that attended its first establishment. It is still but indifferently peopled, though it is now twenty-six years since its first settlement. Not one of our colonies was of so slow a growth, though none had so much of the atten-

Digitized by Google

tion of the government or of the people in general, or raised so great expectations in the beginning. They export some corn and lumber to the West Indies; they raise some rice, and of late are going with success into indigo. It is not to be doubted but in time, when their internal divisions are a little better composed, the remaining errors in the government corrected, and the people begin to multiply, they will become a useful province.

Georgia has two towns already known in trade; Savannah the capital, which stands very well for business about ten miles from the sea, upon a noble river of the same name, which is navigable two hundred miles further for large boats, to the second town, called Augusta. This stands upon a spot of ground of the greatest fertility, and is so commodiously situated for the Indian trade, that, from the first establishment of the colony, it has been in a very flourishing condition, and maintained very early six hundred whites in that trade alone. The Indian nations on their borders are the upper and lower Creeks, the Chickasaws, and the Cherokees, who are some of the most numerous and powerful tribes in America. The trade of skins with this people is the largest we have; it takes in that of Georgia, the two Carolinas, and Virginia. We deal with them somewhat in furs likewise, but they are of an inferior sort. All species of animals, that bear the fur, by a wise providence, have it more thick, and of a softer and finer kind, as you go to the northward; the greater the cold, the better they are clad.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER XXVII.

NOVA SCOTIA—THE TIME AND REASONS OF ITS SETTLEMENT—FRENCH THERE—CLIMATE AND SOIL—ANNAPOLIS, HALIFAX AND LUNENBURG.

THE last province we have settled, or rather began to settle, upon the continent of North America, is Nova Scotia. This vast province, called by the French Acadie, has New England and the Atlantic Ocean to the south and south-west, and the river and gulf of St. Lawrence to the north and north-east. It lies between the 44th and 50th degrees of north latitude, and, though in a very favorable part of the temperate zone, has a winter of an almost insupportable length and coldness, continuing at least seven months in the year. To this immediately succeeds, without the intervention of any thing that may be called spring, a summer of a heat as violent as the cold, though of no long continuance; and they are wrapt in the gloom of a perpetual fog, even long after the summer season has commenced. In most parts, the soil is thin and barren, the corn it produces of a shriveled kind like rye, and the grass intermixed with a cold spongy moss. However, it is not uniformly bad; there are tracts in Nova Scotia, which do not yield to the best land in New England.

Unpromising as this country is, yet, neglecting all those delightful tracts to the southward, it was here that some of the first European settlements were made. The French seated themselves here before they made any establishment in Canada. But whatever unaccountable ignorance influenced their choice, the industry and vigor of that time deserve our applause; for, though they had infinitely more difficulties to struggle with than we have at this day, and not the hundredth part of the succors from Europe, yet they subsisted in a tolerable manner, and increased largely; when the colony which in our days we have fixed there, if the support of the royal

Digitized by Google

hand was withdrawn but for a moment, after all the immense sums which have been expended in its establishment, would undoubtedly sink into nothing. It is with difficulty it subsists, even encouraged and supported as it is. Yet the design of establishing a colony here, with whatever difficulties it might have been attended, was a very prudent measure; for the French would undoubtedly have profited of our neglects, and have by some means got this country into their hands, to the great annoyance of all our colonies, and to the great benefit both of their fishery and their sugar islands.

This country has frequently changed hands from one private proprietor to the other, and from the French to the English nation, backward and forward; until the treaty of Utrecht established our right in it finally, as the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle confirmed it. But both were deficient in not ascertaining distinctly what bounds this province ought to have. This was left to be adjusted by commissaries. Whilst they were debating, the French built forts, and secured such a part of the province as they were resolved to hold. I have not, throughout this work, chosen to enter into territorial disputes, because they convey very little private instruction, and do nothing at all towards the establishment of the public rights; yet it is difficult to avoid remarking, that the line which the French have drawn in Nova Scotia is not only not drawn by any treaty, but that it is very apparently calculated to secure them those parts of the province which they value most, and, at the same time, to pay an apparent respect to the treaty of Utrecht by leaving us some part of Acadia.

The chief town we had formerly in this province was called Annapolis Royal; but, though the capital, it was a small place, wretchedly fortified, and yet worse built and inhabited. Here were stationed the remains of a regiment, which continued there, very little recruited, since the reign of Queen Anne; but though this place never flourished, it stood upon the very best harbor, as it is said, in North America; but it was not here, but on the south-east side of the peninsula, that the settlement, resolved and executed with so much spirit at

Digitized by Google

the end of the last war, was established. This too stands upon a fine harbor, very commodiously situated, and rather better than Annapolis for the fishery. The town is called Halifax from the present earl, to whose wisdom and care we owe this settlement. In 1743, three thousand families, at an immense charge to the government, were transported into this country at once, and (I think) three regiments stationed there to protect them from the Indians, who have always showed themselves our most implacable enemies. The town is large, and, for so new a settlement well built. It has a good intrenchment of timber, strengthened with forts of the same materials, so as to be in little danger, at least from an Indian enemy.

Though this town of Halifax has, all things considered, a tolerable appearance, the adjacent country is not improved in proportion; the ground is very hard to be cleared, when cleared does not produce a great deal, and labor is extravagantly dear. But this colony has suffered more from the incursions of the Indians than from any thing else. Their incursions have been so frequent, and attended with such cruelties, the people can hardly extend themselves beyond the cannon of the fort, nor attend their works of agriculture even there without the greatest danger. The consequence of this is, that they do not raise the fifth part of what is sufficient to maintain them. Most of their provision of every sort comes from New England, and they must have starved if it were not for the fishery, which it must be owned is not contemptible, and for some little naval stores, and the pay of the garrison, the spending of which here is the principal use of the troops; against the Indian enemy they are of very little effect; though there are three regiments, and all the fighting men the Indians can raise in that province are not five hundred. The soldiers, inactive by their confinement in their barracks, diseased for the most part with the scurvy, and debilitated by the use of spirituous liquors, are quite an undermatch for the activity, vigilance, patience, and address of the American. A company of wood rangers kept constantly to scour the country near our

Digitized by Google

settlements, and a small body of Indians who might be brought at an easy rate from the friendly tribes who inhabit our other settlements, and encouraged by a reward for what scalps they should bring home, sent to infest the enemy, amongst their own habitations, would have protected our colony, and long ago extirminated the Indians, or reduced them to a useful subjection, since unfortunately we have not the secret of gaining their affections. The easy plan I have mentioned would not have had half the expense attending it, that the maintenance of a numerous and almost useless garrison has had. A little experience will show to the most ordinary understandings, what hardly any sagacity could have without it unveiled to the most penetrating statesman. It was a want of this experience that caused another mistake of almost as bad a nature. Until the beginning of this war, a number of the ancient French colony, some say ten or twelve thousand souls, remained in the country, and were called and treated in a manner as a neutral people, though they ought to have been the king's subjects; but they yielded very little obedience to the crown of England, as in truth they had from us very little protection; and they were even accused of encouraging the Indian incursions, and supplying them with arms and ammunition to annoy our people. Had we erected in their country a little fort, and in it kept a small garrison, to be maintained by that people themselves, appointed magistrates, and made them know the benefit and excellency of the British laws, and, at the same time, impressed them with a dread of the British power; we might have saved many useful people to this colony, and prevented the necessity (if it was a necessity) of using measures, which, if they are not impolitic, are certainly such as a humane and generous mind is never constrained to but with regret.

Besides Annapolis and Halifax, we have another settlement a little to the south-west of the latter, called Lunenburg. This is a branch of Germans from Halifax, who, being discontented at the infertility of the soil there, desired to go where there was better land to be had, undertaking their own defence;

Digitized by Google

accordingly they settled where they desired, to the number of seven or eight hundred, and succeed tolerably well. Upon a tumult which arose amongst them, the governor sent a party of soldiers to protect them from their own discords, and from the enemy. This province is yet but in its beginning; and therefore, except in prospect, can afford us no great subject-matter of speculation.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE ISLAND OF NEW FOUNDLAND—THE FISHERY THERE—THE BERMUDAS—THEIR SETTLEMENT AND TRADE—THE BAHAMAS.

To the east of this province lies the great isle of Newfoundland, above three hundred miles long, and two hundred broad, extending quite up to New Britain, and forming the eastern boundary of the gulf of St. Lawrence. This island, after various disputes about the property, was entirely ceded to England by the treaty of Utrecht. From the soil of this island we were far from reaping any sudden or great advantage; for the cold is long-continued and intense; and the summer heat, though violent, warms it not enough to produce any thing valuable; for the soil, at least in those parts of the island with which we are acquainted (for we are far from knowing the whole) is rocky and barren. However, it hath many large and safe harbors; and several good rivers water it. This island, whenever the continent shall come to fail of timber convenient to navigation (which perhaps is no very remote prospect) will afford a copious supply for masts, yards, and all sorts of lumber, for the West India trade. But what at present it is chiefly valuable for, is the great fishery of cod, which is carried on upon those shoals which are called the Banks of Newfoundland. In that the French and Spaniards, especially the former, have a large share. Our share of this fishery is computed to increase the national stock by three

Digitized by Google

hundred thousand a year, in gold and silver, remitted us for the cod we sell in the north, in Spain, Portugal, Italy, and the Levant. The plenty of cod both on the great bank and the lesser ones which lie to the east and south-east of this island, is inconceivable; and not only cod, but several other species of fish are there in abundance. All these species are nearly in an equal plenty all along the shores of New England, Nova Scotia, and the isle of Cape Breton; and consequently excellent fisheries are carried on upon all their coasts. Where our American colonies are so ill peopled, or so barren as not to produce any thing from their soil, their coasts make us ample amends, and pour in upon us a wealth of another kind, and no way inferior to the former, from their fisheries.

We have in North America, besides this, two clusters of islands; the Bermudas or Summer Islands, at a vast distance from the continent, in latitude 31, and the Bahama islands. The former were very early settled, and were much celebrated in the time of the civil wars; when several of the cavalier party being obliged to retire into America, some of them, in particular Mr. Waller, the poet, spent some time in this island. Waller was extremely enamored with the serenity of the air, and the beauty and richness of the vegetable productions of these islands; he celebrated them in a poem, which is fine but unequal, written by him upon this subject.

The Bermudas are but small; not containing in all upwards of twenty thousand acres. They are very difficult of access, being, as Waller expresses it, walled with rocks. What has been said of the clearness and serenity of the air, and of the healthiness of the climate, was not exaggerated; but the soil could never boast of an extraordinary fertility. Their best production was cedar, which was superior to any thing of the kind in America. It is still so, though diminished considerably in quantity, which has, as it is imagined, changed the air much for the worse; for now it is much more inconstant than formerly; and several tender vegetables, which flourished here at the first settlement, being deprived of their shelter and exposed to the bleak northerly winds, are seen no more.

Digitized by Google

The chief and indeed only business of these islanders is the building and navigating of light sloops and brigantines, built with their cedar, which they employ chiefly in the trade between North America and the West Indies. These vessels are as remarkable for their swiftness, as the wood of which they are built is for its hard and durable quality. They export nothing from themselves but some white stone to the West Indies and some of their garden productions. To England they send nothing. Formerly they made a good deal of money of a sort of hats for women's wear of the leaves of their palmettos, which, whilst the fashion lasted, were elegant; but the trade and the fashion are gone together.

Their whites are computed to be about five thousand, the blacks which they breed are the best in America, and as useful as the whites in their navigation. The people of the Bermudas are poor but healthy, contented, and remarkably cheerful. It is extremely surprising that they do not set themselves heartily to the cultivation of vines in this island, to which their rocky soil seems admirably adapted; and their situation and the manner of trade they are already engaged in, would facilitate the distribution of their wine to every part of North America and the West Indies.

The Bahamas are situated to the south of Carolina, from latitude 22 to 27; and they extend along the coast of Florida quite down to the Isle of Cuba; and are said to be five hundred in number; some of them only mere rocks; but a great many others large, fertile, and in nothing differing from the soil of Carolina. All are however absolutely uninhabited, except Providence, which is neither the largest nor the most fertile.

This island was formerly a receptacle for the pirates, who, for a long time, infested the American navigation. This obliged the government to erect a fort there, to station an independent company in the island, and to send thither a governor. This island has at present not much trade, some oranges it sends to North America excepted. However, in time of war, it makes considerably by the prizes condemned

Digitized by Google

here; and, in time of peace, by the wrecks, which are frequent in this labyrinth of innumerable rocks and shelves.

This is all the benefit we derive from so many large and fertile islands, situated in such a climate as will produce any thing, and which, as it is never reached by any frosts, would yield in all probability even sugars of as good a sort, and in as great abundance, as any islands in the West Indies. Nothing more fully shows the present want of that spirit of adventure and enterprise, which was so common in the two last centuries, and which is of such infinite honor and advantage to any time or nation, than that these islands so situated can lie unoccupied, whilst we complain of the want of land proper for sugar, and whilst an hundred pounds an acre is sometimes paid for such in the Caribbees. This point, to any who will be at the pains of studying the situation of these islands, and the consequences which may result from the improvement or neglect of them, will appear of no small importance: and perhaps an inquiry into the causes of the strange degree of backwardness in which they are at present, may be a very prudent and perhaps a necessary measure.

CHAPTER XXIX.

HUDSON'S BAY—ATTEMPTS FOR THE DISCOVERY OF A NORTH-WEST PASSAGE—THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY—THOUGHTS UPON ITS TRADE—CLIMATE AND SOIL OF THE COUNTRIES THERE—CONCLUSION.

The countries about Hudson's and Baffin's Bays make the last object of our speculation in America. The knowledge of these seas was owing to a project for the discovery of a north-west passage to China. So early as the year 1576 this noble design was conceived; since then, it has been frequently dropped; it has often been revived; it is not yet completed; but was never despaired of by those whose knowledge and

Digitized by Google

spirit make them competent judges and lovers of such undertakings. Frobisher only discovered the main of New Britain, or Terra de Labrador, and those straits to which he has given his name. In 1585, John David sailed from Dartmouth, and viewed that and the more northerly coasts; but he seems never to have entered the bay.

Hudson made three voyages on the same adventure, the first in 1607, the second in 1608, and his third and last in 1610. This bold and judicious navigator entered the straits that lead into this new Mediterranean, coasted a great part of it, and penetrated to eighty degrees twenty-three minutes into the heart of the frozen zone. His ardor for the discovery not being abated by the difficulties he struggled with in this empire of winter and world of frost and snow, he staid here until the ensuing spring, and prepared in the beginning of 1611 to pursue his discoveries; but his crew, who suffered equal hardships without the same spirit to support them, mutinied, seized upon him and seven of those who were most faithful to him, and committed them to the fury of the seas in an open boat. Hudson and his companions were either swallowed up by the waves, or, gaining the inhospitable coast which they water, were destroyed by the savages; but his fate so calamitous cannot so much discourage a generous mind from such undertakings, as the immortality of his name, which he has secured by having given it to so great a sea, will be a spur to others to expect an equal honor, and perhaps with better success.

From the first voyage of Frobisher an hundred and ten years ago, to that of Captain Ellis, notwithstanding so many disappointments, the rational hopes of this grand discovery have grown greater by every attempt, and seem to spring even out of our very failures. The greater swell of the tides in the inner part of the bay than near the straits, an appearance so unknown in any other inland seas, and the increase of this swell with westerly winds, seem, without any other arguments, to evince the certain existence of such a passage as we have so long sought without success.

Digitized by Google

But though we have hitherto failed in the original purpose for which we navigated this bay, yet such great designs even in their failures bestow a sufficient reward for whatever has been expended upon them. In 1670, the charter was granted to a company for the exclusive trade to this bay, and they have acted under it ever since with great benefit to the private men who compose the company, though comparatively with little advantage to Great Britain. It is true, that their trade in beavers and other species of furs is not inconsiderable, and it is a trade in itself of the best kind; its object enters largely into our manufactures, and carries nothing but our manufactures from us to procure it; and thus it has the qualities of the most advantageous kinds of traffic. The company has besides pretty large returns in beaver and deer skins. It is said that the dividends of this company are prodigious; far exceeding what is gained in any of the other great trading bodies; yet their capital is small; they seem little inclined to enlarge their bottom, and appear strongly possessed with that spirit of jealousy that prevails in some degree in all knots and societies of men endued with peculiar privileges. The officers of the company have behaved to those who wintered within their jurisdiction in search of the north-west passage (one of the purposes for which the company itself was originally instituted) in such a manner as to give us the truest idea of this spirit. If I had been singular in this opinion, I should have expressed my sentiments with much greater diffidence; but this abuse has been often and loudly complained of. It would appear astonishing that this trade has not hitherto been laid open, if, in the perplexing multiplicity of affairs that engages our ministry, something must not necessarily pass unredressed.

The vast countries which surround this bay all abound with animals, whose fur is excellent, and some of kinds which are not yet brought into commerce; and the company is very far from any attempt to stretch this trade to its full extent. If the trade were laid open, it seems of necessity that three capital advantages would ensue; first, that the trade going into a

Digitized by Google

number of rival hands, with a more moderate profit to individuals, would consume a much greater quantity of our manufactures, employ more of our shipping and seamen, and of course bring home more furs; and, by lowering the price of that commodity at home, increase the demand of those manufactures into which they enter at the foreign markets; it might bring home other species of furs than those we deal in at present, and thus open new channels of trade, which in commerce is a matter of great consideration. Secondly, this more general intercourse would make the country better known, it would habituate great numbers of our people to it; it would discover the most tolerable parts for a settlement; and thus, instead of a miserable fort or two, time might show an English colony at Hudson's Bay, which would open the fur trade yet more fully, and increase the vent of our manufactures yet further. Thirdly, this more general trade on the bay would naturally, without any new expense or trouble whatsoever, in a very short space of time, discover to us the so much desired north-west passage, or show us clearly and definitely that we ought to expect no such thing. These advantages, and even yet more considerable ones, would be derived from laying open this trade, under such proper regulations as the nature of the object would point out of itself.

No colony has been hitherto attempted at Hudson's Bay. The company has two inconsiderable forts there. The country is every where barren; to the northward of the bay even the hardy pine tree is seen no longer, and the cold womb of the earth is incapable of any better production than some miserable shrubs. The winter reigns with an inconceivable rigor for near nine months of the year; the other three are violently hot, except when the north-west wind renews the memory of the winter. Every kind of European seed, which we have committed to the earth in this inhospitable climate, has hitherto perished; but in all probability, we have not tried the seed of corn from the northern parts of Sweden and Norway; in such cases, the place from whence the seed comes is of great moment. All this severity and long continuance

Digitized by Google

of winter, and the barrenness of the earth which arises from thence, is experienced, in the latitude of 51; in the temperate latitude of Cambridge. However, it is far from increasing uniformly as you go northwards. Captain James wintered in Charlton island in latitude 51. He judged that the climate here was to be deemed utterly uninhabitable on account of the surprising hardships which he suffered; yet the company has a fort several degrees more to the northward, where their servants make a shift to subsist tolerably. It is called Fort Nelson, and is in the latitude 54.

All the animals of these countries are clothed with a close, soft, warm fur. In summer there is here, as in other places, a variety in the colors of the several animals; when that is over, they all assume the livery of winter, and every sort of beasts, and most of their fowls are of the color of the snow; every thing animate and inanimate is white. This is a surprising phenomenon. But what is yet more surprising, and what is indeed one of those striking things that draw the most inattentive to an admiration of the wisdom and goodness of Providence, is, that the dogs and cats from England, that have been carried into Hudson's Bay, on the approach of winter have entirely changed their appearance, and acquired a much longer, softer, and thicker coat of hair than they had originally. As for the men of the country, Providence there, as every where else, has given them no provision but their own art and ingenuity, and they show a great deal in their manner of kindling a fire, in clothing themselves, and in preserving their eyes from the ill effects of that glaring white which every where surrounds them for the greatest part of the year; in other respects they are very savage. In their shapes and faces, they do not resemble the Americans who live to the southward; they are much more like the Laplanders and Samoeids of Europe, from whom they are probably descended. The other Americans seem to be of a Tartar original.

I have now finished upon my plan the survey of the English colonies in America. I flatter myself that so full an idea has not been given of them before in so narrow a compass.

Digitized by Google

By this the reader will himself be enabled to judge, for it is not my design to preoccupy his judgment in these particulars, how our colonies have grown, what their vegetative principle has been, in what vigor it subsists, or what signs of corruption appear in any of them; how far we have pursued the advantages which our situation and the nature of the country have given us; or, where we have pursued them, whether we have gone to the ultimate point. He will see how far the colonies have served the trade of the mother country, and how much the mother country has done or neglected to do towards their happiness and prosperity. Certainly our colonies deserve, and would fully reward, an attention of a very different kind from any that has ever yet been given to them. Even as they are circumstanced, I do not in the least hesitate to say that we derive more advantage, and of a better kind, from our colonies, than the Spaniards and Portuguese have from theirs, abounding as they are with gold and silver and precious stones; although in ours there is no appearance at all of such dazzling and delusive wealth. But then I conceive it might be made very clear, that, had they yielded us these splendid metals in lieu of what they now produce, the effect would be far less to our advantage. Our present intercourse with them is an emulation in industry; they have nothing that does not arise from theirs, and what we receive enters into our manufactures, excites our industry, and increases our commerce; whereas gold is the measure or account, but not the means, of trade. And it is found in nations as it is in the fortunes of private men, that what does not arise from labor, but is acquired by other means, is never lasting. Such acquisitions extinguish industry, which is alone the parent of any solid riches.

The barbarism of our ancestors could not comprehend how a nation could grow more populous by sending out a part of its people. We have lived to see this paradox made out by experience, but we have not sufficiently profited of this experience; since we begin, some of us at least, to think that there is a danger of dispeopling ourselves by encouraging new colonies, or increasing the old. If our colonies find, as hitherto

Digitized by Google

they have constantly done, employment for a great number of hands, there is no danger but that hands will be found for the employment. That a rich, trading, and manufacturing nation should be long in want of people is a most absurd supposition; for besides that the people within themselves multiply the most where the means of subsistence are most certain, it is as natural for people to flock into a busy and wealthy country, that by any accident may be thin of people, as it is for the dense air to rush into those parts where it is rarefied. He must be a great stranger to this country, who does not observe in it a vast number of people, whose removal from hence, if they could be of any use elsewhere, would prove of very little detriment to the public.

I have already observed, that the trade of our colonies deserves a more particular attention than any other, not only on account of the advantages I have just mentioned, but because our attention is sure of being sufficiently rewarded. The object is in our own power; it is of a good kind; and of such extent and variety, as to employ nobly the most inventive genius in those matters. Foreign politics have something more splendid and entertaining than domestic prudence; but this latter is ever attended, though with less glaring, yet with infinitely more solid, secure, and lasting advantages. The great point of our regard in America ought therefore to be, the effectual peopling, employment, and strength of our possessions there; in a subordinate degree, the management of our interests with regard to the French and Spaniards. The latter we have reason to respect, to indulge, and even perhaps to endure; and more, it is probable, may be had from them in that way than by the violent methods which some have so warmly recommended, and still urge, though we have had some experience to convince us of their insufficiency. But the nature of the French, their situation, their designs, every thing has shown that we ought to use every method to repress them, to prevent them from extending their territories, their trade, or their influence, and above all to connive at not the least encroachment; but this is in such a manner as not to strain our

Digitized by Google

own strength, or turn our eyes from serving ourselves by attempts to distress them. But as we are now in the midst of a war, until that is decided, it will be impossible to say any thing satisfactory on our connections with French America, until we see what the next treaty of peace will do in the distribution of the territory of the two nations there.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE ROYAL, PROPRIETARY, AND CHARTER GOVERNMENTS—LAWS OF THE COLONIES—PAPER CURRENCY—ABUSES IN IT—ANOTHER SORT OF MONEY PROPOSED.

The settlement of our colonies was never pursued upon any regular plan; but they were formed, grew, and flourished, as accidents, the nature of the climate, or the dispositions of private men, happened to operate. We ought not therefore to be surprised to find, in the several constitutions and governments of our colonies, so little of any thing like uniformity. It has been said that there is scarce any form of government known, that does not prevail in some of our plantations; the variety is certainly great and vicious; but the latitude of the observation must be somewhat restrained; for some forms they are certainly strangers to. To pass over several, nothing like a pure hereditary aristocracy has ever appeared in any of them.

The first colony which we settled was that of Virginia. It was governed for some time by a president and a council, appointed by the crown; but when the people were increased to a considerable body, it was not thought reasonable to leave them longer under a mode of government so averse from that which they had enjoyed at home. They were therefore empowered to elect representatives for the several counties into which this province is divided, with privileges resembling those of the representatives of the commons in England. The per-

Digitized by Google

sons so elected form what is called the lower house of assembly. This was added to the council which still subsisted, and the members of which were, and to this day are, nominated by the crown, as at the first; and they are not only nominated by the crown but hold their seats during the king's pleasure, as signified by his governor. They are styled honorable, and are chosen from the persons of the best fortunes and most considerable influence in the country. They form another branch of the legislature, and are sometimes called the upper house of assembly. They answer in some measure to the house of peers in our constitution. As the lower house of assembly is the guardian of the people's privileges, the council is appointed chiefly to preserve the prerogative of the crown, and to secure the dependence of the colony; it is the more effectually to answer these ends, that the members of the council only are appointed during pleasure.

When any bill has passed the two houses, it comes before the governor, who represents the king, and gives his assent or negative, as he thinks proper. It now acquires the force of a law, but it must be afterwards transmitted to the king and council in England, where it may still receive a negative that takes away all its effect. The upper house of assembly not only forms a part of the legislature of the colony, but it acts as a privy council to the governor, without whose concurrence he can do nothing of moment. It sometimes acts as a court of chancery. This is the common form of government, and the best too that is in use in the plantations. This is the manner of government in all the islands in the West Indies; in Nova Scotia; in one province of New England, and, with some restriction, in another; in New York, New Jersey, Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia. This form is commonly called a royal government.

The second form in use in our settlements in America is called a proprietary government. At our first planting that part of the world, it was not difficult for a person who had interest at court, to obtain large tracts of land, not inferior in extent to many kingdoms; and to be invested with a power

Digitized by Google

very little less than regal over them; to govern by what laws, and to form what sort of constitution, he pleased. A dependence upon the crown of England was shown only by the payment of an Indian arrow, a few skins, or some other trifling acknowledgment of the same nature. We had formerly many more governments of that sort, than we have at present; in the West Indies, the island of Barbadoes was granted to the Earl of Carlisle; and we have seen a like grant made of the island of St. Lucia to the Duke of Montague in this age, which, after an infinite charge to that benevolent nobleman, came to nothing, by a sort of tacit allowance of the French claim to it. This was in 1722, when our connection with France hindered us from exerting our rights with the necessary vigor. Carolina was formerly a government of this kind, but it was lodged in eight proprietaries. How they parted with their rights we have seen already. New Jersey was likewise a proprietary government; but this too failed like the others. The only governments in this form which remain at present, but considerably abridged of their privileges, are Pennsylvania and Maryland. In the latter, the constitution exactly resembles that of the royal governments; a governor, council, and assembly of the representatives of the people; but the governor is appointed by the proprietary, and approved by the crown. The customs are reserved to the crown likewise; and the officers belonging to them are independent of the government of the province. In Pennsylvania, the proprietary is under the same restrictions that limit the proprietary of Maryland, on the side of the crown; on the side of the people, he is yet more restrained; for their legislature has but two parts, the assembly of the people and the governor; so that the governor, wanting the great influence which the council gives in other places, whenever his sentiments differ from those of the assembly, is engaged in a very unequal contest.

The third form is called a charter government. This originally prevailed in all the provinces of New England; and still remains in two of them, Connecticut and Rhode Island.

Digitized by Google

By the charters to these colonies, the exorbitant power, which was given in the proprietary governments to single men, was here vested, and I apprehend much more dangerously, in the whole body of the people. It is to all purposes a mere democracy. They elect every one of their own officers, from the highest to the lowest; they displace them at pleasure; and the laws which they enact are valid without the royal approbation. This state of unbounded freedom, I believe, contributed in some degree to make those settlements flourish; but it certainly contributed as much to render their value to their mother country far more precarious, than a better digested plan would have done, that might have taken in the interests both of Great Britain and of the new settlement. The truth is, nothing of an enlarged and legislative spirit appears in the planning of our colonies; the charter governments were evidently copied from some of our corporations at home, which, if they are good institutions themselves, yet are by no means fit to be imitated by a new people going into a remote country, far from the eye and hand of the supreme power. What may be a useful institution for an inferior member of some great body, and closely united to it, may be not at all proper for a new settlement, which is to form a sort of dependent commonwealth in a remote part of the world. Here the ends to be answered are, to make the new establishment as useful as possible to the trade of the mother country; to secure its dependence; to provide for the ease, safety, and happiness of the settlers; to protect them from their enemies, and to make an easy and effectual provision to preserve them from the tyranny and avarice of their governors, or the ill consequences of their own licentiousness; that they should not, by growing into an unbounded liberty, forget that they were subjects, or, lying under a base servitude, have no reason to think themselves British subjects. This is all that colonies, according to the present and best ideas of them, can or ought to be. The charter governments had nothing of this in view, and consequently provided for it but very indifferently.

Digitized by Google

The province of Massachusetts Bay, which is partly a government of this popular kind, but tempered with something more of the royal authority, seems to be on still a worse footing, through the one error of having no established provision for the governor. This one mischief is productive of a thousand others, because the governor in a manner is obliged to keep intrigues and devices on foot, to reconcile the various parts which he must act, and is necessitated to govern by faction and cabal. Hence it is that the charges of this one government are greater than those not only of the other provinces of New England taken together, but of those of Pennsylvania and New York added to them; they are deeply in debt, they are every day plunging deeper, their taxes increase, and their trade declines.

It has been an old complaint, that it is not easy to bring American governors to justice for mismanagements in their province, or to make them refund to the injured people the wealth raised by their extortions. Against such governors at present there are three kinds of remedy; the privy council, the king's bench, and the parliament. The council, on just cause of complaint, may remove the governor; the power of the council seems to extend no further. The king's bench may punish the governors for their offences committed in America as if done in England. The power of parliament is unlimited in the ways of inquiry into the crime, or of punishing it. The first of these remedies can never be sufficient to terrify a governor grown rich by iniquity, and willing to retire quietly, though dishonorably, to enjoy the fruits of it. The king's bench, or any other merely law court, seems equally insufficient for this purpose; because offences in government, though very grievous, can hardly ever be so accurately defined as to be a proper object of any court of justice, bound up by forms and the rigid letter of the law. The parliament is equal to every thing; but whether party, and other bars to a quick and effectual proceeding, may not here leave the provinces as much unredressed as in the other courts, I shall not take upon me to determine.

Digitized by Google

The law in all our provinces, besides those acts which from time to time they have made for themselves, is the common law of England, the old statute law, and a great part of the new, which in looking over their laws I find many of our settlements have adopted, with very little choice or discretion. And indeed the laws of England, if in the long period of their duration they have had many improvements, so they have grown more tedious, perplexed, and intricate, by the heaping up many abuses in one age, and the attempts to remove them in another. These infant settlements surely demanded a more simple, clear, and determinate legislation, though it were of somewhat an homelier kind; laws suited to the time, to their country, and the nature of their new way of life. Many things still subsist in the law of England, which are built upon causes and reasons that have long ago ceased; many things are in those laws suitable to England only. But the whole weight of this ill-agreeing mass, which neither we nor our fathers were well able to bear, is laid upon the shoulders of these colonies, by which a spirit of contention is raised, and arms offensive and defensive are supplied, to keep up and exercise this spirit, by the intricacy and unsuitableness of the laws to their object. And thus, in many of our settlements, the lawyers have gathered to themselves the greatest part of the wealth of the country; men of less use in such establishments than in more settled countries, where the number of people naturally sets many apart from the occupations of husbandry, arts, or commerce. Certainly our American brethren might well have carried with them the privileges which make the glory and happiness of Englishmen, without taking them encumbered with all that load of matter, perhaps so useless at home, without doubt so extremely prejudicial in the colonies.

Laws themselves are hardly more the cement of societies than money; and societies flourish or decay according to the condition of either of these. It may be easily judged, as the balance of trade with Great Britain is very much against the colonies, that therefore whatever gold or silver they may re-

Digitized by Google

ceive from the other branches of their commerce, makes but a short stay in America. This consideration at first view would lead one to conclude, that in a little time money for their ordinary circulation would be wanting; and this is apparently confirmed by experience. Very little money is seen amongst them, notwithstanding the vast increase of their trade. This deficiency is supplied, or, more properly speaking, it is caused, by the use of money of credit, which they commonly call paper currency. This money is not created for the conveniency of traffic, but by the exigences of the government, and often by the frauds and artifices of private men for their particular profit. Before this invention, money was indeed scarce enough in America; but they raised its value, and it served their purpose tolerably. I shall forbear entering into the causes that increased the charges of government so greatly in all our American provinces. But the execution of projects too vast for their strength made large sums necessary. The feeble state of a colony which had hardly taken root in the country could not bear them; and to raise sudden and heavy taxes would destroy the province without answering their purpose. Credit then came in aid of money, and the government issued bills to the amount of what they wanted, to pass current in all payments; and they commonly laid a tax, or found some persons willing to engage their lands as security, for gradually sinking this debt, and calling in these bills. But before the time arrived at which these taxes were to answer their end, new exigences made new emissions of paper currency necessary; and thus things went from debt to debt, until it became very visible that no taxes which could be imposed could discharge them; and that the land securities given were often fraudulent, and almost always insufficient. Then the paper currency became no longer to be weighed against the credit of the government, which depended upon its visible revenue. It was compared to the trade, to which it was found so disproportionate, that the bills fell ten, twenty, fifty, and eighty per cent. in some places. It was to no purpose that the government used every method to keep

Digitized by Google

up their credit, and even to compel the receiving of these bills at the value for which they were emitted, and to give no preference over them to gold and silver; they were more and more depreciated every day; whilst the government every day emitted more paper, and grew less solicitous about their old bills, being entirely exhausted to find means of giving credit to the new.

It is easy to perceive how much the intercourse of business must suffer by this uncertainty in the value of money, when a man receives that in payment this day for ten shillings, which to-morrow he will not find received from him for five, or perhaps for three. Real money can hardly ever multiply too much in any country, because it will always as it increases be the certain sign of the increase of trade, of which it is the measure, and consequently of the soundness and vigor of the whole body. But this paper money may, and does increase, without any increase of trade, nay often when it greatly declines, for it is not the measure of the trade of the nation, but of the necessity of its government; and it is absurd, and must be ruinous, that the same cause which naturally exhausts the wealth of a nation, should likewise be the only productive cause of money.

The currency of our plantations must not be set upon a level with the funds in England. For besides that the currency carries no interest to make some amends for the badness of the security; the security itself is so rotten, that no art can give it any lasting credit; as there are parts of New England wherein, if the whole stock and the people along with it were sold, they would not bring money enough to take in all the bills which have been emitted.

I hope it is not too late to contrive some remedy for this evil, as those at the head of affairs here are undoubtedly very solicitous about so material a grievance. I should imagine that one current coin for the whole continent might be struck here, or there, with such an alloy as might at once leave it of some real value, and yet so debased as to prevent its currency elsewhere, and so to keep it within themselves. This ex-

Digitized by Google

pedient has been practised, and with success, in several parts of Europe; but particularly in Holland, a country which undoubtedly is perfectly acquainted with its commercial interest.

Digitized by Google

THE

EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE

OF

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE

AND

DR. FRENCH LAURENCE.

PUBLISHED FROM THE

ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

PREFACE.

THE name of EDMUND BURKE has been so long and so justly celebrated, that to publish any authentic correspondence of that distinguished statesman must be alone sufficient to recommend it. The Correspondence which is now made public, took place towards the conclusion of his life, at the momentous era of the French Revolution, the termination of which Providence did not permit him to behold; and it was carried on with one, whom he had selected, as the associate of his labors, and the depositary of his most secret thoughts.

A Life of Mr. Burke has been lately given to the world, scanty indeed in point of materials, but written with precision and impartiality. Dr. Laurence was himself engaged in the same undertaking; but he did not leave behind him any important materials for his projected work; for the history of no common man, whose talents, judgment, and intrepidity gave a color to the events of no common period.

The intimate friendship between Mr. Burke and Dr. Laurence commenced with the trial of Mr. Hastings. When that friendship was duly cemented, the former took no literary or political step without consulting the latter, who entered into all his views, and assisted in all his undertakings, with warmth and sincerity. The celebrated work, entitled "Reflections on the Revolution in France," was communicated to Dr. Laurence, as it was from time to time composed; and was submitted to his revision. The public acknowledgment of a

Digitized by Google

similar revision was made in the following advertisement prefixed to the second edition of "An Appeal from the Old to the New Whigs:" "There are some corrections in this edition, which tend to render the sense less obscure in one or two places. The order of the two last members is also changed, and I believe for the better. This change was made on the suggestion of a very learned person, *to the partiality of whose friendship I owe much; to the severity of whose judgment I owe more.*"

An opinion prevailed, when this second edition appeared, that the very learned person here alluded to was Mr. Windham; but the Editor remembers to have heard Mr. Burke himself, when the mistake was mentioned to him, with a smile and a joke, correct it; for Mr. Windham had not at that time combated with Mr. Burke, as he afterwards did, heart and hand, against the terrific spirit of jacobinism. He was even suspected by his illustrious friend as being a little tinctured with French principles. The fact however perhaps only was, that he did not, at so early a period, and in so strong a point of view, perceive their alarming tendency—but, with the exception of Laurence, who indeed did?

What harmony of political feeling existed between the two persons, whose Correspondence is now first given to the public, that Correspondence itself will best shew. To the one, whose name can only perish with the records of his country, the Editor would be justly censured, were he, in the scanty limits of a preface, to attempt more than a bare allusion; but of the other, he hopes that he may with propriety give a brief memoir; of a scholar and a statesman, whom through life he loved and admired, and with whom he was connected by the closest ties of friendship and affection.

Dr. French Laurence was born 3d April, 1757. He was the eldest son of Mr. Richard Laurence, a tradesman, and a member of the Corporation, at Bath, highly esteemed as a man of talent and integrity. Both his parents were natives of Warminster in Wiltshire. His grandfather by the father's side was an attorney; his grandfather by the mother's side,

Digitized by Google

whose name was French, a clothier, in that town.* The family of Laurence came from Lancashire; that of French from the country of Galway in Ireland.

He was educated at Winchester College, under Dr. Joseph

* *An Account of the extraordinary Conversion of Mr. John French; by Mr. Rogers, then Vicar of Warminster. In a Letter to the Bishop of Salisbury.*

"Upon my first being placed in this large and populous parish by Bishop Sherlock, it was not only my duty, but at the same time, my pleasure, to get acquainted with, and be informed of, the characters, dispositions, and opinions of those, whom I was sent to instruct. Among them, I soon found a gentleman, much respected for his sense and understanding, (Mr. John French) and looked upon as an oracle within the circle of his acquaintance. He was tolerably well skilled in the mathematics, and read the classics with ease. 'Twas very rare, and somewhat extraordinary must have happened, if ever he neglected attending church on Sundays. He always brought with him his Greek Testament, in which he read with the minister the several portions of Scripture, as they were appointed. But I soon learnt, that all his friends held him to be a rank Deist, and quickly discovered, that at church the One Supreme God was the sole object of his faith and worship—for whenever the "Gloria Patri" was said or sung, I could not but observe his inattention, by wiping his spectacles, shutting his book, gazing about him, or the like. The same was observable at the repeating of either of the Creeds. He was, however, always decent, and whatever were his particular notions, he never troubled the world with them. I lived with him in strict harmony and friendship many years, almost eighteen. He had many moral excellences—was, in particular, very charitable, and much beloved by the poor. He would never enter on any religious points, and if at any time they happened to be started, was generally silent, or, at the most, said but little. We styled him "the Philosopher," a character he much affected, both in his garb and carriage, being altogether careless in the one, and not a little unpolished in the other. About six months since, his health began to be impaired, and his decline seemed to be coming on apace. I watched every opportunity to get at his religious notions, and instil others. Unhappily for him, he was too reserved (as he afterwards confessed); nor could he venture to open his mind to me, when he could not but know that his end was drawing near. The Monday before he died on the Friday following, I went to see him, purposely to lay hold on any favorable opportunity that might then offer of my inculcating the necessity, and importance of Faith. But I left him, as I found him, fully convinced in my own mind, that he was resolved to leave the world in the faith of those principles he had embraced, whatever they were, without communicating them to me or any one else. I did not, however, think his time so very near as it afterwards proved, for he walked out, and dined abroad the next day, and "better" was his reply to all who kindly asked how he was. On the Thursday following, in the afternoon, as I was visiting another sick person, three messengers came after

Digitized by Google

Warton, and there exhibited proofs of early genius. In the month of March 1773, before he had quite completed his sixteenth year, his father died. It appears, however, from the following passage in a letter from his father to him, while

me, on the heels of each other, to hasten me to him. They all urged he was impatient to see me immediately. I soon went, and found him sitting by his fire, in his chair, as usual. He thanked me for coming, hoped it was not inconvenient, and then calmly desired me, to do my office by him. I asked him what part? His answer was, to administer to him the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. This gave me the opportunity I had long wished for: I immediately put the following question to him, viz. whether he renounced those principles he must know himself to be charged with; of which, too, he could not suppose me to be ignorant; and whether he embraced the faith of a crucified Savior, Jesus, through whom alone he could be saved? With a becoming warmth, he replied, "*I do.*" And with indignation he added, that he renounced and abhorred those principles, that had, all his days, misled him—withal reflecting on the folly and unhappy circumstances of those, who build their hopes of security on the moral fitness of things. "In proof of my sincerity, look there, sir," says he, pointing to the fire, "You see the ashes of two books, not quite consumed. They are the remains of two, that have helped to mislead me, ('Woolston against the Miracles,' and a volume of Deistical Tracts): I intended to have burnt them before you, as a mark of my sincerity, but was impatient with resentment against their contents, and will, if it please God I ever get to my closet again, where are more of the same stamp, burn the remainder." Thus upon the fall of Deism, an opening was given me to implant the saving truths of the Gospel. To inculcate its truths, indeed was needless: he had read, heard, and fully remembered them; and to enforce them in their spiritual sense, here the grace of God prevented me; for I had no sooner attempted it, than he freely acknowledged, that he had found and felt the power of the gospel of Christ unto salvation. He found, he said, all other schemes ineffectual, and the Gospel alone efficacious to his comfort and support. He then witnessed, *as to Place* and *Posture*, wherein it pleased God to illuminate his understanding, to embrace those saving truths he had long rejected, and he rejoiced in the light thereof. Here again, he repeated his earnest desire of being made partaker of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, joining issue with me in one great truth, which he remembered ofttimes to have heard me inculcate from the pulpit—That no true, sincere Christian could ever abstain from that ordinance, and which he promised never to neglect again, (as he hoped in sincerity) if it were God's will to give him life, which he did not expect. More passed, much to the same purpose: In fine, my answer was (not apprehending his end to be so very near) that the morning was the best time for such an act of faith, when, if he persevered in the same pious and devout frame of mind, I would attend him early. So I left him for that night, after having commended him in prayer to God. Friday morning, at nine o'clock, I accordingly attended him, not a little surprized to find him so

Digitized by Google

at Winchester School (without a date,) and which is now in the Editor's possession, that he had written an Ode, worth criticism, even at that very early age. "As to your Ode," his father tells him, "I think the part which relates to Shakspeare the best. Some of that I think may be called fine; so is the former part, which relates to Spenser, till you enter on his Allegorical Romance, which is only a bare recital, without entering into the beautiful description and poetical imagery of the author. The lines on Milton are animated; but I wished you had joined some specimens of the tender and pathetic, to those which you gave us of War and Uproar. They are to be found in him. Don't let this discourage you. You desired me to be particular, and perhaps I may have been too rigid. However my opinion of it on the whole is, that it is a much better poem than I could have expected from you, and superior to Mr. Garrick's Ode on Shakspeare."

Shortly perhaps after the Ode alluded to was written, he composed another, upon the subject of the aërial Beings of Shakspeare, which was given up as a school exercise at Winchester in

weak, as to be unable to rise out of his bed; I found him, however, quite composed, much rejoiced to see me, and full of the same good thoughts I had left him in the night before, still earnestly desirous of receiving, what he had all his days rejected. I then administered to him the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which he received with all the outward marks of faith and devotion, and, as he was pleased to tell me, with the highest satisfaction and comfort. Being engaged to visit, and to do the same office by another sick person, the same morning, I soon left him to God and his own thoughts—with a promise to call upon him morning and evening, as long as he lived. But I saw him no more, for about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, after having said to those about him, he thought he should not live to see me fulfil the kind promise I had made him, he expired without a groan.

"Such was the conversion of Mr. John French, justly, I think, so called, beyond many modern ones the world has of late been made acquainted with: a marvelous work of God, as it must be acknowledged to have been. To Him be the glory given, and may a like degree of light break in upon the hearts of all others who are as yet in unbelief, that they may all be brought to the acknowledgment of the truth as it is in Jesus."

"October, 1760.

The Editor, anxious that so valuable a document as the preceding letter should not be lost to the public, has given it a place here.

Digitized by Google

the same year in which his father died, (1773.) Of this, Dr. Warton, in a letter to Dr. Laurence, dated 13th June, 1799, thus speaks: "I was not forgetful of the promise I made you to communicate to you the *first copy* of your Ode on Shakspeare; which I prize highly as an early proof of true genius, and from which I should not part and deliver into any other hands but those of the author."

Possessing a transcript of this first copy communicated to him by his old and revered master, Dr. Warton, at that time retired from the cares of a public school, and resident at Wickham, in Hampshire, I here give it verbatim according to that copy, as at least a literary curiosity,—and what so good a judge as Dr. J. Warton justly deemed "an early proof of true genius."

ODE

ON

THE WITCHES AND FAIRIES OF SHAKSPEARE.

STROPHE I.

O Guardian of that sacred land,
Where Avon's wood-crowned waters stray;
Thou, whose all-powerful magic wand
The thronged ideal train obey;
Who dartest on swift eagle-wings
Beyond * the flaming bound of things;
O Fancy, hear. 'T is thine alone,
Fast by the Lyric Muse,
Her listening offspring to inspire,
And, ere they strike Apollo's golden lyre,
In their big breasts to pour Castalia's genuine dews.

* Flammantia mœnia mundi. *Lucret.*

Digitized by Google

ANTISTROPHE I.

Deem not my lips profane would praise
A Name unknown to thy chaste ear:
No. Shakspeare now demands my lays,
Shakspeare, to thee, to Phœbus dear.
And O! how at that mighty name
My swelling breast hath caught the flame.
Come then, O Fancy, bend thy bow,
With me the Muse's arrows throw,
At Avon's favored streams;
For there full oft thy secret feet
Nightly have trod, thy darling Son to meet,
And wave before his eye thy gayly-glittering dreams.

EPODE I.

At Shakspeare's happy birth,
With fire etherial Jove his soul endowed;
Then bade him spurn the narrow bounds of Earth,
And sordid wishes of the groveling crowd,
That chain the free-born mind. "And take," he said,
"This sacred charge, O Fancy; to his sight,
Glancing in all their colors, be displayed
The airy forms that sport in thy pure fields of light,
For his vast mind, with innate wisdom fraught,
Beyond what taught
The bards of yore
Thy trackless regions boldly shall explore,
I guiding. Thus, O Goddess, have I sworn;
And now is come the fated hour;
Earth now shall see, and own thy power,
Forth beaming in thy Son. Be Shakspeare born."

STROPHE II.

So spake the God. With eager joy
Thou didst prevent his high behest,
And, gazing on the immortal Boy,
Thrice snatch him fondly to thy breast;
Then rushing from the heavenly height
The winds to Avon bore thy flight.

Digitized by Google

There in old Arden's* inmost shade
Far from the Sun, thy Spirits laid
The Heaven-entrusted Child;
And as before his purged eyes
Thou badest oft their sportive train arise,
With silence fixed he saw, looked up to thee and smiled.

ANTISTROPHE II.

Thy hand his youthful footsteps led
Beneath the pale Moon's beam serené,
Where, tripping light with wanton tread,
The Fairies marked the mazy green; †
While some the blighting cankers kill,
Some drive the clamorous Owl away,
That nightly wonders at their play;
Some pant in nobler war
To' invade the hostile Rear-mice crew,
And sheathed in glittering arms of filmy dew,
Their spears of thorn erect round Oberon's nutshell car.

EPODE II.

But oh! what sudden gloom,
What horror overcasts the lowering day?
How yawns that shagged Cave, whose dreary womb
Ne'er felt the genial Sun's enlivening ray,
Black, noisome, cheerless! Lo! how all around
With feeble cries the gliding Spectres throng!
Hark! how I hear with hollow tremulous sound,
The solemn-muttered Spell, and horrid magic Song!
Save me! what withered forms my soul affright!
By the pale light
Of yon blue fire,
I know their scowling fronts, their wild attire.
See through the glimmering darkness of the cave,
By Padoke warned, their rites they sing,
And slowly walk in dismal ring
Around the charmed Cauldron's bubbling wave!

* Arden. The old name for the woodland part of Warwickshire, which the Avon divides from the feldon or champaign part.

† Vide the Midsummer Night's Dream.

Digitized by Google

STROPHE III.

What howling whirlwinds rend the sky!
How shakes that ivy-mantled Tower!
The conscious Sun turns back his eye,
And Nature, trembling, owns their power.
For whom at yonder livid flame
Do ye the deed without a name?
Ye secret Hags, whence breathes this sound?
Why sinks that cauldron in the ground?
Why do these thunders roll?
Tell me, what means that armed head?
Why comes that bloody Child?—The Hags are fled;
They vanished into air.—Amazement wrung my soul.

ANTISTROPHE III.

Whither, ye Beldames, do ye roam?
Love ye wild Lapland's gothic night?
None now shall tread that cavern's gloom,
Nor spy your dreadful mystic rite.
None now shall see, in yonder plain,
The gambols of Titania's train.
No more the Elves with printless pace *
The Ocean's ebbing waters chase,
Or fly the swelling tide;
Nor over the wide-watered shore †
Sit, listening to the Curfew's sullen roar;
Nor nightly mushrooms make along the mountain's side.

EPODE III.

Arial! who sees thee now
Upon the Bat's wing sail along the sky?
Who sees thee sit upon the blossomed bough,
Bask on the rose, or in the cowslips lie?
No more shalt thou upon the sharp north run,
Or pierce into the earth, or tread the main;
No more with clouds bedim the mid-day Sun,

* Vide The Tempest.
† Vide Milton's Il Penseroso.

Digitized by Google

Or fire angry bolts, or pour the rattling rain.
For who can wield like Shakspeare's skilful hand
That magic wand,
Whose potent sway
The Elves of Earth and Air and Sea obey?
Yet, Fancy, once again on Britain smile;
Yet choose some favorite Son again
O'er all thy boundless realms to reign:
O! give another Shakspeare to our Isle!

This Ode he afterwards, while yet a youth, corrected and enlarged; when it was set to music by Lindley, the father-in-law of Sheridan, and performed as an Oratorio in London; a compliment, which, while it flattered his feelings, contributed not a little to extend the admiration of his poetical talents.

But this was not the only production by which he was distinguished, while he was still a boy at school. The death of his father deeply affected him; of a father who had loved him with the tenderest affection, had marked with pride the early energies of his mind, and had treated him, almost from infancy more like a man than a child. While the impression caused by that melancholy event hung heavy on his soul, he composed an Elegy upon the subject, which, in point of feeling and expression would not have disgraced a poet of maturer years.

ELEGY

ON

THE DEATH OF A FATHER.

We must submit.—Why, then, with grief oppress,
Why sinks my soul beneath her load of woe?
The voice of Wisdom cannot calm this breast,
Nor dry these tears, which Nature bids to flow.

Digitized by Google

All-fostering Sun! vain is thy genial power;
Thou shinest but for him from sorrow free.
In vain Spring paints each blooming fragrant flower,
Their bloom, their fragrance, all is lost to me.

Ye dear Companions of my sports, with you
How late I mixed, as thoughtless and as gay!—
Vain sports, that charmed my happier hours, adieu!
Adieu, ye fields, where once I loved to stray!

Ah me! then all was joy. Yon echoing mead
Beheld me foremost of the youthful train;
Each pleasing toil yon hill beheld me lead.—
When, when, blest days, will ye return again?*

I now must weep amid the lonely woods,
Which ne'er the hateful eye of day pervades;
Where sadly-silent Melancholy broods,
"Breathing a browner horror on the shades."†

O may no foot intruding mark this place!
Leave me, here leave me, to enjoy my grief!
For He is lost. Oh, wretched orphan race!
Oh, heavy loss! oh, wound beyond relief!

Thou best of Fathers! Where, ah! where was I,
When on thee fell the ruthless arm of Death?
Why, why did Heaven this little boon deny,
Thine eyes to close, and catch thy struggling breath?

Why did not I embrace thy limbs, yet warm,
And follow with slow steps thy mournful bier?
Why did not I the last sad rites perform,
And o'er thy grave indulge the pious tear?

Hadst thou no parting kind farewell to give,
When o'er thy face a Wife distracted hung?
Hadst thou no blessing on thy race to leave?
Cruel Disease! why didst thou chain his tongue?

* Quando, quando tales
Redibunt oculis meis sopores?
† Pope's Eloisa to Abelard.

Digitized by Google

Cruel Disease! And am I left behind?
Why do I call on thee, O Death, in vain?
What is life now? What can this aching mind
Of joy or solace feel? All here is pain.

When absent long, with many a fond caress,
My raptured Mother looks away her care;
When round with eager love my Brothers press;
Now shall I meet that love? Thou art not there.

In vain round every scene my eyes I roll,
Scenes, that could once wake transports in my heart;
They but recall thy image to my soul,
While from my eyes the tears unbidden start.

No more can Bath with all her pleasures charm;
No more the waving fields, the verdant lawn,
The distant-lowing herds, the cultured farm,
One cheerful thought can raise;—for Thou art gone!

In serious converse joined,* the mountain path,
Where fed the pendulous flocks, full oft we wore,
And, as we trod the flowery vale beneath,
Thy tongue oft formed my mind to Virtue's lore.

And art thou dead? Who shall direct my youth?
Who my rash feet from Pleasure's snares defend?
Who shall point out the winding paths of Truth,
Like thee, my guide, my guardian, Father, Friend?

And art thou dead? O! to what friend sincere
Shall thy defenceless orphan Children fly?
Who shall protect them? Who shall wipe the tear
That streams unceasing from Affliction's eye?

To Thee alone we look, thou Sire of all!
'Tis thine to shield the helpless orphan's head;
'Tis thine to listen to affliction's call,
And on our wounds the balm of Comfort shed.

* The hill joining to Claverton Down, where the late Ralph Allen, Esq. built the shell of a Castle.

Digitized by Google

At the age of seventeen he was elected to a scholarship of Corpus Christi College in the University of Oxford, which he reluctantly continued to retain, in compliance with the earnest solicitations of his friends, when he might have been subsequently admitted to a fellowship of New College, the pride and delight of every Wykehamist. He was originally intended for the church; in which profession it was supposed, that Corpus afforded a better prospect of preferment than New College. He did not however take orders; and consequently, according to the statutes of his College, was obliged to relinquish his prospects at Corpus, when he became, in the course of succession, an actual Fellow.

His connections in Oxford were extensive; and these, after he had taken his Master's degree, naturally attracted him, with little importunity, to the great mart of pleasure and talent, the metropolis. There he soon turned his thoughts to the study of the law; and with that view took chambers in the Middle Temple. It was at this period, that embarking in politics, and connecting himself with the friends of Mr. Fox,* he employed his poetical talents in the service of that party, to which he was attached; and became a writer in the Rolliad, Probationary Odes, and other fugitive productions of the day. Most of those hasty compositions, which originally appeared in newspapers, he collected; and having corrected them with the consent of their respective authors, published them in distinct pamphlets. The Editor possesses a complete copy of these pamphlets, bound together and presented to him by Dr. Laurence, who added to every paper, in his own hand-writing, the initials of its author's name, with occasional remarks†. Tickell, the brother-in-law of Sheridan,

* Mr. Fox's flattering opinion of him was once communicated to him, in the hearing of the Editor, by Sir Joshua Reynolds.—"Fox remarked," said Sir Joshua, "that you were one of the most extraordinary men he ever knew; alluding, I suppose," added Sir Joshua with a smile, when he saw the effect upon Dr. L.'s countenance, "to your great size and gigantic exertions."

† From this volume (containing the eighth edition of the Criticisms on the Rolliad) it appears that Dr. Laurence contributed the following papers: The

Digitized by Google

appears to have been a considerable contributor to the collection.

But the impeachment of Mr. Hastings first brought him into public notice. He was appointed by the house of commons, in conjunction with Sir William Scott, counsel to the managers in the prosecution of that impeachment. For he had now abandoned the study of the common law, and applied himself wholly to that of the civil, having taken the degree of Doctor of Laws in the University of Oxford. And such was the high reputation, in which his talents were held, that he was appointed counsel to the managers, even during what is technically termed "the year of silence;" that is, during the year immediately succeeding his admission into the College of Doctors Commons. Although therefore he could not plead, when first appointed, he was permitted to act in the capacity of chamber counsel to the conductors of the impeachment.

How ably he discharged the honorable office thus committed to him, and how duly his conduct in it was appreciated, may be collected from a debate in the house of commons, which took place on the sixth of June, in the year 1788. A doubt having been then expressed respecting the necessity of employing two civilians, Mr. Fox replied, "that the nature of the cause rendered their assistance peculiarly necessary; and that one of the gentlemen (meaning Dr. Laurence) was *most eminently useful*, not because he excelled the other in ability, assiduity, or professional skill, but for his *deep and perfect knowledge of the subject.*"

From this period his friendship with Burke became daily more and more cemented,—who adopted one of the charges against Mr. Hastings, drawn up by him, and presented it to the house of commons. With a copy of these charges, printed in the year 1786, he sent a letter to a relation, which

Advertisements and Dedication of the Rolliad. In the first part of that work, Numbers III. VI. VII. VIII. XIII. XIV.—In the second part, the concluding number VII. only.—In the Probationary Odes, numbers XVI. and XXI.—And of the Political Eclogues the first only, entitled "Rose; or the Complaint."

Digitized by Google

contained the following postscript—"By my brother I send you a copy of the charges against Mr. Hastings, and his defence. The last charge, No. XXII., was wholly drawn up by me. I assure you, on the word of a man of honor, there is not a syllable of any importance in any of the charges, which I do not, on the most mature information and reflection, believe to be strictly true; nor is there a point in the defence, which is not either *fallacious* or *false*. These are very strong assertions, but very deliberately and conscientiously formed."

In consequence of the credit he obtained by the trust, which the house of commons reposed in him during this memorable impeachment, his professional employment at the civil law bar so rapidly increased, as to leave him very little time for literary pursuits. His intervals of leisure were usually spent at Beaconsfield; where he experienced, from every part of the Burke family, an attention and attachment, which, had he been united to them by the ties of blood, as well as of friendship, could scarcely have been exceeded.

In the year 1794, Mr. Burke retired from parliament, and was succeeded in the borough of Malton by his son Richard, who was then evidently declining in health, and even hastening to the grave, in the eyes of all, but those of an anxious father. Shortly indeed afterwards, on the second of August in the same year, his son died. How deeply he lamented the loss, how eloquently and how elegantly, I had almost said how doatingly, that lamentation was expressed in his subsequent publications, the world cannot have forgotten. But amidst all his mental sufferings, sufferings, which admitted not relief, and which refused consolation, he was solicitous to have his friend Laurence for his son's successor in parliament. This arrangement however did not take place; but the negotiation served at least to alleviate his misery by averting his mind from the constant contemplation of the irreparable loss, which he had sustained. Indeed he seems to have struggled with his feelings, during the deepest paroxysms of his grief, in other ways; for in a copy of *Hamilton's*

Digitized by Google

Hedaya,* presented by him to Dr. Laurence, and now deposited in the Bodleian Library, appears the following inscription in his own hand-writing:

"These Volumes, given to me by Mr. Dundas, I humbly beg may be accepted by my worthy friend and fellow-laborer, Dr. French Lawrence, all my public cares and studies being now at an end. *This unfortunate August* 1794. There is a great power of mind, and a very subtle jurisprudence shewn in this work. "EDM. BURKE."

Although Dr. Laurence was not advanced upon this occasion to a seat in parliament, yet it was not long before that object, which his friend perhaps had more at heart than himself, was attained.† In 1796 he was elected member for Peterborough; a seat which he retained to the day of his death. From this time their epistolary correspondence became more frequent, in consequence of the share, which Dr. Laurence then took in legislative debate, and the importance of political occurrences. But the heart of Burke, torn and distracted by the loss of his only child, and agitated to excess by, what he conceived to be, the irremediable calamity of public affairs, soon after ceased to beat. He died in the month of July, 1797.

Dr. Laurence was now left to regulate his opinions and conduct by the details of his own private judgment, deprived of that talent, principle, and experience, which he had hitherto invariable consulted, and which he had found his surest guide through the political gloom, with which this country was then upon every side surrounded. Yet he was not altogether alone; for Windham, who participated with him in the public feelings and private friendship of Burke, still remained, and indeed, but alas, for how short a period! survived him.

For some time previous to his death, the great change in

* Title-page, vol. i. Laurence is spelt Lawrence.

† From the letters which passed upon this subject, it will be seen, that Dr. Laurence's election to parliament was not only promoted by Mr. Burke himself, but that it was the last anxious wish of his dying son.

Digitized by Google

his appearance indicated, that a serious malady was undermining his constitution; and an oppression on his chest seemed to point out the formation of water. When on a short visit to one of his brothers at Eltham in Kent, February 1809, he was suddenly attacked after dinner with something like apoplexy, which terminated fatally in a few hours.

In concluding this short memoir of Dr. Laurence, the Editor makes no attempt to delineate his personal character; to describe his private virtues and public principles; or to dwell upon the quickness of his conception, the depth of his research, and the accuracy of his judgment; persuaded that no higher encomium can be conferred upon him, than by simply stating, that he was the last and dearest friend of Edmund Burke. It may however be proper here to add the account, which a very able and less partial judge gave of his first speech in parliament. In a letter to Sir E. Nagle, Mr. Windham thus panegyrizes it:—"Dr. Laurence's first performance, you may tell Mr. Burke succeeded perfectly well. He keeled a little in the launching, which gave me some minutes anxiety. But he soon righted, when he touched the water, and shewed, as he is, a grand first rate." Nor is it possible to pass by unnoticed the following high testimony borne to his talents and literature in a recent publication of Lord Holland, addressed to the warden of New College, Oxford, in which he is termed "one of the most learned, upright, and able men that ever enlightened the profession to which he belonged; or ever supplied his contemporaries in public life with useful knowledge and wisdom, from the stores of a retentive memory and comprehensive understanding."

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

LETTERS

BETWEEN

DR. LAURENCE AND MR. BURKE.

TO MR. BURKE.

Thursday, July 24th, 1788.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE to inform you, that on the day, when I last wrote to you, we ended with a reduced majority of 40; yesterday, Lord Hood gained a majority of 151 on the whole poll; but what kept up my spirits was this, that Mr. Pitt in his defence of the scrutiny never even *charged* such numbers of his favorite *men of straw* against us, as he and his friend Lord Hood *have actually polled*, from Houndsditch, Wapping, and the parts of Chelsea not in Westminster. The sailors were yesterday very well beaten again in the neighborhood of the Garden; but have in different parts of the outskirts of Westminster waylaid and knocked down single persons, or small parties peaceably passing along the streets with Townshend's cockades: They have also paraded the streets in large bodies, intimidating those, whom they did not injure. Another thing, which had a great effect on the common people, was the circulation of an infamous libel against Lord John, about the prosecution of his late butler. He was said to be prosecuted for a *bottle of wine*, which he stole for his wife, then lying-in. The truth was, he secreted a letter containing a bank-note of

Digitized by Google

twenty-five guineas; but missing other things, Lord John procured a search-warrant, and found a large quantity of his wine, which he never suspected to have been taken. Lord John prosecuted the man for the trifling theft, instead of capitally for the detention of the bank-bill; and this *humanity* is imputed to him as *inhumanity*. It is this day contradicted in the papers; and I doubt not the contradiction will operate powerfully in our favor. Lord Hood, at the close of yesterday's poll, animated his friends to exertion this day, in order to put *an end to the contest*. We know therefore that to-day he did all he could, and about two o'clock we were 50 or 60 a-head on this day's poll; from that time they have obstructed our voters, who were many of them obliged to go away, but gave their promises to return to-morrow, and, dissatisfied at the conduct of our opponents, to bring their friends with them. We have several considerable bodies for to-morrow, and as we are canvassing now very actively in every part, shall draw forth very many single voters, who waited only to be canvassed by noblemen and gentlemen in form.—I attend myself the whole morning at the King's Arms, Compton-street, for St. Anne's parish; and the whole evening I am employed in canvassing.—I draw a very good omen from the streets which I have canvassed, for almost all, who are for *Hood*, have voted; most of our friends, whom I have found to be the majority where I have been, have not yet polled.—Half an hour since, we were 12 a-head on to-day's poll, notwithstanding all their efforts, both to bring forward their own, and to obstruct our voters. Garrow sent me a message, that he is very well contented with the appearance of the day; and I, from what I know in our committee, do not fear success.—I have just heard, that the poll is now closed, and our majority increased, one account says to 30, and another to 50, upon the day's poll. If I get any certain intelligence before the post hour, I will inform you more accurately.—Pitt certainly was canvassing; it was matter of public notoriety. He was also canvassing more privately on this day se'nnight. He has therefore committed himself fully, and brought his

Digitized by Google

influence and the merits of his administration to a decided issue in this contest; and I trust and believe, it will terminate against him....I have just heard our majority is 28, which leaves *Hood* but a majority of 123.

I am, dear sir,

Most devotedly and sincerely, yours ever,

FRENCH LAURENCE.

My best compliments to Mrs. Burke, &c. &c.

LETTER II.

TO THE SAME.

London, August 16th, 1788.

DEAR SIR,

IT has long been my hope and my consolation, that I might before this have been able to return to Beaconsfield; but I have been repeatedly mortified, not only with finding that impossible, but with finding at the same time that my stay here is of little utility: such are the indolence, procrastination, and want of system, in our friends. I had at length purposed to come to you, at all events, this very day; when I was again obliged to postpone my visit, in consequence of the arrival of half a buck for the St. Anne's committee; and I am, I believe, the only person in town to meet such of the parishioners, as we have thought proper to invite; and to settle with them, what is absolutely necessary to our future success in the parish, a Parochial Club, to assemble once a month during every session of parliament. We are to have our venison on Monday, at six shillings a head, wine included. I know, that it would be of infinite importance to our future objects, if you could make it convenient to attend.—You are *praised in Mrs. Wells's papers* day after day, for having *washed your hands* (as they elegantly phrase it) of the late election; and you could not do a thing more acceptable

Digitized by Google

to our friends, than to deserve censure, where you now receive praise.—To be serious, I am well convinced how imperfect our plans must be, if they are not assisted by your better judgment, and more mature experience. It is true, that by mere dint of personal exertion in the late election we reduced the court-majority in St. Anne's more than half; and where Sir Cecil Wray beat Mr. Fox by 300 in this parish, Lord Hood has not now beaten Lord John Townshend by more than 130; yet, I fear, we can never hope to equal, much less to conquer them, without the sanction of your name and presence; and these, I am persuaded, may effect much. Do, my dear sir, allow me to expect the pleasure of your company at 4 o'clock on Monday at the King's Arms, in Compton street. If you will not give it to the public cause, may I presumptuously say, give it to me? especially as an old promise to meet Douglas here on the 20th, will otherwise preclude me from seeing you next week. As the mountain cannot come to Mahomet, will the Prophet of the East come to Quinbus Flestrin?

I am at all times and places, together or asunder, dear sir,

Most devotedly and sincerely, yours ever,

FRENCH LAURENCE.

P. S. I beg my best compliments to the whole circle at the breakfast table.

LETTER III.

TO THE SAME.

(August, 1788.)

DEAR SIR,

I AM exceedingly happy to have it in my power to contest your speculations on such good grounds. Fox thought on Thursday that if they did not beat us by 100 on the subse-

Digitized by Google

quent day, we were sure of the election. I informed you yesterday, from such information as I could obtain at the moment, that we finished *nine a-head;* the truth was they gained *seven* on the other side. But in the effort of yesterday they exhausted all the little remains of their strength. Their poll this day opened, and has continued very slack. At eleven, which is the hour when their majority has always been highest, they were not above 13 a-head; at three an accurate state of the poll, when the numbers were for Lord John Townshend 250, for Lord Hood 180; leaving a majority of 70 to Lord John on this day's poll; and Lord Hood a majority of 59 only on the whole poll. A gentleman this moment returned from the hustings says we have since polled *eight* more, they have not polled *one* these three quarters of an hour. The poll will very shortly close, and we shall certainly end not less than 70 a-head for this day.—There is a force in Westminster fully sufficient to counterbalance the influence of the crown; and that is the weight of the various clubs and societies, with which I am now pretty well acquainted, and of which we have by much the majority. Their power will now be tried to the utmost; for I am told that Pitt has gone down post to Cheltenham to concert further measures with the high powers there; get more peremptory orders, and a signature to a new treasury warrant. Colonel Macnamara (who by the way was yesterday very much mauled at the head of a mob of sailors in Bond street) publicly said, that ministry were determined to prosecute the contest to the utmost, if it cost £150,000. It has struck four. I cannot get intelligence of the close of the poll; but must go to the Shakspeare, where we dine, and make resolutions to bring each his man.

I am, dear sir,

Most sincerely yours ever,

F. Laurence.

Best compliments to Mrs. Burke, &c. &c. &c.

Digitized by Google

LETTER IV.

TO THE SAME.

London, October 20th, 1788.

MY DEAR SIR,

NOT being certain of your return to Beaconsfield, till this day, I have put off my short visit of four and twenty hours from time to time. I shall however, probably come down on Monday, and on Tuesday proceed to Oxford. Should I find it more convenient to go directly to Oxford, I shall take you in my way back either Wednesday or Thursday; but—on Thursday, or Friday morning at furthest—I must again be in town. If there be any letter for me at Beaconsfield (—as I expect one from the Duke) I will trouble you to keep it where it is, till you see me.

Some little time since I received a letter from Douglas; he says that he saw *in* SWITZERLAND a GERMAN *publication* of an ENGLISH *account* of the proceedings in Westminster Hall,—probably taken from our papers. It was known to be spurious, and necessarily to give a very inadequate idea of the trial; yet the sale of it, thus distant from the place of publication, and the publication so distant from the place of its first production, seems to shew the eagerness of Europe for every thing in the appearance of information on this great subject. I think some general allusion to this might well be used to excite the attention of the Lords at the opening of the next meeting of the court.—But I am stepping out of my province; and suggesting hints very impertinent, because, if just, very unnecessary.

I was lately told, that Hastings's counsel have been very busy since the 15th of last month. Sheridan (I hear) says he would advise them to be diligent, as they are at present very ignorant. I (if I were their friend) would advise them not to read a paper. I am sure, that the best defence of Hastings would be made by a man of talents who knew the

Digitized by Google

least about him. I am therefore glad to find, they read, since I most dread an ignorant declamation suited to the apprehensions of the ignorant.

I hope that the late excursion has been of the best possible consequences to your health and that of Mrs. Burke. Believe me, my dear sir, I have often wished to see you, and more often to be with you on your expedition; but present or absent,

I am, my dear sir,

Ever most sincerely and devotedly yours,

FRENCH LAURENCE.

LETTER V.

TO THE SAME

Commons, Nov. 3d, 1788.

MY DEAR SIR,

NOT having seen the Morning Post, I know not whether it contains any account of the commencement of the civil war in Austrian Flanders; for fear it may not, I enclose you my paper, where you will find it in the last page.—I dined yesterday with Dr. Brocklesby, and was truly glad to hear he had received so good intelligence of his patient, Mr. R. Burke. We had there Sir J. Reynolds, who continues perfectly well and in good spirits. I found also Courtenay and Malone among many others, and was happy to learn from them that there is not a syllable of truth in the story of Lord Townshend, which, I doubt not you have heard, as I had it from Dr. W. King, who was just then come from you.

I beg my best compliments to Mrs. Burke, and all the party at Beaconsfield. I hope to have the pleasure of seeing Mrs. Burke here the latter end of the week, when I must insist on her dining with me. My house I trust will be in perfect order

Digitized by Google

by that time. I find we have three or four holidays together the latter end of this month, and I intend to avail myself of them, if I can, to pay you a short visit.

I am, my dear sir, very sincerely
Your obedient humble servant,
FRENCH LAURENCE.

LETTER VI.

TO THE SAME.

C. C. C. Thursday Morning,
F. F. F. (October 1790.)

DEAR SIR,

ON my arrival here yesterday, I was kindly informed by some of my friends, of an event which they thought might be of utility to me. The chancellor of Peterborough and of Bristol is dead. The places are in the gifts of the respective bishops—I am not certain whether they are by custom conferred only on an *ecclesiastic*. If they are chancellorships which may be equally given to a civilian, who is a layman or not, I should esteem it a singular favor, if you could point out to me the best channel of application. Should you be at a loss, I imagine that an ex-secretary of the treasury ought to know a little, how a bishop's pulse beats. I presume you cannot very well write in my favor to the Noble Dissenter, who may be presumed to have the chief sway with the bishop of Peterborough. I suppose too, that, as the right reverend father is believed to look a good deal to his influence at Cambridge, an Oxford man at best can have but very small chance. With the bishop of Bristol I think there is a better prospect. Does he or does he not vote with Opposition? I think I have seen his name to protests; but am not sure. Should that be the case, and you have any means of early

Digitized by Google

and immediate application to his Lordship, I am sure, my dear sir, that you will not require an expression of my desire to you upon that subject. I shall write to the Duke about it, if I learn that the bishop does range himself on the side of his Grace. But in the mean time believe me sincere when I say, there is no man of whatever rank or distinction, to whom I had rather owe any little advancement in life than to yourself.

I hope Richard improves daily in strength. My best congés to Mrs. Burke and all your family.

I am, my dear sir, most sincerely ever
Your obedient humble servant,
FRENCH LAURENCE.

P. S. Miss French's hat is lying before me. I have left it in charge of a friend, who has promised to send it by one of the coaches; probably to-morrow morning.

LETTER VII.

TO THE SAME.

London, Oct. 20th, 1790.

MY DEAR SIR,

YOUR letter was waiting my arrival, when I returned on Monday evening. You said, that you should come to town with Richard on the *morrow*, but there was no date to ascertain what day that morrow was. On Tuesday morning I sent my servant to make inquiries at Lincoln's Inn. In the mean time I was myself so fortunate as to meet first Dr. Brocklesby, and afterwards Richard himself, from whom I learned that you had put the last hand to your labors.—I was happy in persuading myself, that he looked much better.

I beg leave to deprecate every contest with you in turning sentences:—I meant what I said, and I accept what you

Digitized by Google

answer, in plain sincerity of heart. I do not overvalue your interest with the bench of bishops; yet I think it a little higher than you allow it to be, though not so high, as ought to be the interest of a man of exemplary life, various information, preëminent talents, and a true friend of religion. But in truth I looked only for that which you have done. I intended your application as a *caveat* against a precipitate promise to another. I should have thought it unjust to the Duke, if I had dreamt of resting all my hopes on any other friend, whoever he may be. I shall at the same time feel peculiar pleasure, if your letter shall have been of utility in giving the first impression.

I had written to the Duke by the same post as to yourself. I have yet received no answer; but having occasion to write on some other business, I took the opportunity of mentioning the persons, whom you pointed out.

From that quarter I must confess that I have no great hope of success; but I am not quite in despair as to the bishop of Bristol.

Early to-morrow morning I set off for my brother's at Castle Hedingham, in Essex, where I purpose to stay about a week.

I just now received a message from Goring, that he is returned; and I had the satisfaction of hearing, that he left all your family well. I beg my best compliments to Mrs. B., R. B. Sen. and all the rest of your household.

I am, my dear sir, ever most sincerely

Your obliged humble servant,

FRENCH LAURENCE.

Digitized by Google

LETTER VIII.

TO THE SAME.

London, March 27th, 1791.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE just time to give you notice that you must prepare for war on Monday. Pitt told Sheridan, that in the case of captain Williams, though he thought Sir John Scott's arguments very absurd, yet he was now satisfied, that you were all wrong, and the business must go no further. I have just been blowing my trumpet in Wyndham's ears. I find him apt on this subject; but upon the other, which you commissioned me to mention, he has his doubts, not of the propriety of the thing, but of his own ability to make to his own satisfaction a little terse speech on a point, in which he feels nothing that fills and interests his mind. You had better speak to him yourself on Monday, as he has some designs of going out of town on Tuesday for the holidays.

I just now found Mr. R. Burke's card on my return from Wyndham's. I can therefore inform you that he is well. I beg my best compliments to Mrs. Burke, &c. &c.

And am, dear sir, very sincerely

Your most obedient humble servant,

FRENCH LAURENCE.

LETTER IX.

TO THE SAME.

London, August 1st, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR,

WILL you favor me with a line to inform me of your present plans and motions; if you intend to make any longer stay where you are, I purpose doing myself the pleasure of joining you the latter end of this week, or at the very beginning of the next. Mrs. Burke (I trust from your continuance at Margate) finds the benefit of her bathing.

Digitized by Google

I write in great haste as I am just returned from Dodsley's, where I have made a seizure; and I am impatient to employ my time better than in writing to you;—I am eager to read you. Indeed I owe myself, in common justice, some reading of profit and amusement, for I have lately misspent my hours most wretchedly by reading the procès verbal of the National Assembly up to October 1789, the depositions taken at the Chatelet, and Monnier's examination of it; I have been dipping again into Mirabeau's Lettres à ses Commettans, and I have been wading through the procès verbal of the Hotel de Ville, which has some curious things, from 6th May to the 30th of July 1791. There is a very able and furiously seditious speech of M. Bonneville, homme de lettres as he is called. I know not whether you have seen it; but it most plainly shews the bold designs of the democratic faction early, for it was made so soon as the 25th of June, 19 days before the attack on the Bastile, and several days before the arrival of the troops in the neighborhood of Paris. It is, in my opinion, the best defence of the monarchical party; who could not plan too strong measures, when such things were tolerated: the burthen of the song is, *Aux armes, citoyens, aux armes.*

Necker's book too, which I have been looking into (a poor, contemptible, querulous, and self-flattering performance,) throws some new light on the history of that period, which I think is the most important epoch;—from the meeting of the States General, and just before it, up to what may be properly called the Revolution begun on the 14th of July and completed on the 6th of October 1789.

But I fear I have detained you impertinently on facts and topics less novel to you than to me; and I am sure I have kept myself too long from my promised pleasure and emolument in reading your Appeal. Believe me to be,

Dear sir, most sincerely

Your most obedient humble servant,

F. Laurence.

P. S. I beg my best compliments to all your party.

Digitized by Google

LETTER X.

TO THE SAME.

London, April 17, 1792.

DEAR SIR,

I SEND you the Morning Post, because though a democratic paper, it gives a view of the actual state of Paris which the Morning Chronicle wholly suppresses, while it gives the proceedings of the National Assembly to as late a period. The Quidnuncs seem very well disposed to be cutting each other's throats about the forty men from Chateauvieux, though not with swords made from the chains.

I had this morning a long conversation about the Association with George Rous, who is one of the *Associators*. I will tell you the particulars when I see you, which I hope will be on Thursday.

I beg my compliments to all with you; and am,

Dear sir, very sincerely

Your obedient humble servant,

F. LAURENCE.

LETTER XI.

TO THE SAME.

Doctors Commons, July 31st, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR,

TO-MORROW, if possible, I hope to come down to you by the Gloucester coach. I choose that conveyance, though rather the latest, because I must first exhibit myself in court. My stay can only be till Thursday morning.

Enclosed you will find a specimen of the manner in which it is proposed to draw the syllabus of the Benares charge.

Digitized by Google

The red ink is Mr. H's evidence. Have we any thing to do with that in our plan? Of the execution of the work you are not to judge by this, but only of the scheme and form. If any improvements suggest themselves to you, will you commit them to paper, so as to return the paper to Mr. Troward by to-morrow's post from Beaconsfield. I trust, I shall be with you before you close your letter in time to chat over whatever may occur to you on the subject.

About half an hour since I was very graciously accosted in the street by Mr. Perry, prime minister of the Morning Chronicle. He told me of the committee who are to conduct the subscription in favor of Poland. Smith was the *only dissenter* present at the previous meeting. The committee is to consist of bankers and merchants taken from among the principal of both parties. Some of the leaders in this business have been informed, that you have expressed yourself very warmly for the success of it; and they think it would much contribute to it, if you would be kind enough to draw up a short address to the public on this occasion. The passage from your appeal is to be extracted, and re-published by the committee in their resolutions, or some other form. I promised to make their wishes known to you. It would be material to them (they say) to have your answer by Thursday morning. When I come to-morrow, if you approve it, I will write to Mr. Perry on the subject; but with submission, I should suggest, that you, if you agree to the request, had better write to none but the Polish minister.

I hope Mrs. Burke is better, and all the rest of your family as well as I left them.

I am, my dear sir, most sincerely
Your obedient humble servant,
FRENCH LAURENCE.

Digitized by Google

LETTER XII.

TO THE SAME.

London, August 28th, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR,

THOUGH I have no good intelligence to send you, and indeed none at all beyond what your own newspaper will convey to you; yet I cannot refrain from a short remark or two.

I am truly concerned to find, that Captain Woodford's representation of our minister's message was nearer the truth, than the Duke of Portland's. It is stated in the same or very nearly the same words in all the other papers as in the Morning Chronicle. I presume therefore that it is correctly given. Surely it is very paltry and submissive, and sanctions at least the *suspension* of the king, by talking of further violence as likely to excite indignation, and hoping this declaration will not be thought an infringement of our neutrality. The ministerial papers, and particularly the World, hold out this neutrality as highly gratifying to the nation. It is printed in capitals in the World, and introduced with a great panegyric—not indeed on the *spirit*, but on the wisdom and *prudence* of the minister.

The jacobins have answered in a manly style, much to the delight, I doubt not, of their affiliated friends on this side of the water. They seem to take no notice of our court, but compliment us, as *the high-spirited people, who first acknowledged the sovereignty of nations.* This seems to be implicating us in a supposed approbation of their atrocities, and fixing the interpretation of our minister's message to Lord Gower.

I met Hudson this morning. He says by the last ships, that he finds they have reverted at Bengal from agencies back again to contracts; and that bullocks are now again provided by contract. He cannot find any thing of Zemindars being paid for their troops, except in a minute of Mr.

Digitized by Google

Shore's on the rights of Zemindars, where it is said, that remissions were made to them, when they crushed rebellions with their own troops.

I cannot quit town to-morrow. Will you give me a line by return of the post, *if you do not leave* Beaconsfield on Thursday.

Remember me to Mrs. B. and all with you.

I am, dear sir, &c. &c. &c.

F. LAURENCE.

LETTER XIII.

TO THE SAME.

London, August 29, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR,

I AM happy to find by the papers of this day, that the minister's message to France was of a very different description from what appeared in the account of the national assembly yesterday.

I went to John King, and asked him as to the authenticity of the copy in the papers. He said he believed it to be perfectly authentic. There is a phrase marked in italics which I like much, as it seems to imply, though rather distantly, that the late events can in no manner be countenanced by us without infringing our neutrality as to the internal affairs of France. This seems to me to leave a clear opening to us to consider ourselves as at liberty from our neutrality in consequence of their late abominable proceedings.—Lord Carhampton told me yesterday in company, that he believed, Prussia had insisted on our coming forward.

I heard from a friend an account of the 10th, which he had from an eye-witness, an English gentleman, who was accidentally passing homewards near the Thuilleries, when the attack was made. A Marseillois was the aggressor; he want-

Digitized by Google

ed to draw a cannon into the garden, but was told by a Swiss guard, that he could not pass. He attempted to cut down the Swiss, who in return fired at and shot him. When the Swiss guards fired their first volley, the mob ran away up an adjoining street, and seemed to be in a perfect panic. Had the Swiss guards acted offensively, they might have at least taken the cannon from the populace with the utmost ease, and in the opinion of this gentleman, by pursuing them have made themselves masters of all Paris. But the Swiss remained quiet, till the populace rallied and returned the fire. The guards fired at least six times for once. The cannon which the Marseillois served were so ill pointed, that far from hurting a single soul, they did not even hit the palace. After firing about twenty minutes the Swiss laid down their arms; and were immediately butchered. One fatal circumstance, I am told, was, that all the officers of rank, instead of endeavoring to animate the soldiers, went away to escort the king to the national assembly. The national guards did not actually fire on the Swiss, but marched off, without assisting them, as the latter expected. The Swiss might have maintained their ground to this time, supposing them well supplied with ammunition, if they had not thrown down their arms and begged quarter. I learned several other particulars of the succeeding horrors, too long now to detail.

I was informed last night by a French gentleman, that besides the places which you will find in your paper, Landau also had surrendered.

I am, in great haste, dear sir,

Ever yours most truly and devotedly.

FRENCH LAURENCE.

Digitized by Google

LETTER XIV.

TO E. B., J. B., AND R. B.

London, October 29th, 1792.

MY DEAR, E. B., J. B., AND R. B.,*

PERMIT me to thank you for your very kind, though very short letter; and yet I cannot help observing, that when three of you clubbed together, I might have hoped for a production, two or three sentences longer. I presume that you expect no answer, as it was all interrogatories, and I think you are not all of you quite so ignorant of the common law of the land, as not to know that an Englishman is not bound to answer interrogatories. However, of my own free grace and condescension I will answer your interrogatories in the most satisfactory manner.

And first of the first, How am I?—

I am well, if you are well: pay the .... No! that will not do. What a pity! I had one of the cleverest things to say, and quite new, but I must keep it for some other occasion, as it will not apply at present.

Next, as to my where-about?—

—I shall leave you to find it out, and if you should discover it, I shall still think you not the more conjurers for that.

But why have you not heard from me?—

Instead of giving reasons on compulsion, I shall take the liberty of reminding you that there was another question, which according to all order and method you should have asked me, but have omitted:—It is, where have I been?

I shall answer my own question, instead of yours, and hope that answer will satisfy you as to both at once. Since I left you I have passed one day at Chippenham, two at Oxford, as many at Beaconsfield, not quite so many at Bulstrode, one day here, two days at Castle Hedingham in the most remote corner of

* Edmund Burke, Jane Burke, and Richard Burke.

Digitized by Google

Essex, from whence I am this moment arrived, and all the rest of the time I have spent, as Lord Egremont spends the greater part of his life,—on the road. To-morrow I go again to divide three days more between Bulstrode and Beaconsfield, and on Friday return hither again to smoke and dirt, heavy briefs and light fees.

I flatter myself that during my short stay at Oxford, I put things in tolerably good train with the present and late vice-chancellors, the leader of our canvass, the dean of Christ Church, and our principal opponent, the president of Trinity College, to all of whom I talked, and all of whom I found warm and zealous in favor of the poor French priests. A meeting of the heads of houses was to be called on Monday last, to settle the detail of the subscription from the university, immediately after which the vice-chancellor promised me to speak to the leading men of the city, to form a committee and carry on a subscription there; and upon these two measures was to be engrafted an invitation to the county at large in the Oxford paper of last Saturday.—I hope, that my two days at Oxford will balance my account for all my idleness beside, since I left Bath.

Wyndham was still lingering at Oxford, when I arrived there. He is as eager as ever against the reformers of parliament, and more decided than ever on French politics, but with rather too refining and argumentative a candor in excuse of all past delinquencies in all persons.

At Bulstrode I heard some things, which I will communicate when I see you all; but nothing material on any point, which you know.

I gave orders at Butler's Court for every thing to be in readiness for the family in the course of a week or fortnight from last week. The pigs I directed to have plenty of peas, and the sheep to be kept on the dryest part of the park and to have some dry meat as long as the wet weather should last; and some of both to be fattened.

And now Mr. R. B., one word or so with you. You may think that you have escaped me;—but not quite so easily.

Digitized by Google

You, sir, held the pen; and pray why did you give me no account of J. B.? Besides my own curiosity on that head, here shall I be persecuted to death with minute inquiries at Bulstrode and at Beaconsfield, and I have nothing for it, but to look wise and speak oracularly.

I am afraid you will think too much of this letter mere fooling; but I begin to suspect that in these days folly is the only wisdom.

I am, with the most fervent prayers for you all,

Most sincerely yours,

FRENCH LAURENCE.

LETTER XV.

TO MR. BURKE.

Doctors Commons, November 8, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR,

IT is a great consolation to me, that as the mountain cannot go to Mahomet, Mahomet, I find, is likely to come to the mountain. I wished to have some chat with you on a subject which I did not choose to put on paper; and for that purpose, as well as to pay my respects to Mrs. Burke on her return, I had intended to give my clients the slip by the back-door for a single day. This would at best have been very inconvenient, but is at present impossible. I am glad to find that you mean to visit town; and fearing, that you might postpone your visit to accommodate me in my return, I thought it best to let you know the disarrangement of my little plan, in the hope, that this notice might bring you a little the sooner.—Let me hint to you, that your brother and myself dine to-morrow with your friend John King.

Will you be so kind as to inform Mrs. Burke, I hope to pay my respects to her too some time in the present month. The account of her health, which I received from your brother,

Digitized by Google

gave me very great satisfaction; my pleasure wanted only one little piece of good intelligence more about her limbs, to make it perfect. Believe me to be,

Dear sir, most sincerely

Your obedient humble servant,

FRENCH LAURENCE

LETTER XVI.

TO THE SAME.

London, Dec. 11, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR,

I FORGOT in my letter of yesterday to tell you that Sir William Scott has sent you a card for Sunday, to meet Wyndham, myself, and some others of your friends at dinner.

Having been all the morning in court, I know nothing of the news of to-day. Last night I called at Lord Loughborough's, but though I waited an hour I could not see him. I found Dundas's carriage at his door.

This evening I shall see his Lordship, and if I learn any thing particular will inform you by letter. I beg my best and kindest remembrances to all your family.—I am, in great haste,

Most sincerely

Your most obedient servant,

FRENCH LAURENCE

Digitized by Google

LETTER XVII.

TO THE SAME.

C. C. C. Oxford, (1793.)

MY DEAR SIR,

THE quiet conclusion of our furious battle you will hear from Dowdeswell by this same post. We mean however to canvass every vote not yet asked, and those who have declined giving an explicit answer. We have no fear of any aftergame against us, as the resignation of the Duke of Beaufort's friends was declared to be "*in the hope of an unanimous election*:" yet we think it most secure in point of prudence, and most civil in point of attention to the members of the university, to continue our operations in the manner above stated.

To-morrow I intend proceeding to my Brother's. Hitherto I have kept myself ready here on my post. Walker King was *transported* to *Woodstock*, as soon as he came hither, and I was under sentence of transportation the day after the intelligence of poor Lord Guilford's death arrived; but I heard judgment pronounced against me with perfect composure, made no reply, took the liberty of staying where I was, and finally have been flattered with some acknowledgments, that I was of service in various ways. If I can, I shall pay my respects to you on Thursday next, if possible for A DAY, *but one day only*.

Now that our contest here is over, I feel myself full of the affairs of France. However my time and the limits of this letter forbid my entering on the subject.

I am, my dear sir, most sincerely
Your obliged and devoted
Humble servant,
F. LAURENCE.

P. S. I beg my best compliments to Mrs. Burke and all your family.

Digitized by Google

LETTER XVIII.

TO DR. LAURENCE FROM MR. BURKE.

Cromwell's Lodge, 1794.

MY DEAREST LAURENCE,

THINGS are bad enough—but the doctors bid me not think them desperate. His stomach is continually on the turn—nothing rests on it, owing to the irritation caused by the inflammation of the trachea towards the bottom. The fever continues much as it was—he sleeps in a very uneasy way from time to time—but his strength decays visibly, and his voice is in a manner gone. But God is all sufficient—and surely his goodness and his mother's prayers may do much. As to me, I feel dried up. Don't talk too much of the matter—only to the chancellor—and merely in civility to him. Whether I am to have any objects depends on his recovery.

LETTER XIX.

TO MR. BURKE.

August, 1794.

MY DEAR, DEAR SIR,

HAD I not considered the business which you entrusted to me in your afflicting letter, as my first object and duty, I believe that I should have ventured to obtrude myself upon you yesterday, that I might for one day have had the melancholy pleasure of sharing in your sorrows. I have now to tell you in what train I have put matters for Westminster-hall.

There is a report that Hastings himself means to call Lord Cornwallis. If so, the managers seem to be of opinion that they should at once agree and offer Mr. Larkins also, to

Digitized by Google

whom Mr. Hastings has referred for a full explanation of his bribes. If Hastings does not propose to call Lord Cornwallis, then Mr. Grey in a short speech is to state the situation of the trial, and the order intended to be followed in what remains; and in conclusion offer Mr. Larkins. If Mr. Hastings accepts the offer, we can cross-examine Mr. Larkins to any thing. If he declines, that circumstance, it is believed, will excite the curiosity of the Lords, and make them more disposed to examine him, when we produce him. The whole evidence is to be given; and after our evidence, Mr. Hastings's counsel are to be called upon to make such observations as they may think necessary, before the managers reply: You are to conclude. The chancellor, (who sent for me to inquire after you, and who expressed himself most kindly and affectionately on the subject of your late calamity,) seems to approve this mode of proceeding. He offered, if you chose, to get the trial put off for some short time. Anstruther has not been able to proceed with the examination of Mr. Larkins. Grey I am to meet in consultation on Wednesday evening; and I am now at Sheridan's to prepare him. He is very much in earnest. If you have any thing to suggest, and do not yet mean to return, let me have your directions.

Oh! my dear sir, what a stroke was that, which we all suffered last week. I did indeed well know the sincerity of his friendship for me. Never, never since I was acquainted with him, did I receive from him a single word in the slightest degree tinctured with bitterness. I loved the strong virtues of his heart, as much as I respected the soundness of his head; and many, very many days and years of pleasure and of profit did I vainly promise myself from his society. But the Maker and Dispenser of all has spoken, and we *must* obey. May he who only can, comfort and sustain you and poor Mrs. Burke. I lose all sense of my own misfortune in my sympathy with yours; and suffer me to say, that I feel still more for Mrs. Burke than for you. You will necessarily plunge into scenes, where his image will not be mingled up with every object around; she will have no refuge from ob-

Digitized by Google

jects with which the memory of him will inevitably be associated, and which will every minute recall him to her mind. May God protect and support her! I have not omitted that petition one day since the melancholy event.

Adieu for the present, my dear sir; I scribble in haste without premeditation. Once again God bless you and all yours.

Your truly sincere and afflicted

FRENCH LAURENCE.

LETTER XX.

TO DR. LAURENCE.

22d May, 1795.

MY DEAR LAURENCE,

IT was indeed a very considerable time since we heard from you: But we considered your silence as a proof that you had remembered us, not that you had forgot us. You know that we are not stout enough for bad news; and there was nothing good to be told. You visited us however with the lark and the first peep of day. God knows it is a poor crepusculum—a small advantage, very dearly bought, and not promising, I think, the consequences which some accounts led us to expect. But we must take what God gives. As to me, I believe my affair is out of the question. He has delayed it so long, that he is partly ashamed, partly afraid, and partly unwilling to bring it on. But in that too, submission is my duty and my policy. It signifies little how these last days are spent—and on my death—I think they will pay my debts. The best is, that we are soon to see you and the Kings. Adieu, God Almighty bless you!

Your unhappy friend,

E. BURKE.

Digitized by Google

LETTER XXI.

TO THE SAME.

July 1, 1795.

THANK you, my dear sir, for your two very kind letters. We have to accuse the rain much more for keeping you away, than for keeping back the mowing of our clover. I am glad the Thelwal festival has passed over without bloodshed: But in truth I do not at all like those large meetings, congregated by such people, for such purposes, and on such principles. They habituate the people to bold assemblages; they make themselves appear in force; and the ill-disposed give a countenance to each other, and their leaders. When met in consequence of such summonses as you describe, directly factious, I doubt much of the legality of the meeting: But if they are within the letter of the law politically speaking, the thing is worse. Every day almost furnishes an example of the inefficiency of our laws; or, what I believe to be nearer to the truth, of the debility of those who are to carry them into execution. Our police is not very brilliant; but every good man is obliged to one exertion of it. The D. of Portland, the very night of the affair of Lord F. was so kind as to send me word of the event. I should not wonder if it had made him sick at heart.

I am very well pleased with your project about Stuart. I do not see why he should not get some commission in a fencible regiment. He is born an English subject—He says a Canadian. What he means by writing to me, that he wants to be a day-laborer, I cannot conceive. It is perfect folly. However he seems to be ingenious, at least in some degree, and a man of sensibility and spirit.

Mrs. Burke, poor Will, and all here, salute you cordially.

Ever affectionately, your unhappy friend,

EDMUND BURKE.

Digitized by Google

LETTER XXII.

TO MR. BURKE.

Admiralty Court, February 12th, 1796.

MY DEAR SIR,

BEFORE this, I was in hopes that I might have heard from you some better intelligence of Mrs. Burke's health. I desired Cuppage after he had been down with you to let me know, but I have neither seen or heard any thing of him. Mr. William Burke sent me a letter the other day, written, I believe, by one of the young ladies, but not a syllable about Mrs. Burke. From all these circumstances I am led to flatter myself, that she may be better; at least not worse.

By young Burke, I sent you some intelligence of the discoveries made by the Emperor respecting the treachery of some of his generals. Ministry had accounts, but not quite so full as mine. The papers now say that there have been more than twenty persons of some condition in life arrested.

The king of Prussia has settled his question with Russia relative to Poland. He has got Warsaw; and now he is willing to assist in driving the French out of Holland. He has certainly offered himself to this country, if we will subsidize him. The emperor cannot stir without a loan. To thicken the intrigue, French commissioners are now arrived here, it is said, to make peace on Mr. Pitt's own terms—but I doubt. They are of course aiming to play England against Austria.

There is one subject which truly alarms me. The civil list is a year and half in arrears, and a further addition is to be brought before parliament. The great expenses of the Emigrés are, as I collect from conversations with ministerial men, to be the pretence of the debt. What a fertile mother of mischief in all ways is this application likely to be!

Have you seen the state-papers from America; containing the French plot in that country? I have not got them yet,

Digitized by Google

but saw some extracts in the papers. If you have them not, I think you should write to Owen for it, as he is the re-publisher. It comes just in time for your argument.

Apropos of the pamphlet. I have seen or heard nothing of it, but that the newspapers are already disputing all the principles of it. I have been repeatedly asked for it by private friends, who will not believe me that it is not actually printed, and confidentially circulated:

> Jurantem me scire nihil mirantur, ut unum
> Scilicet egregii mortalem altiq; silenti.

You will see from whence I date this letter, and I am just going to speak. Pray, my dear sir, let me have a line to inform me of Mrs. B.'s state of health.

I am, my dear sir,

Ever most truly and devotedly yours,

FRENCH LAURENCE.

LETTER XXIII.

TO THE SAME.

Court of Prerogative, Doctors' Commons,
February 26th, 1796.

MY DEAR SIR,

A LETTER intended for Dr. W. King was yesterday brought to me by Nagle. It contained a passage which he and I thought it necessary to communicate to the chancellor before this day's debate. In consequence I copied it into a note from myself, leaving it to his Lordship to keep it for the direction of his own exertions in that protection, which I doubted not his friendship would give to your fame, or to make any public use of the substance of it, as he might think most honorable to you.

You seem, my dear sir, a little to have misapprehended

Digitized by Google

Wyndham's objections. The first was only a fear of a misconstruction from a mode of expression. "*One* language for a gracious benefactor, *another* for a proud and insulting foe."—What then! (he thought the jacobins might say) he is a man of a double tongue, with two opposite languages for the same thing, is he?—Wyndham, therefore, not disagreeing with the idea, only wished from caution that it be a little more opened. I saw the danger, but did not fear it equally, as I told Woodford, from whom I learnt the objections of our friend.

The other fault imputed to your "quantities incommensurable" was a little mathematical inaccuracy. And certainly it was so. It should have been "*money* and such services, &c. are quantities incommensurable," "*money* is made," &c.—but as the word "money" occurred also in the sentence immediately preceding; it would have been too direct a repetition of the same thing. As you mistook the point when referred to you, and there was no time for another reference, I have taken on myself to correct it. It may be a little flattened, but is at least unexceptionable, and I would not give any "thorough-bred metaphysician" or mathematician the least collateral advantage over you. I have consolidated it with the former sentence thus; "Between money and such services, if done by abler men than I am, there is no common principle of comparison; they are quantities incommensurable. Money is made," &c.

In p. 15, I have made a slight alteration. There was a confusion of *they* and *them;* and you made the "*means*" furnish *means*. I have removed these trifling hitches; though I think there it is certainly somewhat flatter, yet not essentially so.

In p. 17, (as I recollect) I have introduced two or three words. After a long digression on your habit and principle of deriving all aid from others, you resumed your immediate subject; "I *then* consulted." The word "*then*" seemed to me too feeble a reference and connection. I have put it more pointedly, and to make it more so, have introduced a word

Digitized by Google

"ever" into the preceding sentence. It now will stand—"poor in my own faculties, I ever thought myself rich in theirs. In that period of difficulty and danger more especially, I consulted and coöperated," &c.—Luckily that page was one line shorter than the opposite page; so that typographically it is an improvement.

In the former p. 16, there was also a mere verbal alteration to prevent the use of "*those*" and "*that*," as antecedent and relative.

I have changed the passive form for the active form in another place to avoid an ambiguity, which required twice reading over; and in the last page I have introduced an "however," where it seemed necessary as a word of transition. "Whatever his Grace may think of me"—"However let his Grace think as he may of me," &c. "*But* had been used just before and after, so I have made it what I have said.

The final *k* after *c*, and the *u* in final syllables of *o u r*, were sometimes expressed and sometimes omitted. Perceiving that you generally retained them in your own proper writing, I have directed them to be restored throughout.

If there be any thing in all this which you would wish to change back or otherwise, it may be done in the next edition. The press now could not stop.

Nagle told you yesterday all the intelligence about the pamphlet. I have not been out to-day or seen a paper. I can only add that Mr. Pitt is highly delighted with it, *as well as all the world*, says Woodford,

I am, my dear sir,

Ever most sincerely and devotedly yours,

F. Laurence.

P. S. I am happy to hear that Mrs. Burke continues so to amend. Remember me in the kindest manner to her and Mr. William Burke. I am tied by the leg here for three weeks to come at least. This is written from court.

Digitized by Google

LETTER XXIV.

TO DR. LAURENCE.

[Feb. 27th, 1796.]

MY DEAR LAURENCE,

I THANK you for the pains you are so good as to take. I don't recollect in my letter to Walker that I said any thing to be communicated to the chancellor. It is to satisfy Wyndham. As to the commensurability—perhaps the best way is to strike out the sentence entirely in the next edition. It is too late in the third, which was sent to me to-day. The truth is, at first money and such services, &c.—are quantities incommensurable—but I found myself embarrassed with the repetition of the word—but in strictness, *geometrically*, the term is proper enough—that is called *simply*, and without relation, an incommensurable quantity or line, which has no common measure or common aliquot part to measure it with some other: every thing to be measured with another, must certainly refer to that to which it is to be measured, and this finds whether it be or be not commensurable—but I am sure it is common to use the term alone and absolute, because the usual reference is known, as the side of a square is incommensurable with the diagonal. It was a relation of course to the lines before spoke of. I believe it is word for word as it stood in my speech for the reform. But it is perhaps less reconcilable to moral than to geometrical propriety. However, arrogant as it may seem, it is no way uncommon—to say, that such or such a thing as I do for such or such a person, or on such or such a motive, is what no money could make me undertake—or such as no money could compensate to me. As to the rest, with regard to the difference of *styles*—can any thing in the world be more common than to use disqualifying phrases with regard to your friends when they are treating you with kindness, and to use the very contrary to enemies that crush you?—"I

Digitized by Google

don't deserve, my dear Laurence, that you should take all this trouble for me in the midst of your pressing business"—Would this be a proper answer for those who should say I was unworthy of having this done? This, like all styles, is a matter of sentiment and decorum, and must be measured by the rules and principles of the decent and fit. The geometrical simile may go with Mr. Reeves to the fire—but the decorum I cannot give up. But it signifies nothing: what I wrote was to discharge a debt I thought to my own and my son's memory, and to those who ought not to be considered as guilty of prodigality in giving me what is beyond my merits, but not beyond my debts, as you know. The public—I won't dispute longer about it—has overpaid me—I wish I could overpay my creditors. They eat deep on what was designed to maintain me.

What is most material, your friend Mrs. Burke is, I bless God for it, much better. Her pains, which had returned with great violence, by the application of a new blister are gone, and she is quite easy—but still weak, and not able to go out of her bed. It is amazing how weak all these things leave her. Adieu! and a thousand thousand thanks.

Yours,

EDMUND BURKE.

LETTER XXV.

TO MR. BURKE.

March 15, 1796.

MY DEAR SIR,

IT was impossible for me to come on Sunday last, nor till next Sunday can I be with you. I then hope to see you at dinner. Woodford, I believe, will accompany me.

For the good intelligence which you give me respecting Mrs. Burke, though not quite so good as I could wish, I yet sin-

Digitized by Google

cerely thank you. It seems to me a great deal that she is so free from pain. God bless you both together!—for how long or short a time we must submit to Him.

I read with attention, and have safe in my possession, the whole packet of letters which you sent me. Lord Fitzwilliam on every occasion as he is more known, rises proportionably in my admiration. His visit to the speaker was worthy of him. His concluding opinion, that you should do nothing, makes much impression upon me, and I wish before any thing be actually done, that it could be made convenient for him to meet you either here or at Beaconsfield, so that you might fully talk the matter over with him. In truth from every thing which I can collect here, I begin to be staggered about the possibility of your doing any thing to answer your object; and if the attempt fails, I fear, it may be even injurious to you.

On Sunday evening, I was at the Chancellor's. After his levee, he detained me for an hour; and shewed me one or two of your letters. The substance of his last answer, which of course I did not let him understand that I had seen, he repeated to me with great accuracy. There was nothing of importance in our conversation on this subject, except that his lordship admitted, if Mr. Hastings's answer to Sir S. Lushington had come before him in the shape of an affidavit, it would have weighed nothing in mitigation of punishment. Mr. H. he observed always *argues* and never *asserts* about his own money-transactions. From all my remarks on the whole tenor of what passed, I do not in the least apprehend any further scandal of the kind, which you fear.

The speaker, whom I saw yesterday, was much more direct. He assured me that on considering the thing again and again, he thought, *and was sincerely sorry to think*, that nothing could be done. He did not see, that you could raise such an interest, as would entitle your petition to be received. That nothing effectual could follow from it he was positive, as it had before been found impossible to carry the printing of the abstract begun by Troward. But that he put out of the

Digitized by Google

question. The point was, whether you could get a petition on the journals, and that alone might be sufficient for the clearing of your own character. Mr. Hatsell and Mr. Ley came in, and we all had a consultation upon it. I explained as well as I could, the manner of your introducing it. They said, it was ingenious, and came near to the principle, but still did not judge it enough to make a petition admissible, unless you could shew to the house actual libels and attacks upon your character, arising out of your share in the impeachment. If such should follow the late grant to Mr. Hastings, it might be doubted whether you might not then come to the house; yet even then they were not confident of your success, as the thanks of the house already conferred on you were the most solemn testimony which they could give to your conduct, and on that ground the petition (which it was supposed would not be directed in the prayer to the punishment of the libelers) might be rejected by the house.

It struck me, that the reason of such rejection might appear on the record in a manner to answer something of your end. But Mr. Hatsell replied, that *no reason was ever inserted.* I suggested the printing of the trial; but I was informed, that had always been done by the order of the chancellor under authority of the lords. They agreed that it might be done by the commons, as they did conceive, with Selden, the house of commons to be an integral part of the court; but as it never had been done by them, it would certainly be resisted now in the present temper of the majority on the whole business of India. The speaker took me aside and said, that he was afraid any irregular attempt to bring it forward now, might prevent its being done hereafter if any opportunity offered in a legitimate way. He was anxious and eager, that *the top, bottom, and all the sides of the business*, should be at some time before the world; and he rejoiced in what I had intimated to him of your intentions to work upon the history of it, leaving me charged to finish it, should you be interrupted in the execution of it by the hand of God.

Indeed upon the whole I am satisfied that no further mis-

Digitized by Google

chief is likely to follow. This is bad and disgraceful enough, God knows; but, though with much reluctance, I am ultimately inclined to think that for the present you had best not expose yourself to the misconstructions which will be sure to attend your personal interposition at this moment, when you will and can have no support. It may deserve consideration whether you could not petition the house of lords for the printing of the trial. You have there a favor to request, and they have given no sanction to your character, but there you are certain of a very prostituted majority open-mouthed against you.

Your papers and books I will give directions to have sent you; and when you have dismissed your present work, I shall be most happy to unite my little exertions with your gigantic powers to get every thing in order; to have the abstract of the whole evidence completed, and arrange all your speeches, which (especially your final reply) embrace in a manner the whole subject. Such a publication, with an introductory history, and an appendix of the strongest papers, will be your best and most satisfactory protest. The pamphlets on which you are now employed will furnish a fund for these expenses, which I trust will in turn repay themselves with interest.

As to the Regicide Peace, the chancellor wished it to be delayed a month or so. His reason was, that he thought men's minds were settling more and more daily to the prosecution of the war. When I told him that you would make two separate publications of it, he was eager that the first should come as soon as possible. He hopes that you will not forget to shew that the principles of the present government in France are just as diabolical as those of Robespierre or any former regicide faction; and that the declarations in the beginning of their new constitution, *which misled us*, were only for their own purposes, as they could not profess to build at all on their own jacobin principles. The words underscored were the very words. The rest is the substance of what he said.

Digitized by Google

I scrawl this in court. I have more to say on this latter subject, but must defer it till to-morrow, when *from court again* I shall write to you, but not quite so long a letter.

I am, my dear sir,

Ever yours most devotedly,

FRENCH LAURENCE.

LETTER XXVI.

TO THE SAME.

March 17th, 1796.

MY DEAR SIR,

A POSTSCRIPT is said often to convey the principal point of a letter. Yours is certainly the most pleasing part to me. I rejoice at the thought of meeting Mrs. Burke once more in the dining-parlor. Thinking that she has too much neglected taking the air, I hope she will now make up for her former *sins* of omission; for *sins* I may truly call them, when you, as well as all her friends, are so much interested in the consequences.

Your two packets under Lord Inchiquin's covers, I received. Poor Wilde! It is the most embarrassing case, where liberty is hazardous and restraint seems cruel. I think you have treated him with great medical skill.

As to your own madness, though not shewing itself the same way, it is just as real as that of Democritus. It is your folly to be alone wise. As long as I hoped that I could terrify ministers into any compromise, which might serve your purpose, I endeavored it. But now doubting whether any public step can be taken, which would not (with all parties against you) subject you to misinterpretations as injurious as those you would wish to avoid, I fear that your letters, and make them as strong as you please, will be the only protest which I

Digitized by Google

can advise, till we can bring out our own publication of the trial in our own way.

As to the other *wisdom* of yours, I hear a great desire of it, and intimations, that you have suppressed it in favor to ministers for their late defence of you. I have a better argument about the emigrants. *One corps only is gone* to the West Indies, the greater part of which is made up of *German* mercenaries. No others are to go. It was found that their *capitulations* did not allow it, and some of them have therefore been broken.

There are one or two more passages in Anderson to your purpose. There was a new addition of capital to the bank by act of parliament. One fifth was to be subscribed in their own bank-note with eight per cent. and four-fifths in exchequer tallies and orders, which (Dr. Davenant in his essay on loans, 1710, says) were received at par, and cost the subscribers only from £55 to £65 per cent.: so that government-securities were from £35 to £45 per cent. discount. D'Avenant in the work just quoted thus describes shortly the necessities of that period.—"The government (says he) appeared like a distressed debtor, who was daily squeezed to death by the exorbitant greediness of the lender. The citizens began to decline trade and to turn usurers. Foreign commerce attended with the hazards of war, had infinite discouragement; and people in general draw home their effects, to embrace the advantage of lending their money to the government."

I am just come out of court from a long cause, which I hope will not continue to Monday, as it will in that case deprive me of the pleasure of seeing you on Sunday.

I am, my dear sir,

Ever most devotedly yours,

FRENCH LAURENCE.

Digitized by Google

LETTER XXVII.

TO THE SAME.

March 26th, 1796.

MY DEAR SIR,

LAST night I received a note from Mr. Wyndham, inviting me to meet him to-day at Beaconsfield. I am sorry it was not in my power to come, though but on the chance of finding him there; nor I fear can I come till to-morrow se'nnight at soonest.

Wyndham's purpose is to urge the speedy publication of the Regicide Peace, in which I agree with him.

When I last saw you, I mentioned something of the similarity of the war considered as a mere territorial question, in Louis the Fourteenth's time and the present. The little book which I quoted is called the interests of princes and states, printed in 1680. It is the work of a well-informed and traveled man. He says in his preface, that to judge of the designs of Louis from the general tenor of all the French writers of that day, his object was to make *the left bank of the Rhine his boundary;* claiming the whole kingdom of *Austrasia.* In many parts of that little work the great advantage of France in possessing the ports of the Netherlands against this country, and the importance of Holland as the great bulwark of this country, are exceedingly well put. Twice did the popular cry compel Charles reluctantly into a resistance to the views of France, and the result of the compromise which his corruption made was the necessity of two long and obstinate wars under William and Anne. That of William alone is to your purpose, as carried on with spirit and perseverance by a *new* monarch under great and accumulated distress. To state all the particulars of that distress, I know is not your object; but there is one feature, stronger as I recollect, than any mentioned in Anderson. A writer in one of the state tracts published in 1698, says that the salt-tallies were the best securities

Digitized by Google

of government, bore an interest of 7½ per cent. yet were then at 64 per cent. only, and had been a few months before as low as 50 *per cent.*

I hope Mrs. Burke continues to mend. Last night I called on poor *English*. He has been very ill, but is now much better.

The post-bell is ringing. I must conclude. Believe me to be,

My dear sir,

Yours ever most devotedly,

FRENCH LAURENCE.

P. S. I saw Troward's brother to-day. He says your books and papers shall come very soon. I gave directions for the MS. papers not to be forgotten.

LETTER XXVIII.

TO DR. LAURENCE.

Bath, July 18, 1796.

MY DEAR LAURENCE,

I THANK you for employing the short moment you were able to snatch from being useful, in being kind and compassionate. Here I am in the last retreat of hunted infirmity. I am indeed aux abois: But, as through the whole of a various and long life I have been more indebted than thankful to providence, so I am now singularly so, in being dismissed, as hitherto I appear to be, so gently from life, and sent to follow those who in course ought to have followed me, whom, I trust, I shall yet, in some inconceivable manner, see and know; and by whom I shall be seen and known. But enough of this.

However, as it is possible that my stay on this side of the grave, may be yet shorter, than I compute it, let me now beg to call to your recollection, the solemn charge and trust I gave you on my departure from the public stage. I fancy I must

Digitized by Google

make you the sole operator, in a work in which, even if I were enabled to undertake it, you must have been ever the assistance on which alone I could rely. Let not this cruel, daring, unexampled act of public corruption, guilt, and meanness, go down to a posterity, perhaps as careless as the present race, without its due animadversion, which will be best found in its own acts and monuments. Let my endeavors to save the nation from that shame and guilt, be my monument;—the only one I ever will have. Let every thing I have done, said, or written, be forgotten, but this. I have struggled with the great and the little on this point during the greater part of my active life; and I wish after death, to have my defiance of the judgments of those, who consider the dominion of the glorious empire given by an incomprehensible dispensation of the Divine Providence into our hands, as nothing more than an opportunity of gratifying, for the lowest of their purposes, the lowest of their passions—and that for such poor rewards, and for the most part, indirect and silly bribes, as indicate even more the folly than the corruption of these infamous and contemptible wretches. I blame myself exceedingly for not having employed the last year in this work, and beg forgiveness of God for such a neglect. I had strength enough for it, if I had not wasted some of it in compromising grief with drowsiness and forgetfulness; and employing some of the moments in which I have been roused to mental exertion, in feeble endeavors to rescue this dull and thoughtless people from the punishments which their neglect and stupidity will bring upon them for their systematic iniquity and oppression. But you are made to continue all that is good of me; and to augment it with the various resources of a mind fertile in virtues, and cultivated with every sort of talent, and of knowledge. Above all make out the cruelty of this pretended acquittal, but in reality this barbarous and inhuman condemnation of whole tribes and nations, and of all the classes they contain. If ever Europe recovers its civilization, that work will be useful. Remember! Remember! Remember!

It is not that I want you to sacrifice yourself blindly and

Digitized by Google

unfruitfully, at this instant. But there will be a season for the appearance of such a record; and it ought to be in store for that season. Get every thing that Troward has.

Your kindness will make you wish to hear more particulars of me: To compare my state with that of the three first days after my arrival, I feel on the whole less uneasiness—But my flesh is wasted in a manner which in so short a time no one could imagine. My limbs look about to find the rags that cover them. My strength is declined in the full proportion; and at my time of life new flesh is never supplied; and lost strength is never recovered. If God has any thing to do for me here, here he will keep me. If not, I am tolerably resigned to his divine pleasure. I have not been yet more than a day in condition to drink the waters—but they seem rather to compose than to disorder my stomach. My illness has not suffered Mrs. Burke to profit as she ought of this situation. But she will bathe to-night. Give Woodford a thousand kind remembrances. Please God, I shall write to him to-morrow. Adieu.

Your ever true friend,

EDMUND BURKE.

Mrs. Burke never forgets you, nor what remains of poor William.

LETTER XXIX.

TO THE SAME.

Bath, August 26th, 1796.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

WHEN I received your last kind letter, I was in a way at best very doubtful, to my feelings, desperate. I make one of the earliest uses of a small returning degree of strength, to thank you for that and for all other tokens of your friendship. It looks, as if Providence, for some wise ends, relative to my

Digitized by Google

own better preparation for death, or for some services to those who are near and dear to me, was resolved to continue me here something longer than I looked for. Your regard for me will justify some detail of my case: I find myself slowly, but with a nearly uniform progress, recovering. The mere complaint itself is very nearly as it has been: But the consequences are not in the same in any painful or debilitating circumstances. I am still indeed emaciated and comparatively weak: but not at all, as for the first fortnight after my arrival here, going perceptibly backward. I believe the Bath waters cannot do much more for me than they have done: but for a long time, Mrs. Burke, from her sedulous and unremitting anxiety for me, has not profited of the bathing, which I believe good for her case—so that on that account, I shall continue here some time longer.

The troublesome legacy which I left to you, was with the modifications, if I do not mistake, that your letter mentions. God forbid, that I should lay that load on the shoulders of a friend to his ruin. I am happy in the nature of the causes that prevent your accession to this sad inheritance; particularly, that you are got near to that object, which I have by many ways endeavored to compass for you, or rather for the country—and which my dear son almost in his dying hours had strongly at heart. Long may you serve the nation, professionally, professorially, parliamentarily; and long may you have a nation existing to serve: Mrs. Burke joins cordially in these wishes.

I am ever, with great affection and attachment,
My dear sir, most sincerely yours,

EDMUND BURKE.

Poor Will is rather more feeble in his limbs—in other respects, in the way you saw him—What there is of him is very much yours.

Digitized by Google

LETTER XXX.

TO THE SAME.

September 2d, 1796.

MY DEAR LAURENCE,

I AM not a little surprised, that so long a time should pass without my hearing from you; and especially that you have not noticed my last letter. What I enclose will save me the trouble of saying much; and indeed the letters coming in rather late, and the necessity of an immediate and very full acknowledgment of Lord F.'s kindness to us both, give me but very little time to explain myself at large as I could wish to do. I certainly wish, above most things, to have an hour's conversation with you—but that, before your answer to Lord Fitzwilliam, which cannot be long delayed, is a thing impossible. I do not know what the nature and circumstances of the seat are to which you alluded in your letter to me. If it be that which Woodford had in his eye, and which, in the most profound secrecy, he entrusted to me, I do not well know, what solid foundation, that business stands on. This which is now offered to you, if not very favorable to your first views of interest, is, from the connection, by far the most honorable that this kingdom affords. Most of the principles laid down in that letter are such as we hold in common, as firmly as our incomparable friend maintains them, and as to personal attachment from gratitude and esteem, there is no doubt you will think of it in a different view from that in which it is regarded by * * * and by * * *.

As to the rest, I recommend nothing. Your judgment is better than mine. I certainly wish to see you afloat in the parliamentary channel; and the tide in the affairs of men is not safely neglected. God direct you. If you cannot accept (which I don't think) from prior engagement or on the view of things—I am sure your refusal will be such as will show

Digitized by Google

the sense you have of the highest honor we can receive, to be distinguished by one of the most able and virtuous men, if not eminently the most so, in the country and age we live in. In or out of parliament Mrs. Burke and I say, God bless you. Adieu.

Faithfully yours,

EDMUND BURKE.

Say not a word of Lord Fitzwilliam's letter to any human creature. Thinking it possible you may not be in town, I enclose this to Woodford.

DR. LAURENCE TO LORD FITZWILLIAM,

(Upon the subject alluded to in the last letter.)

Doctors' Commons, Sept, 6th, 1796.

MY LORD,

BY Saturday's post Mr. Burke transmitted to me a letter of your Lordship's respecting myself, which I feel and ever shall feel, as one of the greatest honors of my life. To be distinguished by the good opinion of a man as eminent for virtues and talents, as illustrious by birth, is in my estimation always an object of fair ambition; but it is doubly flattering to be thought worthy of so great a trust by your Lordship under your present circumstances, when late events must have rendered you so much more cautious, in whom you place confidence. I will also add, that your Lordship's offer was still dearer and more interesting to me from the channel, through which it came.

Had I only consulted my inclinations, I should not have hesitated a moment; for I will plainly avow that, with my principles and opinions, a public connection with your Lordship is that alone which could give me perfect satisfaction in the present situation of things. But I have paused. I have ever considered the acceptance of a seat in parliament as the

Digitized by Google

undertaking of a most weighty charge. At the same time every man owes to his country the service of his talents, whatever they may be, if there be a serious call made upon him, such as I esteem your Lordship's offer. We find however in life, my Lord, many conflicting duties, which cannot always be reconciled without sacrifices on both sides. I know not exactly whether at this instant I ought to feel that embarrassment. Perhaps the best way will be to explain myself candidly and fully on all points of your Lordship's letter, both on things and persons, and then submit myself wholly to your Lordship's judgment.

As to things, with regard to external considerations; so entirely do my sentiments coincide with your Lordship's conduct, that I think it unnecessary to say any thing more on the subject. It would be my pride to show, that all have not abandoned those sentiments.

With regard to internal considerations: I am the determined enemy of *innovation;* I dislike all great changes, which may be still short of actual innovation; and in every change I think (to express myself legally) that there lies a very heavy burthen of proof against him who proposes it. Changes should be watched with more jealousy in proportion as they touch, or nearly approach the body of the constitution itself. Such, my Lord, is my creed in general on this head; but I will beg leave to trouble your Lordship with some details.

What is much misnamed parliamentary reform I never approved. Having a private acquaintance with Major Cartwright, I was by his means elected, while absent at Oxford, a member of the constitutional society, in my youth and their infancy. They sent me a bundle of their papers, by which I was so fully convinced, that I have never read one of their separate publications since, nor ever was at their society, though I have resided fourteen years in London, and for two or three of the early years received perpetual notices and summonses. I never but once attended any public meeting on the question, various as its fortune has been; it was at the

Digitized by Google

thatched house, whither I went accidentally, and where I stayed to vote against it.

On the reform proposed in the internal government of the Scotch burghs, I think a little differently. I was originally employed as counsel by the burgesses, and then made an honorary member of their committee here. It is a question which I should never be the first to stir. I think it would rather do good than harm, and not very much of either. It has nothing to do with the democracy of the burghs, the craftsmen or mechanics; they do now elect their counsellors annually: it relates to the rights of the guild-brethren, the merchants and heritors of lands; and they proceeded not on theories but on their ancient charters and ancient practice; and would have compromised for one half.

The test-act is another subject which has often been, and may be again before parliament. I shall only relate what passed some years since between the duke of Portland and myself. A considerable body of dissenters applied to me through a friend of mine, desiring me to offer their support to his grace in every thing, if he would assist them in the repeal of the test-act. I accepted and simply executed my commission. His grace declined the offer in a very wise and sound answer, of which I afterwards made use with good effect for his service at Oxford. He hinted that I had given no opinion, and did me the honor of allowing me to make any observations on his answer. I then thought it right to declare myself, and told his grace that I differed from him in nothing, except that if I were a mere individual member I should stay away from the question, but that if I were a person of political importance, so as not to absent myself without impropriety, I should be very unwilling to vote directly for a test, which as a member of the church of England I did not like to have so applied.

The systematic abuse of popular privileges, which is licentiousness, is dangerous in a free constitution; perhaps more so than an abuse of royal prerogatives; because the former is less easily checked than the latter: you must correct the man-

Digitized by Google

ners and habits of a multitude. Occasional abuses, springing from no formed design, will attend every thing useful. But in the present time I sincerely agree with your Lordship's conclusion, that "I had rather see the good curtailed than the evil extended;—I had rather see a bad minister go uncorrected, than a good constitution stabbed in its vitals."

Indeed, my Lord, this perplexing choice for men of integrity, will, I fear, exist long. It will be long before external and internal considerations can be separated. Whenever our pusillanimity or the necessities of the enemy shall compel an armistice, under the false name of a peace, the great difficulty will in my poor judgment but begin. While the war lasts, the hostile mind, though never less hostile than in the present contest, keeps us aloof from the fraternal embrace; but a French ambassador taking precedence of all other ambassadors, and French spies and emissaries without number wearing the republican cockade and received with honors at all popular meetings, as the enlighteners of mankind, will require all the vigilance of government and the wisdom of parliament to prevent or check the natural consequences among the factious of our own country. Measures more and more vigorous may be necessary, and I should feel it my duty to vote for all, which did not go clearly beyond my sense of that necessity, though I might think them not the most skilfully adapted to their own end.

With the power of Mr. Pitt, I never wish to have any connection. So far from it, my Lord, that I some little time since voluntarily resolved (and signified my resolution) to forego my claims to the first rank in my profession, should a vacancy happen. My motives, not material here, were in part private, in part public. I should endeavor to maintain him in power merely from a conviction, that in consequence of the ground taken by opposition, and the distemper of the times, the cause of government in the abstract and our excellent constitution in particular, cannot be supported but by supporting the actual minister. Happy, I believe, would it have been for

Digitized by Google

Europe, if the breaking out of the French Revolution had found Mr. Fox in the situation of Mr. Pitt! But while*

TO DR. LAURENCE.

Bath, Tuesday, Sept. 6th, 1796.

MY DEAR LAURENCE,

We shall remain here till this day se'nnight; but I do not know that it is absolutely necessary for you to come hither. It can hardly be without a great hindrance to your business. If, on the whole, you should resolve to accept, I know of no obligations that lie on you except to the D. of Portland—and none of them have been connected with any politics of this time that I know of. Of course you will say nothing of this to him, until your resolution is in general taken—you will then communicate it to him without seeming to entertain any sense of its being in any event likely to be unpleasant to him. I take it for granted you will explain this matter distinctly to Lord Fitzwilliam. I need not again recommend to you, to let not a breath of air on this business until it is necessary, by your election, if you should take upon the explanation which I think it quite right should be made.

Ever yours,

EDMUND BURKE.

* The remaining part of this Letter was not found among Dr. Laurence's papers.

Digitized by Google

LETTER XXXI.

TO THE SAME

Thursday Evening.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

MAY your days be many! may they be important! may they be happy! This will make full amends to me, for the fewness, insignificance, and unhappiness of mine. I do not know that I shall stay over to-morrow. I shall go that day if I can; if not on Saturday. I should be very unhappy if I disturbed you, or impeded the course of business, when I know you are at the (I hope fortunate) crisis of your life, and of every thing which can give you an honorable and independent situation. "There is a tide," &c.—follow it. I have either lost or left behind me two sheets at the beginning; they followed those I had sent last and led into the others. This at first mortified me; and in a manner made me despair of the business: but I have recovered it from my memory pretty much to my satisfaction; so far as I have gone; and I think I shall finish it before I leave town. At present I don't want you at all—so stick to your affairs. I am sorry I know nothing at all of Bishop Hurd.

Yours most truly,

EDMUND BURKE.

LETTER XXXII.

TO THE SAME.

October 10th, 1796.

MY DEAR LAURENCE,

I HAVE thought over and over again, and with much coolness, though not wholly without anxiety on the subject of our

Digitized by Google

last conversation. The more I reflect on the matter, the more I am convinced, that the application you were desired to make is ill timed, and the channel through which it was to be made, ill chosen. If I know any thing of the person who holds the *feuille de Bénéfices*, he would refuse the request; and not wholly without reason, because it was not made to himself directly—and next, your setting out in your new situation, and even before you were in it, with an obligation, which would make you appear dependent or ungrateful, would leave an awkwardness, that I do not wish to see in the gait of your proceeding—therefore, my dear friend, if you have spoken to the Duke, (if my opinion could prevail) you would withdraw your application. If it was a matter in his grace's own *private* patronage, (for ecclesiastical patronage of his own property I believe he has) I see no objection at all to your doing this; but in an application to a minister for *crown* favors through another minister, it neither can, nor in reason ought to, be put to a private account. I must fairly say, that if I myself held the crown patronage in trust, I should think it some degree of breach of that trust, if I gave away its means of influence without any assurance of a return. Forgive my freedom; it arises from the solicitude of my affection. Adieu. Mrs. B. and all here salute you. A thousand thanks for the pains you take about the forlorn hope. I am afraid I have been guilty of a great folly, in extreme age, infirmity and debility, in the jaws almost of death, to encounter the whole power of the world both at home and abroad! Once more farewell.

Yours ever most truly,

EDMUND BURKE.

Digitized by Google

LETTER XXXIII.

TO MR. BURKE.

Doctors' Commons,
Oct. 13th, 1796.

MY DEAR SIR,

THE *three first* (or the *first three*) half-sheets are worked off. Two more I have now sent, but one intermediate half-sheet I have kept back for your approbation of a slight addition which I have made. In p. 30 (half-sheet E) you have interpolated a short passage. You say, "Let me add, that if our government perseveres in its uniform course of acting under instruments with such preambles, it pleads guilty," &c. &c. I have ventured to soften it a little by introducing a parenthesis: "Let me add—and it is with unfeigned anxiety for the credit and character of the ministry that I do add—if our government," &c. &c. If you do not like these, insert any other words of personal civility to something of the same effect, and let me have them. By having kept that half-sheet back, I do not delay the press at all; only no words must be added or taken away, so as to disturb the whole setting of the half-sheet. In the same half-sheet, p. 31, are the words *oglings* and *glances* of *fraternity*. Lest this *coquetting*," &c. &c. I am afraid here was something of an *incestuous* passion imputed to Britannia; I have put a feebler word, "*tenderness*," instead of "*fraternity*." If you can think of a better word, let me have it.

Oct. the 14th.

A case for opinion interrupted and prevented my finishing yesterday. This morning I have despatched five more half-sheets. In one or two places a word had slipt out so as to leave the sentence imperfect, which I have ventured to supply. If not quite as you would wish it, when you see it, correct it for the second edition. Some words I have changed, to re-

Digitized by Google

move an accidental jingle that offended my ear. I have taken these liberties, in execution of my full powers, with all possible moderation; but the saving of time was every thing. There is, as I understand, a great expectation of your pamphlet, and lord Fitzwilliam's speech and protest are preparing your way with admirable effect. I heard to-day, that his reasons had made many converts at Batson's among the monied men. They say there are some things unanswerable in what his lordship has adduced. The speaker (who by the way was very earnestly kind in his inquiries after your *health*, not your *book*) yesterday told me, that he thought lord Fitzwilliam a man of high integrity; no person could say that his lordship had abandoned his principles. As he laid himself so open, I did not think it generous to press him with a question which I longed to put, "Who then must have abandoned their principles?"

I enclose you a half-sheet of the original copy which the printer says he never had back from you, and knows not how or where it is to be introduced. I have looked as far as p. 120, in the last new copy and find no place for it; though from the contents of it, it seems as if it ought to come in before, but of that I am not sure. At any rate correct it and send it up as soon as possible, and possibly the printer may be able to arrange it from the clue at beginning and ending.

I shall if possible come to you on Sunday for a day, but I think you had best send this back by the coach to-morrow to Mr. Rivington directly.

George Ellis, I hear, goes or is gone with Lord Malmesbury. I scrawl in great haste. Adieu.

Ever most sincerely
Your grateful and devoted
F. Laurence.

Digitized by Google

LETTER XXXIV.

TO DR. LAURENCE.

Friday Night, 10 o'clock, 18th Nov. 1796.

MY DEAR LAURENCE,

I HAVE been out of sorts for several days past, but have not been so much weakened by that circumstance as I might have feared. I don't desire long letters from you, but, I confess, I wish a line now and then, I mean very near literally, a *line*. The present state of things, both here and in Ireland, as well as abroad, seems to me to grow every moment more critical. In Ireland it is plain they have thrown off all sort of political management, and even the decorous appearance of it. They had for their commander in chief * * * *, a person utterly unacquainted with military affairs beyond what was necessary for a quartermaster-general in a peaceable country. He had never seen war, hardly in any image, but he was a man of a moderate and humane disposition, and one, from whom no acts of atrocity were to be apprehended. In order to remove him from the command of the army, they have made him a peer. This was a step to the appointment of * * * *, to the full as little experienced in any real military service as * * * * but younger and of far different dispositions. In case of an actual invasion, they could not expect any thing whatsoever from his military skill or talents. The only proof they had of either has been in his desperate promptitude, without either civil, criminal, or martial law, to seize upon poor ploughmen in their cottages, and to send them bound where he thought fit. By what he is capable of and by what he is incapable, they shew in what manner it is they mean to provide for the military defence and for the civil tranquillity and happiness of Ireland. They have fomented a spirit of discord upon principle in that unhappy country—they have set the protestants, in the only part of the country in which the protestants have any degree of

Digitized by Google

strength, to massacre the catholics. The consequence will be this, if it is not the case already, that instead of dividing these two factions, the catholics, finding themselves outlawed by their government, which has not only employed the arm of abused authority against them, but the violence of lawless insurrection, will use the only means that is left for their protection in a league with those persons who have been encouraged to fall upon them, and who are as well disposed to rebel against all government, as to persecute their unoffending fellow citizens. The parliament, encouraged by the Lord Lieutenant's secretary, has refused so much as to inquire into these troubles. The only appearance of any inquiry which has been, is that put into the hands of a person, I mean the attorney general, one of the avowed enemies and persecutors of the suffering people, and in the closest connection with them. I see that the affections of the people are not so much as looked to, as any one of the resources for the defence of Ireland against the invasion which the enemy will make upon that country, if they have force enough to do it consistently with their other views; but, I confess, that from the least reflection I am able to make in the intervals of pain and sorrow, I do not think that the invasion of either of these countries is a primary object in their present plan of policy—their views seem to me to be directed elsewhere, and their object is, to disable this country from any effectual resistance to them, by alarming us with fears for our domestic safety. They have gained their ends completely. The arrangements, which we have made and are making in both kingdoms for that safety, provide for it in the worst possible manner, whilst they effectually disable us from opposing the enemy upon his larger and real plan of attack—we oppose to his *false* attack the whole of our *real* strength. I have long doubted of the use of a militia, constituted as our militia is; because I do not like in time of war any permanent body of regular troops in so considerable a number as perhaps to equal the whole of our other force, when it is only applicable to one and that but a very uncertain part of the demands of

Digitized by Google

general service. Whether I am right or wrong may be a question with persons better informed than I am, but it has been my opinion at least these twenty years. If I did not declare it in parliament, it was because the prejudice was too strong to be prudently resisted; but when danger comes, strong prejudices will be found weak resources.

Whatever the merits of militia may be, I am sure that no prudent persons with whom I have ever conversed have been of opinion that it ought to be extended beyond the old number. Other ideas however have prevailed. The infant resources of Ireland have been exhausted by establishing a militia there, upon the feeble plan of the militia *here*, and with consequences much more justly to be apprehended from an abuse of that institution. Whether with regard to the economical and civil effects on the military, they have now in both kingdoms added immensely to that erroneous establishment, if erroneous it is, and have thereby doubled the weakness instead of augmenting the strength of these kingdoms. I believe it will be found, that in both countries there is, by personal service or by public charge, the burden of an army forming or formed of at least fourscore thousand men utterly unapplicable to the general service of the country, or to the conservation of what I shall ever think as much for its being as self defence itself, I mean the safety and liberty of Europe. The very idea of active defence, the only sure defence, which consists in offensive operations against your enemy, seems wholly to be abandoned.

I know it will be said that these corps do not bring upon the nation the burden of half pay—this is true but in part, and in my opinion, if war should continue, it will become less and less of an object. At any rate it will be found as economy a very poor resource to make out such a saving by the limitation of effect and service.

I do not mean to say that such little aids to the police as by an occasional use of a yeoman cavalry, which is in the nature Marachausée, is much to be condemned. If the service is not much, the charge is not ruinous, and our military arm

Digitized by Google

is not crippled. In my opinion, the expense of these arrangements would furnish such a subsidy to Russia, as would enable that power to act with such a body of troops against the common enemy, as to do more for our real defence than from any home arrangements that we can make. I have said enough upon this subject, though by no means all that is in my mind; but if you agree with me in principle, your own thoughts will more than supply my omissions.

I have suffered great uneasiness from another scheme, the tendency of which is (though I am of opinion nothing is less intended) totally to disgust the people with the continuance of this war—I mean that part of the people upon whose soundness and spirit the very being of civil society at this time depends, that is, that part of the people who live with a degree of decency upon an income not likely to improve. They are the part of the community which are naturally attached to stability and to the resistance of innovation, but are not qualified to afford pecuniary resources to the state. They may serve to furnish a contingent in the way of taxes which is to be supplied as their income accrues, or as their economy finds supply, but they have no hoards, and if you apply to them for a forced loan, you drive them into the toils of the usurers, who will disable them from paying what they are already charged to the support of the state. Sure it were better to borrow directly at a high interest, that is at the interest of the public necessities, and to lay upon those men their share of it, than to take this perplexed circuitous course, which, in the end, will weaken public credit by destroying most of the private credit of the kingdom.

I was going further, when my friendly amanuensis reminded me that it is near 10 o'clock; I am afraid I have tired you, though I tire myself somewhat less by dictating a sheet than by writing twenty lines—however, one is more wordy when one dictates. I intended if I had time, to tell you that Keogh is come to London, and to wish to have yours and Lord Fitzwilliam's, as well as Mr. Wyndham's thoughts upon the subject of his journey, when I know better of what nature it may

Digitized by Google

be. He shews a very great desire of seeing me and conversing with me upon the subject of Ireland. I have fought it off by giving him very true reasons, that is to say, my feeble state of health, and the *contempt* that is entertained for my opinions, especially in what relates to Ireland.—He tells me he has not been with any minister. He is a man that on the whole I think ought not to be slighted, though he is but too much disposed to jacobin principles and connections in his own nature, and is a catholic only in name—not but that whole body, contrary to its nature, has been driven by art and policy into jacobinism, in order to form a pretext to multiply the jobs and to increase the power of that foolish and profligate junto to which Ireland is delivered over as a farm. I shall let you know further about Keogh when I hear from him; and I shall send to Lord Fitzwilliam his letters to me, as well as a copy of my answer to him—I shall send you another copy—Good night.

Yours ever,

EDMUND BURKE.

LETTER XXXV.

TO MR. BURKE.

London, Nov. 23d, 1796.

MY DEAR SIR,

IN my last, endeavoring to answer, however shortly, every topic of your letter, I forgot what I previously had intended to have requested. I think it the best way for a public man to study every thing of an interesting nature, which rises into notice, whether he intends to take an active part in the question or not. What is read at such a moment makes a tenfold impression. You would particularly oblige me, if you would send me the fragments of the review, which you once made,

Digitized by Google

of the laws against the Irish catholics. There is also a bundle of printed papers on the question lately agitated, which I tied up myself and left on one of the shelves in my room at Beaconsfield. Will you desire Mr. Nagle to look for it. I believe he will find it on the second shelf from the top in that book-case by the fire which is on the side furthest from the window. The whole together may be sent by the coach. The Oxford coach with two horses is the best, as it comes to an inn not far from hence, and where my name is known.

I congratulate you on Sir Edmund Nagle's new success. I shall be contented, that he should succeed against me too, for I am just going to argue a cause against him, where the merits are clearly with him. We shall never be able to get our ship and cargo out of his clutches, so I shall feel true christian resignation for once to the decree of Sir James Marriott, and only wish the stake was more valuable.

Did you ever see any thing go on—or rather stand still—like Lord Malmesbury's negotiation: by the way it is not pleasant, that one of the French papers, after describing the severe and impressive look—not the flickering smiles which you were pleased to suppose—of our dignified solicitor of disgrace, actually compares me to the *Jupiter tonans!* He seems to me rather in the weeping character of the *Jupiter Pluvius;* or perhaps there is another Jupiter whom you adore, and whom you may think his lordship still more resembles, the *Jupiter stercoreus*, according to the epithet which the pretended fragments of Orpheus give him, of the "*dung-dweller.*"

I have heard from two or three quarters that private letters from our ambassador's train represent France as very much depopulated. It is said, you hardly see a man in the vigor of life. There are none but old men and boys.

This morning I received a very anxious letter from poor Wilde, which I enclose you. I shall answer it shortly and kindly, but I am afraid of his correspondence.

Adieu! I am just going to set all my sails to escape with my ship and cargo, if I can, from Sir Edmund Nagle.—The

Digitized by Google

cause is opened,—but will not be finished to-day. Believe me to be,

My dear sir, ever most gratefully
And affectionately yours,
FRENCH LAURENCE.

P. S. I know not, whether you saw in the Times of Saturday, a copy of the treaty attempted to be forced upon the poor pope. It is a fine specimen of moderation. It was put into my hands by a *noble and learned friend of yours and mine*, and I sent it to the paper. I spoke to Mr. Cullen to impress it a little on the public, but he could not in that paper, as he told me.—Your letter to Keogh, I will return to-morrow.—Remember me to Mrs. Burke.

LETTER XXXVI.

TO DR. LAURENCE.

Beaconsfield, 25th Nov. 1796.

MY DEAR LAURENCE,

I HAVE heard at last from Mr. Keogh: by his letter, which I enclose, you see the cause of his delay. He is not offended, but he says not one word of Tone his secretary, but probably reserves an explanation of this for conversation. As it will be of much more importance that you should hear what he has to say, than that I should, I think to write to him by this night's post to call upon you, or if his health should not permit it, that you would call upon him at your first time of leisure. I intend to tell him, that weak as I am I shall see him if he pleases.—Not a word from lord Fitzwilliam, which I am rather surprised at, knowing that in general he is punctual, and that these affairs are very near his heart.—What you say about the pope is very striking, but he and his Troy will be burned to ashes, and I assure all good protestants that

Digitized by Google

whatever they may think of it, the thread of their life is close twisted into that of their great enemy. It is perfectly ridiculous, in the midst of our melancholy situation, to see us forswearing this same pope lustily in every part of these dominions, and making absolute war upon him in Ireland at the hazard of every thing that is dear to us, whilst the enemy from whom we have most to fear, is doing the same thing with more effect and less hazard to themselves. For we are cutting our own throats in order to be revenged of this said old pope. It is very singular, that the power which menaces the world should produce in us no other marks of terror than by a display of meanness, and that this poor old bugbear, who frightens nobody else, and who is affrighted by every body and every thing, is to us the great object of terror, of precaution, and of vigorous attack.—You remember the fable of the Hare and the Frogs. On this point, I verily begin to believe that Mr. Pitt is stark mad; but that he is in the *cold* fit of this phrenetic fever. I agree with you, and it was long the opinion of our dear departed friend, that Mr. Pitt, keeping an underhand and direct influence in Ireland to screen himself from all responsibility, does resolve on the actual dissolution of the empire; and having settled for himself, as he thinks, a faction there, puts every thing into the hands of that faction, and leaves the monarchy and the superintendency of Great Britain to shift for themselves as they may.

Mrs. Burke passed but a bad day yesterday, with much bilious vomiting and a head-ache, but the latter is gone and she has had a very quiet night, though not much sleep; and though not up is light and easy.—As to myself, I have had four fits in the night and several yesterday. Between the fits, both in the afternoon and at night, I had rest enough.—I send you this by the coach, and am affectionately

Yours,

EDMUND BURKE.

Digitized by Google

LETTER XXXVII.

TO THE SAME.

Beaconsfield, Wednesday morning, 11 o'clock, Nov. 1796.

MY DEAR LAURENCE,

I HAVE had a bad night, and am very faint and feeble. I do not know where the abstract you mention is in the chaos of my papers, but if I get a little stronger this day I shall look for it, but I send you the printed papers, which Nagle has just found. You know that the far greater and the most oppressive part of those laws has been repealed. The only remaining grievance which the catholics suffer from the *law*, consists in certain incapacities relative to *franchises*. The ill will of the governing powers is their great grievance, who do not suffer them to have the benefit of those capacities to which they are restored, nominally, by the law. The franchises which they desire are to remove the stigma from them which is branded on any description whatever of dissenters in Ireland, who take no test and are subject to no incapacity; though they [are] of the old long established religion of the country, and who cannot be accused of perverseness or any factious purpose in their opinions, since they remain only where they have always been, and are, the far greater majority of the inhabitants. They give as good proofs of their loyalty and affection to government, at least as any other people. Tests have been contrived for them to purge them from any suspicious political principles, supposed to have some connection with their religion. These tests they take; whereas the persons, called protestants, which protestantism, as things stand, is no description of a religion at all, or of any principle, religious, moral, or political, but is a mere negation, take no test at all. So that here is a persecution, as far as it goes, of the only people in Ireland, who make any positive profession of the Christian faith; for even the clergy of the established church do not sign the thirty-nine articles.

Digitized by Google

The heavy load that lies upon them is, that they are treated like enemies, and as long as they are under any incapacities, their persecutors are furnished with a legal pretence of scourging them upon all occasions, and they never fail to make use of it. If this stigma were taken off, and that, like their other fellow citizens, they were to be judged by their conduct, it would go a great way in giving quiet to the country. The fear that if they had capacities to sit in parliament they might become the majority and persecute in their turn, is a most impudent and flagitious pretence, which those, who make use of it, know to be false. They could not at this day get *three* members out of the *three hundred*, and never can have the least probability from circumstances of becoming the tenth part of the representatives, even though the boroughs made in the time of James the First for the destruction of the then natural interests of the country should be reformed upon any plan which has as yet been proposed, because the natural interests have been varied and the property changed since the time of King James the First. At present the chief oppression consists in the abuse which is made by the powers of executive government, which may more effectually harass an obnoxious people, than even adverse laws themselves. I do not know whether you are apprized of all the proceedings in the county of Armagh, particularly of the massacres that have been perpetrated on the catholic inhabitants of that county, with no punishment and hardly any discountenance of government. All this however is a matter of very nice handling in a British parliament, on account of the jealous independence of that county. Neither the court nor the opposition party I am afraid would relish it, especially, as they pretend or may pretend that the subject is to become a matter of their own inquiry. I have written my mind fully upon this subject to Lord Fitzwilliam, but I have had yet no answer, nor, indeed, hardly could. The jacobin opposition take this up to promote sedition in Ireland; and the jacobin ministry will make use of it to countenance tyranny in the same place.

As to George Ellis and Lord Malmsbury, the Jupiter and

Digitized by Google

his Mercury, I don't care whether they are in the clouds or in the dung; but one thing I see very clearly, that nothing above or below will prevent the ministers from going through their dirty work. What has been written as argument or observation has had no answer, but it makes no impression unless perhaps to confirm some people in the obstinacy of their meanness. Do you know that Mr. Crewe has wrote that the **** perfectly approves every thing in the pamphlet, and yet he has done every thing or concurred in every thing in diametrical opposition to his principles—he will do so, in every thing that can be proposed of the same nature. What think you of their finding no one but General **** to whom the safety of Ireland could be committed at this crisis. All this must have passed through the ****, who thinks one way, and who acts or is acted upon in the direct contrary way. I am very sick of all these things. As you know Keogh, I think there is no objection to your seeing him, if you can contrive it. I do not know how you approve my answer to him, but I am sure he does not, by making no sort of reply to me.

You will write to Mr. Wilde, and let him know that I have been very ill from time to time, and that you have informed me of his inquiry, and that I am much obliged to him for his solicitude about me. The terms prescribed by the thieves of the directory to the pope are what might be expected. He cannot help it, being intrinsically weak in himself, and we have refused to put him in a better condition, for fear of the statute of Premunire; and our fleet has thought proper to fly out of the Mediterranean, and to evacuate all the strong holds we had in that part of the world—I think [we make] a more *** figure than the pope. In proportion to the strength of body which is enervated by the meanness of spirit—"Oh, impotence of mind in body strong."—The parcel waits—God bless you.

If you can [get] Bollingbrooke's abridgment of the Irish statutes, which is extremely well done, you will see the materials upon which I went in the abstract of the old popery

Digitized by Google

laws, which I gave to the D— of P— on his going Lord L— to Ireland. My poor Richard had a complete copy, which he put into the hands of the committee, with such alterations and additions as they thought proper.

Adieu.—Mrs. Burke has had a bad night as well as myself. Doctor Brocklesby has been here and is gone. Parochial news we have none.

Yours ever,

EDMUND BURKE.

LETTER XXXVIII.

TO MR. BURKE.

London, Dec. 2d, 1796.

MY DEAR SIR,

WHILE the evidence is reading in the cause of Sir Edward Nagle's capture, I cannot but snatch the opportunity of dropping you a line: if possible I shall come again to you on Sunday with poor Woodford, who, I am afraid, grows daily worse.

Tuesday last I had Mr. Keogh with me the whole morning. He was a little too ambitiously displaying his oratory. His great object was by a long detail to satisfy me how moderate the views of the catholics in general and his own in particular had always been. Of course there was not a word glancing at Mr. Tone. He professed to think that the gratification of the catholics would instantly make every thing easy and safe in Ireland, but despaired of any thing being done for them, or of finding any benefit from the interference of any person on this side of the water. His object, he said, was to impress men of liberal minds and public situations here, that if any bad and fatal consequences should ensue, the blame would not rest with the catholics. Some of his details of former events were important and striking. He is to be with me again to-morrow; and means shortly to visit you.

Digitized by Google

Yesterday I received a letter from Milton. Lord F. to whom I submitted my opinions on the new loan, is desirous that I should express them in the house. But I have now some doubts, from the alterations of the scheme, making it a little less objectionable, though in principle the same, and the spirit of the subscription which promises to produce in two days more money than is wanted, and of course to render the principle of a *forced loan* nugatory till the Greek calends. On the other side, what we have seen on this occasion in the city is a new argument against the misconduct of ministers, in not exciting a people so ready to obey their call. I should be tempted so to use it, if I had previously got over the decorous modesty, candor, and insipidity of a maiden speech. There is, I find, some good stuff among the young members, if they were collected together under a head, and they look toward Wyndham.

Have the goodness to inform Nagle, that on Monday, as soon as I came to town, I had a conversation with Woodford, and another in the evening with Mr. Wyndham, both of which will I hope give him pleasure. I shall tell him the particulars when I see him. Remember me to Mrs. Burke. God bless you both.

Ever yours gratefully and devotedly,

F. LAURENCE.

P. S. I just hear that ten millions are already subscribed at the bank. Persons cannot get up to the books. There is absolutely an overflow. Such is the alacrity of the city, in support of the government, that it is probable the whole loan will be filled by the capital alone.

The ship is just condemned to Sir Edward Nagle, or rather to his squadron. Further proof of the cargo is ordered.—There is an appeal from the condemnation of the ship immediately entered.

Digitized by Google

LETTER XXXIX.

TO DR. LAURENCE.

Dec. 9, 1795.

MY DEAR LAURENCE,

The Budget day was a matter of great speculation, Pitt rather less insolent—Fox as furious as I expected. Grey has come forward and taken a sort of lead—Sheridan heads, I suppose, a corps de reserve. Tell me in three lines your remarks upon the general temper of the house on that night and on this. A fine business this of La Fayette. Good God! among all the imprisonments, confiscations, murders, and exiles, to find no one object for a British house of commons to take up but citizen de la Fayette. I see Fox proposes the repeal of the two anti-jacobin acts. What do you think of making your debût upon them? Lord Fitzwilliam concurred in them. Unless perhaps you think that that ground is a little worn out. I think the taxes on the whole, if likely to be productive, are unexceptionable. The house-tax is the worst. Why did not Pitt tax the lower teas?—a small duty would not have been felt, and surely tea-drinking, though it would be idle to restrain it, is not an object of direct encouragement amongst the lower orders of the people. Good night. My [pains] have raged all yesterday, all last night, and a great part of this day with tenfold fury, but a vomiting came on me, and I am a good deal easier this evening. Once more adieu. Mrs. Burke's affectionate compliments. I wrote to you by the coach yesterday.

Yours ever,

Edmund Burke.

Digitized by Google

LETTER XL.

TO MR. BURKE.

London, December 10th, 1796.

MY DEAR SIR,

WHEN I wrote yesterday I did not know the event of Thursday's debate. Some part of it I caught accidentally, but thinking the stoppage of supplies a question which Opposition would hardly venture, as the most unfavorable to them, and considering the little which I heard from that side only as a strong protest, that they might afterwards take up the business seriously at a better opportunity, I went away to talk with Woodford in consequence of your letter, and dine with Adey to meet Mr. Duncombe. I did not like Mr. Pitt's defence, which I heard. He took better ground on the same point the day before. He then stated it as an irregular act which he hazarded, knowing his responsibility but not doubting his duty, when the service could only be so done in the choice of difficulties under which he labored, from the exigences of our ally on one side, and on the other the public terror on account of the scarcity of money at home. On Thursday he tried to find something of principle in other discretionary and indefinite expenditures, chiefly from exceedings of allowed and known services, which instances I thought by no means analogous; and he attempted to bring it within the authority of the vote of credit, by an interpretation never before put on the usual general words of the act passed to give the vote effect. If he did, what he did, really to hearten the emperor, and feared that our pecuniary embarrassments might have made it dangerous to declare it at the time, I should be disposed to indemnify, praise, and thank him, but not to sanction the thing as a quiet precedent. Observing however (I have not seen the paper itself) that the chief payments have been in the two last (if Malone were by, I must say the *last two*,) months of the present parliament, and while we were

Digitized by Google

courting the Regicide, I suspect the secrecy was as much occasioned by a fear of attack about the insincerity of his overtures in that quarter. As it is impossible for me to come to you to-morrow, and the subject may and will be again before the house, I would thank you for your sentiments upon it. At least tell me how far my general impression is right.

Opposition seems to be disposed to be violent. I observed to Anstruther that if his friends did not take care they would get head. They gave tongue with alacrity. The minister's troops were flat. Sheridan I did not see on the Budget day. He was there, but did not speak, on Tuesday. He seems to be now an *Ex-Ex*-Chancellor of the Exchequer.

There seemed on the whole to be a good spirit in the house. On the Budget day, whatever Pitt said that was animating, as to the courage and resources of the country to effectuate the safety of Europe, our own glory and permanent advantages, was well cheered. Fox on the other hand was heard in dead silence, when he endeavored to attribute the zeal shewn in the late loan to a desire of peace. These were indications which might have been nursed into something, were there not a conspiracy to enfeeble and break down the spirit both of the representative and constituent bodies.

What you see in the papers, is true, relative to an American vessel, laden with 20,000 stand of arms and cannon, having been taken on a suspicion of being bound to Ireland. She was a good emblem of *American peace*,—her name was the *Olive-branch*, with *a covered cargo of arms*. Have you heard any thing from Mr. Keogh, or had any other intelligence about Ireland?

Give my most grateful and affectionate remembrances to Mrs. Burke; and believe me to be,

My dear sir,

Ever most warmly and devotedly yours,

French Laurence.

P. S. Opposition are nibbling at you. Fox misquoted you one day, Grey had a scrap of you the next. But they do not venture to face or glance at any one part of your doctrines.

Digitized by Google

LETTER XLI.

TO THE SAME.

Admiralty Court, Dec. 15th, 1796.

MY DEAR SIR,

I GAVE my vote in the minority with the most perfect conviction possible in my own mind. The precedents nothing, or, in their fair construction, rather the other way in point of authority. They were brought forward with great parade, and in fact instantly abandoned by the amendment, which stated the measure to be justifiable only under the circumstances, and not to be drawn into precedent, unless (here we go back again) in cases of special necessity, which according to my political philosophy, have nothing to do with precedents, but must be justified by their own merits. Did you ever know such miserable confusion and perplexity. And this was made still much worse by introducing the mention of the vote of credit, which having been passed into a law could not admit of a violation justified by necessity, which is a supercession of law. Could you imagine that my old school-fellow Bragge, who moved the ministerial amendment, was bred to the law, and is a studious and sensible man? The facts of the case were stronger than I could have supposed. A sum of about £308,000 had been advanced to the Prince of Condé before the vote of credit had passed. Before the end of the last parliament and after the vote of credit, opposition called for the distribution paper. There were no issues in it to the Prince of Condé, but some to the paymaster of the forces, nearly but not exactly to the same amount. The former have since been introduced, and the latter transferred to the army extraordinaries; so I think it was stated by opposition and not denied by ministers. Part of the same in question had been brought to account among the army extraordinaries. The amendment went only to moneys issued under the vote of credit. But it was explained by the mover, that however

Digitized by Google

entered in the treasury accounts, if the whole sum was not more than the amount of the vote of credit, it was to be taken as covered by the latter. That again is a good principle of account to be advanced by a lawyer interpreting a law. As Mr. Rose is going to resign, I think (without meaning any thing derogatory to the talents of his intended successor, Duglas) that no man can worthily take his place, but Mr. Larkins.—Alas! the absurdity of all this will force a laugh, but the consequences of all this trick to the country would make me very melancholy, if I chose to indulge that disposition.

I was in the back part of the house. Very full as it was, it was impossible for me to get an opportuuity of saying some few words as I wished,—unless I had purposely and ostentatiously put myself forward with apparent malice prepense.

God bless you and Mrs. B. whom I hope you found well.

Ever sincerely, gratefully,

And affectionately yours,

FRENCH LAURENCE.

P. S. My nature is rather abhorrent from managements of great principles. If it were not, last night would have been a very sufficient lesson. I hope it will have its proper operation, where it may be yet useful, if it does not take another effect, and frighten him out of attempting any thing good in any way. The latter, I fear, is the more likely event.

LETTER XLII.

TO DR. LAURENCE.

16th Dec. 1796.

MY DEAR LAURENCE,

SINCE you were so well able to reconcile it to your own mind, I am exceedingly glad of the part you took, and of the manner in which you have taken it. I am sure that in a

Digitized by Google

debate in which two speakers occupied more than seven hours, it was impracticable for you to come out with any effect. You will have, I am afraid, but too many opportunities of explaining yourself upon this question. Whenever such opportunities occur, I hope you will distinctly mark the difference you make between the political application of the money, and the mode of proceeding which has a tendency to affect the authorities and duties of your house. I think it is visible as the meridian sun, that Fox takes up the economical and constitutional part of the question in order to embarrass the political. I therefore submit to you, whether what you shall hereafter say, should not be rather an explanation of your former vote, and in support of a renovation of a further proceeding in the same spirit and for answering the same bad purposes. The house, whether right or wrong, has decided, and the continual reiteration of this question under new shapes can answer no other purpose than to render all assistance to our allies impracticable and odious. If I were in Mr. Pitt's place, this error, or necessity, or whatever it may be called, or may be, would only animate me in my cause, and give me an opportunity of putting the whole matter to issue by an early proposition of giving vigorous assistance to the emperor and to Russia, specifying the sum not to be exceeded, and leaving the mode of the application to the discretion of the Crown. For I think that Mr. Pitt was in the right in securing an application of this money to its immediate and proper object. But I am afraid, with you, that he would rather be defeated on the Rhine or *Po*, than suffer a badgering every day in the house of commons. How did that great lawyer your worthy colleague * * * * vote on this occasion? I suppose that the learned chief justice did not wish to precipitate his reëlection. I take it for granted that you have written to * * * *. A shortish letter might probably be best, as I see that his mind grows to be ulcerated and inflamed, and that little is wanting to make him again precipitate himself into the Fox connection—therefore the business is a little critical. To do any thing which

Digitized by Google

might greatly encourage or seem earnestly to lead to a dissuasion from such a step, would equally, though in different ways, tend to goad him to it. At the time while I am now lying on the couch, you are in the middle of your Fayette debate. The chancellor was of opinion that this Fayettism ought to be driven out of the house with indignation and scorn; and he agreed with me in thinking that it never was brought thither but for the purpose of bringing his favorite original authors of rebellion into play again, as forming such a link as would best unite the jacobin factions in the two countries. Good night; God direct and guide you. I passed a very bad day yesterday, the very worst I have ever had: To-day, I bless God for it, I am a good deal better, and Mrs. Burke is certainly not worse. I find Mr. Sheridan has made an attack on Mr. Pitt about the pensioner. It is poor stuff; and if I were to judge of his speech by what appears in the newspaper, it had a great deal more of smoke than fire in it.

Ever affectionately yours,

EDMUND BURKE.

I take it for granted that Sheridan will let fly one of his forty-eight pounder philippics at Wyndham, and that the fort of the latter will be defended by no outworks.

LETTER XLIII.

TO THE SAME.

18th Dec. 1796.

MY DEAR LAURENCE,

I SEE that it was perfectly impossible for you to come in with your Fayettic on the last debate, though I am really vexed that you had not the opportunity. There was no room for you, but in answer to Fox; and Dundas was not to be stopped, as it was very essential that some person in ministry should take a more direct and manly line than Mr.

Digitized by Google

Pitt thought proper to do. After that, the thing was impossible. I think, however, that they are so eager in their Fayettism that they may furnish you with another occasion, because they will be incessant in their attacks upon the Emperor, and will take up the cause of the alliance with rigor and decision. Mr. Wyndham came out with great manliness and his usual ability; and I am very glad to find by you that the house felt on that occasion as it ought. I had but an indifferent evening yesterday, and this day has been one of my *worst*. Mrs. Burke is, I think, rather a trifle better today. You talk of our poor Woodford as better, and I trust in God he is so; but I did not at all like the way in which I left him. The operations which are performing upon him seem to me to be in the highest degree critical and dangerous. Pray let me hear from some one or other how he goes on. God bless you.

Ever yours, E. B.

LETTER XLIV.

TO MR. BURKE.

London, Dec. 19th, 1796.

MY DEAR SIR,

THE enclosed letters will speak for themselves. That addressed to me you will find most satisfactory. To explain one part, you are to know that I proposed if the vote of credit was moved in general terms, to amend it by moving an instruction from the house to insert (if it was in a committee,) or (by moving) to insert (if in the house) a specification of the purpose of appropriating it to Austria according to the discretion of ministers, as thinking and meaning to admit their late mode of remittance to have been the best. The words of the king's message on Saturday are now full and clear.

Digitized by Google

I learn that the E. of Russia is dead. I may allude to it, if I speak, as I should have been for noticing the omission of that ally in the vote of credit.

Your account of yourself afflicts me. Adieu, in great haste.

Yours ever most gratefully and devotedly,

FRENCH LAURENCE.

LETTER XLV.

TO DR. LAURENCE.

Beaconsfield, 20th Dec. 1796.

MY DEAR LAURENCE,

I BEGIN to have very little hopes of poor Woodford, and I shall feel his loss very deeply—even at a time when I can have very few objects in life, and very little of life for my objects. I expect every moment to hear that all is over with him.

As you lawyers pretend not to love circuits, and as you were desired to communicate Mr. Grattan's letter to me, I transmitted it directly to Lord Fitzwilliam with my first thoughts upon it. I do not in the least see what can be done. It is directly contrary to my opinion, both with regard to the truth of the fact, and to the impression that it will make in Ireland and here, to charge the English government with being the cause of all the evils of Ireland. This, you see, is the ground upon which Grattan justifies English interference. ****'s failure will serve only to give new credit to the assertions of the United Irishmen upon that subject, and will lead further and further to an alienation of the minds of that people from this country. What documents are they **** can call for, which will justify his motion; or what papers can he call for from the D— of P's office, which, if granted, would not militate against it. I stated this, and somewhat more, at large just now to ****. I believe the common people, and

Digitized by Google

the most active of the orders next to them, have lost (as **** in a former letter said they have) all confidence in the leading men. I can readily believe the fact, without imputing blame at least to Grattan. It is impossible for a man to keep the good opinion of the castle without running all the length of absurd tyranny, or to preserve the affection of the discontented without going the full length of the most frank jacobinism. It is the alternative, *exactly* on that side of the water, and in a degree, though a much smaller degree in this country. When you come to speak on *Pitt's* message—but I recollect the business is over—I was going to say, that you would do well to make on a contracted scale a pretty political map of Europe, if you have not yet done it—occasions enough will be open to you. What do people think of the disposition of the new *Czar?* It is common in that country, still more than in any other, to make a change in the political system in every new reign. I doubt he will never make himself so well obeyed as his mother has been.—Mrs. Burke, I thank God for it, is better of her usual complaints, and I am not worse. I walked to-day, though in the midst of a very bad fit, to the amount of about two miles. I find young Elliott is come over on the occasion of his mother's death. I suppose you have not yet seen him. Adieu. God bless you ever. E. B.

LETTER XLVI.

TO THE SAME.

Beaconsfield, 25th Dec. 1796.

MY DEAR LAURENCE,

I AGREE with you, that the footing upon which the ministers had put their negotiation, involves them in difficulties with regard not only to the opposition, but to themselves and their sole ally, and to the sole ally which they had hopes of acquiring, as well as to the miserable inhabitants of the islands

Digitized by Google

who had incorporated themselves upon our faith into the British empire; and who never henceforward can strike a blow with heart either in their own favor, or that of our feeble and perfidious government. Surely, this business will give you a fair opportunity of coming forward. You cannot appear with more lustre or at a better season, for explaining the silent vote you have given, as well as in asserting the principles which might seem to be rendered doubtful by that vote. I suppose Lord Fitzwilliam will come up in consequence of the Duke of Bedford's motion, if not upon the message.—Pray send me word by the coach whether it went down yesterday, and if it did not, when it is to be looked for.—It is a very extraordinary thing, that merely because Lord Malmsbury in execution of his wretched and contemptible office, proposed to keep two places that we had taken, and not from France, that he should be turned off at eight and forty hours' notice. Good God, what were the humiliations which the president de la Rouillie and the Marquis de Toacy suffered in Holland, in comparison of this. They never were sent away at all; on the contrary, though their offers were not received, they were invited in the most pressing manner to stay. I fear the nation is not equal to this trial, and that having been once kicked, they may think they may as well be kicked on to the end of the chapter. "Rome, thou hast lost the breed of noble bloods!" and Lord Malmsbury will be found, at least I greatly fear it, a true representative of the people of England. Adieu, and many happy returns of the season. We are sorry not to have had you at our turkey and roast beef. Alas! the times have been, when you would have found a more full and cheerful family, but I was unworthy of it, and have lost it by my own fault. Learn from me never to trifle with such blessings as God may give you. I forgot to speak to you about Mackintosh's supposed conversion. I suspect by his letter, that it does not extend beyond the interior politics of this island, but that, with regard to France and many other countries, he remains as frank a jacobin as ever. This conversion is none at all; but we must

Digitized by Google

nurse up these nothings, and think these negative advantages as we can have them. Such as he is, I shall not be displeased if you bring him down; bad as he may be, he has not yet declared war along with his poor friend *Wild* against the pope.

Ever, ever yours,

E. B.

The accounts from poor Woodford seem to be a little better. This weather is sadly against a case and cure like his.

LETTER XLVII.

TO THE SAME.

Beaconsfield, 28th Dec. 1796.

MY DEAR LAURENCE,

THE declaration, though it has not astonished me, has not given me great defection of spirits. There is a sort of staggering and irresolution in the cowardice of others, but there is a sort of unconquerable firmness, a kind of boldness, in the pusillanimity of Mr. Pitt. His madness is of the moping kind, but it is not the less frenzy for being fixed in lowness and dejection. He is actually taking every means to divest this country of any alliance or possibility of alliance, and he is determined that no spirit shall arise within this country, not knowing what course that spirit might take. I do not know whether I ought to be glad or not, of Lord Fitzwilliam's coming to town. I think it is impossible to attack Pitt for want of sincerity in this negotiation; though for wisdom it cannot be defended. I do not wonder that they endeavor to struggle for a port in the East Indies, and for a half-way house at the Cape, for unless they had made Holland truly independent and fixed her in attachment to us, these places would be virtually given to the French, and we could not maintain ourselves in the West Indies, out of which at some time or other they mean to drive us. When I say I do not

Digitized by Google

wonder at it, I am so far from approving it that my soul abhors it, but I much more abhor their fatal system, out of the perplexities of which nothing can disengage them, but their totally abandoning it. I am glad that the business is put off to Friday, because your cold may then become better. This thaw favors your recovery. A cough is not to be trifled with, especially in a full habit like yours. Unless a physician had dissuaded it, I wished you had been blooded. I wish you to take advice: that bleeding may yet be useful.

Mrs. Burke and myself, though neither of us passed a good night, are not worse to-day. God bless you. The times are bad when experience does nothing towards the correction of error.

Yours ever,

E. B.

LETTER LVIII.

TO MR. BURKE.

London, Feb. 2d, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

I HAD written to you on Monday, but luckily too late for the post. Otherwise, my letter, which was worth nothing, would have been traveling after you from Beaconsfield to Bath.

Wyndham, with whom I dined yesterday, told me that he should certainly set off to-day, to join you at Bath. I have this moment sent him two letters for you. One is from the count de Chatillon, of whose subsequent arrival at Jersey I have heard this morning. The other is from a member of the assembly of New Brunswick, who desired it might be delivered into your own hands by his correspondent, but it was intrusted to me in consequence of your absence from Beaconsfield. The business I in no respect know.

My interview with Wyndham yesterday was for the pur-

Digitized by Google

pose of talking over my intended motion. We chatted about the several parts of it, and from his friendly discussion and disceptation upon the subject, I shall acquire several useful hints as to several points of the execution. Very shortly (the first leisure day from professional business) I shall draw out my resolutions in full form, and send them to you: I shall probably a little enlarge them from the sketch of them which I mentioned to you. The phrase in His Majesty's pacific message of December 1795, I find to be more clear than I had supposed. It is not "capable of maintaining the accustomed relations of amity and peace:"—but "*compatible with the safety of other nations*, and having power to maintain its engagements;" or something to that effect, including both their principle, and their stability. The other phrase is in the declaration of Oct. 1794, but there it is coupled with another phrase also clear: the passage stands—"*founded on principles of universal justice, and capable of maintaining the accustomed relations of amity and peace.*" I have recommended to Wyndham to carry with him in the chaise, and to leave with you, a book of very various description. The whole is useful as a manual; the former part (about three fourth parts of the book) is in general very sound and good. The last sixty or seventy pages are very miserable. It has a most lame and impotent conclusion. The purpose is to cover up as well as the writer can, Mr. Pitt's conduct of the war, and he is cut short in the result of all he had been writing, by Lord Malmsbury's negotiation. It is dated on the 1st of October, and all the latter part was probably written after the application for the passport was known. At this unraveling of the plot, the author, I doubt not, must have felt like Fielding when he damned the inventor of fifth acts. I suspect (but it is only a suspicion of my own) that the work is from the pen of Gifford, who wrote the answer to Lord Lauderdale. The title of the book which Wyndham will bring you is "An Historical Essay on the Ambition and Conquests of France." Pray lounge over it.

Present my best remembrances to my dear Mrs. Bu rke, and

Digitized by Google

my congratulations on the good accounts which I have received of you both. I am exceedingly obliged to Nagle for his kindness to me, and beg him never to trouble himself about an apology for the shortness of his letters, but merely to write to me as long or as short letters as his time will allow. I am anxious to hear about you, and had rather have a single line than wait another post for a whole sheet.

I am, my dear sir,
Ever most gratefully and affectionately yours,
FRENCH LAURENCE.

LETTER XLIX.

TO THE SAME.

London, February 8th, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

THE accounts which I have received of you, since your last visit to town, are on the whole highly satisfactory to my mind. Altogether you enjoy more ease, your little relapses seem to be less violent, and I think less frequent; your appetite, which at one time failed you, is now good; and your strength and flesh, if they do not yet perceptibly increase, have not latterly continued daily to diminish. Nagle, to whom I beg you to present my very sincere acknowledgments for his attentions to me, has not informed me whether you have yet begun upon the waters.

I am happy to hear that Mrs. Burke gets so much better. It gives me double pleasure, as I think it the best proof of her reliance on your recovery. The immediate sympathy which she so plainly manifests, between her health and yours, will I am sure always be the most powerful and indeed an irresistible motive with you to be solicitous about yourself, and to think, as far as it is in your own power, rather of those who still remain to you, and who depend upon you for all their

Digitized by Google

future comfort here, than of those, whom the inscrutable dispensations of Providence have removed, against the course of nature, before you to enjoy sincere and eternal happiness above.

I hardly know how to advert to any inferior consideration after this topic, in which my pen ran before my intention. But the enclosed letter I purposed sending to you two or three days since. I had heard that Lord Spencer and some other good-natured friends had informed Wyndham of Lord Fitzwilliam's attack on the Quiberon expedition in the last debate. The explanation which occurred to me, ignorant as I was of the actual words used, I gave from my knowledge of his lordship's sentiments. I also wrote to him on the subject, and you now will see his answer. In thought, expression, every thing, it is truly worthy of the writer, if my partiality does not deceive me. You will communicate it or not, as you think best, to Wyndham. The substance of the whole I wish him to know, but there are some phrases which might a little jar upon his fine nerves.

I am in great haste, as I am collecting my materials for the re-assembling of parliament, and am besides overwhelmed with professional occupation. I am going to-morrow before the Lords of the Treasury. Your old friend Sir Fletcher Norton, once called Double-fee, is nothing to me—I am on *seven different sides* of the same question. I am almost to act a whole comedy alone.

Remember me to my dear Mrs. Burke, and believe me to be,

My dear sir,

Ever most gratefully and affectionately yours,

FRENCH LAURENCE.

P. S. I hardly ever saw so audacious a composition as O'Connor's address.

Digitized by Google

LETTER L.

TO THE SAME.

Feb. 9th, 1797.

O Rem ridiculam, Cato, et jocosam,
Dignamq; auribus, et tuo cachinno!
Ride, quicquid amas, Cato, Catullum.

And yet I doubt whether I should so begin, for there is one tragical incident in my story. You may have heard that a great Dutch house in the city, that of Muilman, Nantes, & Co. has failed. The occasion is now the talk of the Exchange. They had in their hands £44,000 received from Holland on account of *Mrs. Hastings*. This was confidentially entrusted to them during the trial. Now Mrs. Hastings (I suppose wholly without the knowledge of that innocent and persecuted man her husband) began to inquire a little too pressingly, when it would be convenient for Messrs. Muilman & Co. to transfer into her own name (I know not whether *Imhoff* or Hastings) the stock which she supposed to have been purchased with her money. It was all gone. I am sorry to add, Mr. Muilman, finding an exposure of his affairs unavoidable, shot himself; his partner has disappeared, and the house has broken to pieces. Very few annas in the rupee are expected to be recovered.

Remember me to Mrs. Burke. I am just returned from arguing on seven different sides, and have a noble lord just come to me as a client on another interest in the same cause. I scrawl in very great haste. Believe me to be,

My dear sir,

Ever most gratefully and affectionately yours,

French Laurence.

Digitized by Google

LETTER LI.

TO DR. LAURENCE.

Bath, Feb. 10th, 1797.

MY DEAR LAURENCE,

I HAVE been very weak for some days past, and so giddy that I am hardly able to walk across the room. At the first coming on of this bad symptom I was not able to do so much—so that I am not without hopes that it may go off, though, take me on the whole, I am without all comparison worse than when I came hither, but yet the violent flatuses have not been quite so troublesome to me since the complaint in my head is come on. They have taken the town, and are now attacking the citadel—But enough of this. The affair of Mrs. Hastings has something in it that might move a third Cato to a horse-laugh, though the means, I am afraid, by which she and her paramour have made that and all the sums which they have got by their own dishonesty, or lost by the dishonesty of others or the confusion of the times, [might cause] the laughing Democritus to weep as much as his opponent: but let whoever laugh or weep, nothing plaintive will make Mr. Pitt or Mr. Dundas blush for having rewarded the criminal whom they prosecuted, and sent me and nineteen members of parliament to prosecute, for every mode of peculation and oppression, with a greater sum of money than ever yet was paid to any one British subject, except the Duke of Marlbro', for the most acknowledged public services, and not to him if you take Blenheim, which was an expense and not a charge, out of the account. All this and ten times more will not hinder them from adding the Peerage, to make up the insufficiency of his pecuniary rewards. My illness, which came the more heavily and suddenly upon me by this flagitious act, whilst I was preparing a representation upon it, has hindered me, as you know, from doing justice to that act, to Mr. Hastings, to myself, to the house of lords, to house of com-

Digitized by Google

mons, and to the unhappy people of India, on that subject. It has made me leave the letters that I was writing to my Lord Chancellor and Mr. Dundas, as well as my petition to the house of commons, unfinished. But you remember, likewise, that when I came hither at the beginning of last summer, I repeated to you that dying request which I now reiterate, That if at any time, without the danger of ruin to yourself, or over-distracting you from your professional and parliamentary duties, you can place in a short point of view, and support by the documents in print and writing which exist with me, or with Mr. Troward, or yourself, the general merits of this transaction, you will erect a cenotaph most grateful to my shade, and will clear my memory from that load, which the East India Company, king, lords, and commons, and in a manner the whole British nation, (God forgive them) have been pleased to lay as a monument upon my ashes. I am as conscious as any person can be of the little value of the good or evil opinion of mankind to the part of me that shall remain, but I believe it is of some moment not to leave the fame of an evil example, of the expenditure of fourteen years labor, and of not less (taking the expense of the suit, and the costs paid to Mr. Hastings, and the parliamentary charges,) than near £300,000. This is a terrible example, and it is not acquittance at all to a public man, who, with all the means of undeceiving himself if he was wrong, has thus with such incredible pains both of himself and others, persevered in the persecution of innocence and merit. It is, I say, no excuse at all to urge in his apology, that he has had enthusiastic good intentions. In reality, you know that I am no enthusiast, but [according] to the powers that God has given me, a sober and reflecting man. I have not even the other very bad excuse, of acting from personal resentment, or from the sense of private injury—never having received any; nor can I plead ignorance, no man ever having taken more pains to be informed. Therefore *I* say, *Remember*.

Parliament is shortly to resume the broken thread of its business—if what it is doing deserves that name. I feel the

Digitized by Google

same anxiety for your success as if what has been the best part of me was in your place, and engaged as he would have been in the same work, and I presume to take the same liberty with you that I would have done with him. The plan you have formed, like all the plans of such comprehensive minds as yours, is vast, but it will require all the skill of a mind as judicious and selecting as yours, to bring it within the compass of the apprehensions and dispositions of those upon whom it is to operate. There would be difficulty in giving to it its just extent in the very opening, if you could count even upon one person able and willing to support you; but as you will be attacked by one side of the house with all its force, reluctantly heard and totally abandoned by the other, if you are permitted any reply at all, a thing which under similar circumstances has been refused to me, it will not be heard by the exhausted attention of that house, which is hardly to be kept alive, except to what concerns the factious interests of the two discordant chiefs, who with different personal views, but on the same political principles, divide and distract the nation. But all this I must leave to your judgment, which, with less parliamentary experience, has infinitely more natural power than mine ever had, when it was at the best. This, only, I shall beg leave to suggest, that if it should be impossible (as perhaps it may be) to bring your opening speech within any narrow compass, such as two hours, or thereabouts, that you will make your reply as sharp, and pointed at the personal attacks that I am sure will be made upon you, as you can; and that you will content yourself with reasserting the substance of the facts, declaring your readiness to enter into them if ever you are furnished with the means. I have no doubt that in the course of the debate, or in this session, you will find opportunities to bring forth what your discretion may reserve on the present occasion for a future one, when you may be at more liberty. Though I am sensible enough of the difficulty of finding a place in debate for any of those who are not arranged in the line of battle, abreast or ahead, in support of the one or the

Digitized by Google

other of the great admirals. My dear friend, you will have the goodness to excuse the interposition of an exhausted and sickly judgment like mine, at its best, infirm, with a mind like yours, the most robust that ever was made, and in the vigor of its faculties; but allowance is made for the anxious solicitude of those, whom sex, age, or debility exclude from a share in those combats in which they take a deep concern.

Yours ever

EDMUND BURKE.

12th February.

P. S. My health continues as it was when I began this letter. I have read Erskine's pamphlet, which is better done than I expected to find it. But it is little more than a digest of the old matter, and a proposal to remove all our evils by a universal popular representation at home, by giving to France at once all that we have thought proper to offer, on supposition of concession, and all that she has chosen to demand without any regard to our concession, together with a cordial connection with her and a total alienation from other powers, as a pledge of future peace. This, together with bringing Mr. Fox into power, forms the whole of the pamphlet. This would certainly make short work of the treaty. This pamphlet does not make your motion the less necessary, and without a reference to it you may keep it in your eye. Mrs. Burke, thank God, is better of her cold: She salutes you.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE suppressed the newspapers—He knows nothing of this disagreeable business; but I am in hopes, from Dr. King's letter to me, that an injunction will be laid early to-morrow, to prevent the sale, and that you all will pursue such rigorous measures against Swift and Owen, as the law will enable you to do. I had a letter by the coach, informing me of it. Will you beg of Doctor King to write to Mr. Burke to-morrow, and tell him what he has done in Rivington's business.

Yours truly,

E. NAGLE.

Digitized by Google

LETTER LII.

TO MR. BURKE.

London, Feb. 14th, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

MANY, many thanks for all your kind anxiety about me, and especially in your late long letter. May I prove not unworthy of that sort of implied adoption, which is the honor of my life! Without any second intimation, *I should not have forgotten*: so reminded, in connection with what followed, I feel it a filial duty to remember. I will not, however, yet receive this as a dying request. Though your account of yourself is very far from satisfactory, yet I will look to the good part of it, that your stomach is rather better: the new symptom in your head does not much alarm me, since it is not an uncommon effect, as I have been told, of the Bath-waters.

Your observations respecting my business perfectly accord with my own purposes. I shall compress the first part as much as I can, so as to put strong and sweeping negatives, throwing the proof on the other side. I have gone through all the debates of the convention leading to the war with the emperor. They are decisive beyond my hopes, that the leaders did not pretend in truth to consider the concert of princes (whatever it was and whenever it began) but as *defensive*, and that they especially believed the emperor to have *wished negotiation and not war*. I have the debates abstracted and translated, and shall hold them in my hand, asserting the general result in few sentences, and challenging the proof in detail. I mean my reply to be as sharp as I can make it, avoiding details there also, and threatening, if the house approves, specific resolutions hereafter on all the facts. Novelty and curiosity will probably secure me some sort of hearing. Erskine's pamphlet, which I have, but have not

Digitized by Google

yet read, will give a propriety and life to the first part of my motion.

I am afraid, I have done the public lately some mischief, in my zeal to consult your private delicacies. In your sleep you have done great and good service here without knowing it, but Dr. W. King, Woodford, and myself, with a little stretching of Mr. Rivington's conscience, have stopped your career of fame. Not to keep you in suspense, Owen, by the means of Swift, as I have been informed, has published a paper of yours, which is very much admired, wherever it has been seen. It is the paper, of which I got the original rough-copy from Swift, if I recollect right, about a year ago, and of which, on my giving him a lecture and a guinea, he assured me that he had kept no transcript. In reality it was your justification to the Duke of Portland and Lord Fitzwilliam for pursuing your own line of conduct, when they chose to concur in the vote of *confidence* from the Whig Club to Mr. Fox. By Dr. W. King's active exertion, on Mr. Rivington's oath of his belief that the production was yours, we got an injunction yesterday, *the very day of publication*, and gave public notice in the papers of this day. Some copies (and I believe a considerable number) did however get abroad in spite of us. Accidentally coming out at the very same time with Erskine's, it crossed him in many and indeed most of his principal topics, and it is thought, fairly laid him on his back.

The Duke of Portland (Dr. King says) is perfectly at ease on the subject; and I wrote yesterday to explain it to Lord Fitzwilliam.

From the complaints, which I hear of the publication being stopped, I am almost willing to desire that a correct edition may be given, the consent of the Duke and of Lord Fitzwilliam, of course, being obtained.

Besides the injunction against Owen, we are preparing a bill of discovery against Swift, to get from him all your papers, and an injunction against the publication of any of them.

Digitized by Google

I write in great haste; having just returned from the treasury, and now going down to the house. Remember me to Mrs. Burke, and believe me to be,

My dear sir, ever most gratefully and affectionately
Your faithful and devoted
FRENCH LAURENCE.

LETTER LIII.

TO DR. LAURENCE.

Bath, 15th Feb. 1797.

MY DEAR LAURENCE,

ON seeing the advertisement in the newspaper, all newspapers and all letters have been kept back from me 'till this time. Mrs. Burke opened yours, and finding that all the measures in Dr. King's, yours, and Woodford's power had been taken, she ventured to deliver me the letters of to-day, which were read to me in my bed about two o'clock. This affair does vex me, but I am not in a state of health at present to be deeply vexed with any thing. Whenever this matter comes into discussion, I authorize you to contradict the infamous reports which Doctor Brocklesby tells me are given out by the opposition, "which are, that this paper had been long circulated through the ministry, and was intended gradually to slide into the press." I never had a clean copy of it but one, which is now in my possession, and never communicated that but to the Duke of Portland, from whom I had it back again. But the Duke will set this matter to rights, if in reality there were two copies and he has one. I never showed it, as they know, to any one of the ministry. I never gave a copy of it even to Lord Fitzwilliam. If the Duke of Portland has really a copy, I believe his and mine are the only ones that exist, except what was taken by fraud from loose and incorrect papers, by Swift, to whom I gave the letter to copy.

Digitized by Google

As soon as I began to suspect him capable of any fraud and breach of trust, you know with what anxiety I got the loose papers out of his hands, not having reason to think that he kept any other. Nor I believe in fact, unless he meditated this villany long ago, that he did [possess] or now possess[es] any clean copy. You [may] tell this to Brocklesby, to whom I have not time to write. I never communicated that paper to any one out of the very small circle of those private friends from whom I concealed nothing. But I beg you and my friends to be cautious how you let it be understood, that in disclaiming this publication and circulation, I do not retract any one of the sentiments contained in that memorial, which was and is my justification, addressed to the friends for whose use alone I intended it. Had I intended it for the public, I should have been more exact and full. It is written in a tone of indignation against the resolutions of the Whig Club, which were directly pointed against myself and others who seceded from that club, which is the last act of my life that I shall ever repent of. Many temperaments and explanations there would have been, if ever I had a notion that it should meet the public eye. But no wonder that such villains as Owen should proceed as they do, when our courts of justice seem by their proceedings to be in league with every kind of fraud and injustice. They proceed as if they had an intricate settlement of 10,000 a year to discuss in an affair that might as well be decided in three weeks as in three hundred years. They let people die while they are looking for redress, and then all the proceedings are to begin over again by those who may think they have an interest in them. While one suit is pending, they give knaves an opportunity of repeating their offences and of laughing at them and their justice, as well they may. I wish heartily that, if the lawyers are of opinion that they may spin out this mockery a year or two longer, I may not vex my dying hours in fruitless chicane, but let the villany, which their maxims countenance, take its course. As to any relief in the other courts, I have been in them, and would not trust the fame and fortune of

Digitized by Google

any human creature to them if I could possibly help it. I have tried their justice in two cases of my own, and in one, in which I was concerned with others in a public prosecution, where they suffered the house of commons in effect to have the tables turned on them, and under color of a defendant to be criminated for a malicious prosecution. I know them of old, and am only sorry at my present departure, that I have not had an opportunity of painting them in their proper colors. Why should not the court of chancery be able to know, whether an author gives an imperfect copy to a printer to be published whether he will or no, and has not left himself master of his own thoughts and reflections? This is the very case made by the wretch himself, but a court can't decide in years whether this thing ought to be done or not. In the meantime he enjoys the profits of his villany, and defies them by villanies of the same kind and to the same person. But I allow that it is better that even this kind of justice should exist in the country, than none at all.—Adieu. I am now in my third dose of physic which I have taken in the course of thirty-six hours. The symptoms of my disease are quite changed. I have hardly any excitation, but my strength, rest, and flesh, are gone. Nothing goes through me. I cannot walk alone from my couch to my bed. The giddiness is not the effect of the Bath waters, for I do not drink them, nor have except for two days in the beginning, and when I had no giddiness. The opiates I have totally left off. Yet things remain where they were. I am perfectly satisfied with my physician, both in point of skill and profession; but nature is too strong for him, and I grow worse hourly.—What day is fixed for your motion? I suppose the opposition have not neglected this affair of Ireland, and the ministers well deserve whatever may happen, from the insolent manner in which they received the warnings of Mr. Fox, particularly as what he said was no more than a repetition of what they chose to forget.

Yours ever,

E. Burke.

Digitized by Google

LETTER LIV.

TO THE SAME.

Bath, 5 o'clock, 1797.

MY DEAR LAURENCE,

I SHOULD be sorry that you and * * * * differed. I hope you have wrote to him the state of your mind. The question is delicate and difficult, even though it were not complicated with collateral considerations of no small weight. The abstract merits of the question are with the opposition—the political consequences of carrying it are not less certain; but I think there is little danger, especially after the declaration of the Irish parliament, that it should be carried. In my opinion you may vote as you feel, without injury to your honor, one way or the other: And therefore, perhaps * * * *'s opinion ought to turn the scale. But, on this point, I am no way confident. The neglect has indeed been shameful, and has been owing to Mr. Pitt's absolute disbelief of any such intention on the part of the enemy, notwithstanding his having received very sufficient intelligence upon that head. I enclose to you in two other covers, a letter I have received from Sir Lawrence Parsons.* If I had had heart and strength enough, I should have answered it, and sent it to * * * *, but certainly not to be communicated for the purposes of opposition, that would be a breach of trust. Assure him of my sentiments of gratitude in my extremity, and communicate the letter with these cautions (unless you feel some objection) to * * * *. I should think there was less difficulty in your case, if I did not think that the same question will infallibly be agitated in the house of peers, and the part which * * * * will take can be little doubted. I don't like that all his members should be found voting against him. But again, God direct you—Adieu.

Yours ever,

EDMUND BURKE.

* This letter was received by Mr. Burke Feb. 9th.

Digitized by Google

LETTER LV.

TO MR. BURKE.

London, Feb. 20th, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

YOUR letter and the subsequent account from Nagle which I received on Saturday, very sincerely and deeply afflicted me. Yet I will not lose my hope in the mercies of Providence, not to you, but to the remaining fragments of your family, to your friends, and to your country. If the Supreme Disposer of all has yet employment for you in doing good, he will preserve you for his own season. Your symptoms do not to me seem desperate, but alarming they certainly are, as indeed I should think any new turn of your disorder, because it would bring a new danger, the extent of which it would be difficult immediately to estimate. Nothing from Nagle to-day. It is the first time that he has given me the most distant reason to complain; but after the two last accounts, it would have been kind to have written had he any thing comfortable to say: it would have been some satisfaction even to have heard that you are not worse.

I have several times reproached myself for not having answered your letter for three days. But in truth it was morally and almost physically impossible. What you authorized me to say, I have circulated without appearing to be studious of doing it, as I have never met with the suggestion mentioned by Dr. Brocklesby.

Mr. **** has written a foolish letter in some of the papers, generally denying the charge, but the denial is very equivocal. The charge stated by himself is, that he was guilty of a treasonable misdemeanor; by denying this, it has been observed by his own friends that he *may only have denied the law;* he means therefore to justify himself more specifically.

You are very curiously defended—by *Mr. Miles!* He had

Digitized by Google

alluded in one of his pamphlets to the same charge against Fox and Adair. The latter has now spoken very contemptuously of him, and has roused a sleeping hornet.

Erskine's pamphlet I have by different mighty efforts forced myself to read half through. I never saw in the same space so many glaring errors, and so many palpable misrepresentations of facts. My copy is pretty fully noted, and I wish to put it into the hands of Nagle's friend, Mr. M'Cullen. Will you be so good as to desire Nagle immediately to write to him, and beg him to call upon me Wednesday about noon? I will also thank Nagle for his address.

Mr. Whitbread has given notice for a motion for an inquiry into the late measures for the attempted invasion of Ireland. It stands for Friday. I am afraid that I shall be wished to go a little beyond my own opinions. My line would be, according to my own feelings, to disapprove the neglect of the real defence of Ireland by neglecting to conciliate the affections of the people, and to make them a very efficient member of the confederacy against jacobinism; to argue offensive measures to be the only safe defence; to doubt the vigilance of administration on the late occasion, but to decline an inquiry, because if they should be found undeserving of confidence, there is no party to whom the confidence of parliament can be transferred. It cannot be bestowed on men who are always maintaining the justice of France against England, and thinking of peace only as affording an opportunity for changes in the constitution. I think this ground might be made impressive. But I know not how it might please in a quarter, where I should be sorry to give the least dissatisfaction. If I did what I have sketched, I should do it with assertions of the general constitutional doctrines about confidence and inquiry against my own determination in this instance, but I should rest my conduct on the strange disjointed condition of the times; and I should throughout express myself with regret, as considering the disqualification of opposition for the government of the country, as one of the greatest evils. I have a considerable doubt on the score of

Digitized by Google

prudence, whether it may not a little take off from the effect of my own motion, by depriving me of the advantage of novelty. Whatever I do, or do not, I shall feel myself a little the stronger, as I have this day paid my own election bills of nearly £500 at Peterborough.

As to my own motion, I purpose to bring it forward on Monday the 6th of March. It is the first leisure day which I have from professional business after our term, which does not end till the 2d; and Friday the 3d is occupied by Mr. Fox. The admiralty court will sit all March, except on Mondays and Saturdays; so that if I cannot have the 6th, it must go to the next Monday. The end of this week I hope to send you my Resolutions. I shall a little enlarge the scheme of them, to include most if not all the parliamentary declarations of principle, because many of them have been quoted in a most garbled and distorted manner by Erskine. I shall meet his falsifications, but without professedly particularizing them.

Adieu, my dear sir! I must go to the house, where it is supposed a message may come relative to the intended invasion, and a loan; but I speak from common report, not from any authority. I am, my dear sir,

Ever most gratefully and
affectionately yours,
FRENCH LAURENCE.

LETTER LVI.

TO THE SAME.

London, Feb. 24th, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

SINCE the receipt of your last letter, I have not had a moment's leisure: I now take advantage of a long reading of voluminous evidence in the court of admiralty to scrawl two or three lines.

Digitized by Google

The system, on which your physicians are now proceeding, approves itself very much to my reason. I remember also, that it is the system, which my youngest brother (who is a medical man) suggested to me for your case, when I was talking to him on the subject some little time since. My principal fear was your want of strength to bear the necessary discipline. But to my great surprise and satisfaction, if I can trust Nagle's accounts, you seem to receive strength from every fresh evacuation. I begin again to have strong hopes, which at one moment had nearly forsaken me, that Providence will yet spare you to us. I consider you (like the emigrant clergy and nobility of France) as a sort of pledge of mercy to us from the divine Disposer of all.

The enclosed letter will speak for itself. There is one point, you will perceive, on which I have now for the first time extorted a *reluctant assent*. Yet the concluding reasoning almost starts away from it again. I cannot comprehend how a peace made by Fox would more save the national honor than a similar measure conducted by Mr. Pitt. Would any state of Europe believe it a choice? Would it in fact be so, on the part of the nation? Certainly not. Neither do I see any thing dishonorable in laying down your arms, when resistance is impracticable, or success is desperate, if that be the case, which I deny, but which Mr. Pitt will certainly declare to have been his reason for making peace, whenever he shall have made a peace. On the other hand, Mr. Fox's negotiation, I think, would begin by stamping an indelible brand on the national honor; for the preamble, which he and his friends always tell they mean to prefix, is a humble confession of our injustice in the origin of the war, and of our participation in a plot against the liberty and territory of France, which (whatever we may choose to do for ourselves) we have no right to confess for our past and present allies. When a negotiation had even been *attempted on this principle*, how long after could we expect the emperor to remain firm to his alliance with us against all the temptations, which the republicans have thrown, and will throw out to him again?

Digitized by Google

The question announced by opposition is narrowed to an inquiry into the conduct of the war, in one particular instance. They have also threatened a general inquiry. If I vote for one, how can I in common consistency oppose the other, as I should be inclined to do on account of the certain political consequences? In reality it seems to me (if I do not refine too much) an ambuscade laid to take **** prisoner, that his name and authority may be used on other occasions for higher objects. I shall write a managed reply to the enclosed a little on that notion. If there was not some such view, as I suppose, I cannot conceive, why opposition so circumscribed their own ground to the conduct of ministers, WHILE THE FRENCH WERE OFF *Ireland*.—Remember me to Mrs. Burke; and believe me,

My dear sir, every most gratefully,
Faithfully, and affectionately yours,
FRENCH LAURENCE.

P. S. I have been, during the writing of this page, listening to a speech which I am to answer.

LETTER LVII.

TO THE SAME.

Admiralty Court, Feb. 28th, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

THE accounts, which I heard yesterday, coming both from Mrs. Crewe and from Nagle, were very satisfactory, and console me for not hearing myself to-day. They tell me, my dear sir, and I am desirous of believing them, that your strength is gradually increasing. That is the best possible symptom. It does not look like some of your former variations in appearance, which were quite *journalieres*. Yet I shall not be surprised or alarmed to hear some days hence of a little temporary relapse, so that you do not on the whole fall

Digitized by Google

back, as was the case just before and immediately after you arrived at Bath.

Mr. Whitbread's motion did not come on yesterday. It now stands for Friday, which of course throws Fox back to Monday, and me necessarily to Monday se'nnight, for which day I shall give notice, unless by negotiation with Fox I can get next Monday.

Yesterday we had only conversation and a motion of Sheridan, arising out of the situation of the bank. The latter seemed to me very injudicious. I thought that even Fox went too far by giving notice that he should feel it necessary on the inquiry into the funds of the bank for the purpose of securing their notes, to graft another inquiry into all the past transactions between the bank and the minister. I thought that his tone should have been in common policy, subdued, solemn, even alarmed at the state of the country, professing a desire to take all measures which the exigency might justify for the support of our credit, and postponing personal considerations, with an intimation that he should afterwards move for a new committee, or new instructions to Mr. Pitt's committee to go into a fuller inquiry, that the whole financial state of the nation and the management of the treasury might be known. But he plainly shewed himself to have hardly any feeling but the ruin of Pitt.

Sheridan I thought still more indiscreet. His motion was, that "no money should be issued to any foreign Prince, till after an inquiry into the causes of the present situation of the bank;" or something to that effect. And more than half his speech was a furious invective against the order of council suspending payment in specie, till parliament could be informed, against which he pointed no censure in his resolution, and which did not in the least apply in argument to his resolution. The minority however had some votes, and of persons connected with the bank. Sir J. Sinclair, I was told, went out with them.

The embarrassment of the bank was in consequence of an extraordinary drain in specie. A great alarm has prevailed

Digitized by Google

particularly in the neighborhood of Newcastle, from a report, that one great object of the intended French expedition is to burn the collieries. The bankers of Newcastle therefore drew out almost all they had in London, and drew it in hard cash. Other country banks were preparing for similar calls upon them. The former failure of many country banks was remembered by tradesmen, farmers, and others, and thence also there was an unusual demand of cash.

There was a meeting of tradesmen and bankers in London yesterday; and very numerous and respectable signatures immediately put to a resolution of taking and paying as much as they could in bank-notes. Stocks in consequence rose nearly 3 per cent. at one time, and more than 2 per cent. at conclusion. There was a very good spirit shewn in the city, and the jacobins were very angry. But there was also some dismay and a good deal of weakness apparent in the midst of the little buoyancy of the meeting and the rise of stocks.

The invasion of Wales, is hardly intelligible. No man from the accounts can make out the plan; whether it was to alarm us, whether it was of a predatory nature, or whether it was to burthen us with so many prisoners, to be fed now at our expense and afterwards to increase the confusion in the event of an actual invasion.

I am in very great haste. Adieu. And believe me,

My dear sir,

Ever most gratefully and devotedly yours,

FRENCH LAURENCE.

Digitized by Google

LETTER LVIII.

TO THE SAME.

March 3d, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

THERE is great intelligence in town from Sir John Jervis. You will of course have it in the papers. With fifteen sail of the line he engaged twenty-seven of the Spanish fleet; took two ships of one hundred and twelve guns each; one of eighty, and another of seventy-four. They were going, I believe, to join the Brest fleet. Thank God, that is for the present prevented, and it is a most important point. The mere appearance of a more numerous fleet of the enemy in the Channel would have completed the pusillanimity, dejection, and despondence of this paltry country. I was deceived the other night by Bastard, who talked of stout measures, when he and the whole sixteen of the armed neutrality voted against Mr. Pitt. The next night they staid away from the sequel of the same question. The talk of stout measures excited my curiosity to inquire what they meant. I did not do it directly of themselves; but have been informed that their stout measures meant only *taxing the people*. As to war or peace, they are some of the worst in the house.

Lord Fitzwilliam comes to town this evening. I am to see him to-morrow, when he will inform me of "the particular cause of this expedition." He stays very few days.

I write in great haste and amidst confusion, from the court of admiralty. My work here all the morning long will, I believe, prevent the possibility of my speaking about Ireland, which I had revolved in my mind.

Remember me to Mrs. Burke; and believe me to be,

My dear sir,

Ever most gratefully and affectionately yours,

FRENCH LAURENCE.

P. S. I am sorry to find by the papers, that G. Ponsonby

Digitized by Google

has declared *parliamentary reform*, total emancipation of the catholics, and complete freedom of the channel-trade, to be necessary for the reëstablishment of confidence between Ireland and Great Britain—Grattan declared the same. I do not wonder, but regret.

LETTER LIX.

TO DR. LAURENCE.

Bath, 5th March, 1797.

MY DEAR LAURENCE,

I AM extremely pleased that, under whatever disadvantages of time and preparation, you have made your debût; I am pleased likewise with the short reply you made, and it was sufficient to the miserable buffoonery which was the only answer that could be made to you. I shall send you as a postscript to this, a copy of what Mr. Wyndham has written to Mr. Nagle on occasion of that commencement. You do not tell me how you voted on the Irish question. Since you could not be heard till 3 o'clock, I am glad you did not attempt to speak, though I much approve the line you proposed to take. The invasion of Ireland, as an unforeseen event, could not be better provided for; but it was an event that ought not to have been unforeseen. Herein is placed the true *gist* of the question. As to the armed neutrality who were coqueting with you some time since, 'tis, I conceive, composed principally of the persons of which it was formed in the last parliament. They are a body without sense and without principle, and are and can be true to nothing. They are utterly unfit to form that third party of your constituent and your country, which you hinted at with so much propriety. If any of them speak a word to you again upon any public business, you ought to answer with all the coldness and reserve that is possible. I look upon *Tiers* parties to be in themselves things

Digitized by Google

very critical, sometimes very necessary, but that cannot, and perhaps ought not, to endure long. That division of party, which I loved and trusted, did for some time form that tertium quid, but, through the error of the excellent person who then led them, they were, or rather he was, not neutral, but perplexed and inconsistent. When it joined ministry, it neither could or ought to preserve its neutrality, but it ought to preserve its credit and coherence, and to have given a new bias to the body to which it was aggregated. How that came to fail we all know but too well. I am far from being sure that time and events may not make up a new party, but it can never be from altogether the same elements. I am exceedingly mortified at this scheme of issuing small paper. Still more so at the repeal, or temporary suspension, which will lead to more suspensions, of two most salutary acts of parliament made to prevent the abuse of private credit, which abuse so strongly militates against the use of public credit, and perhaps, now at this time more than ever. It prevents all possible operation of the certain remedy which the evil would have furnished to itself. Had I been in parliament and in my strength, I should most certainly have spoke and voted against these, I apprehend, fatal measures. All the circumstances of Sir John Jervis's affair render it a very brilliant piece of service, but still the naval power of the common enemy is not materially impaired. The French armament from Holland is a serious matter, if we have no fleet in the Downs, as I suspect we have not. At any rate it is sufficient to prove the utter insufficiency of a passive defence, whether by sea or land, for the protection of these countries, or for sustaining their credit.—As I have now some moments of ease, though more reduced in my flesh than ever, and that I fall away every day, I have a mind to anticipate in part, the work I was preparing, and in a letter to you or to some other friend, if you should think it not advisable to address it to you, I might give rather results, and conclusions, than formal detailed discussions against the plans of armament which can end in nothing but our ruin. All these false and ill-understood precautions

Digitized by Google

against danger serve only to augment the public alarm, to waste the resources of the country, and to destroy the vital principles of public credit. How comes it, that we have no established course of intelligence, which I am sure, easily might have been had, in Holland; but I strongly suspect that amongst all our expenditures very little is laid out in this way.—To say a word of myself, though falling away to a shadow, I find my little strength rather increased, than impaired, and my nights, thank God, are unusually good—not having had a bad one for these last four past, and the two last quite as good as in my best health. I am taken once in about seven or eight days with a vomiting, which gives me great temporary relief, but contributes at the same time to emaciate me more than any thing else, even more than the purging, which is the only means by which I can be kept open—For I don't know what the medium is, in this respect. God bless you. Remember me affectionately to Lord Fitzwilliam, and with all gratitude. Mrs. Burke is better of the rash which had broken out upon her, and she does not seem, thank God, to be in other respects worse.

I am ever

Most affectionately yours,

E. B.

Extract from Mr. Wyndham's Letter to Mr. Nagle.

"Dr. Laurence's first performance, you may tell Mr. Burke, succeeded perfectly well. He keeled a little in the launching; which gave me some minutes anxiety. But he soon righted, when he touched the water, and showed, as he is, a grand first rate."

Digitized by Google

LETTER LX.

TO MR. BURKE.

March 7th, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

I PERFECTLY agree with you as to the difficulty of making or of keeping together a third party. I agree also as to the persons, of whom only a third party is now to be made. Strictly speaking, a third party is not what I should wish to see formed. My only view would be to hold out to ministers and to opposition, that there are men who would support the minister stoutly, if he would do his duty, or transfer that support to opposition, if they would be candidates for power on fair terms, consistently with the honor and interests of their country. Such a third party as I would make, if I could, would be to be dissolved, the very moment that they had made themselves seen, heard, and felt. But there is not the most remote chance of such a party. Ten good men and true would be sufficient, but half the number cannot be found. There is a little troop collecting, perhaps thirty, forty, or fifty of a very different description, most mischievously weak. They are afraid of Fox and his friends: they wish to save Mr. Pitt, and they are now angry with him because they think him obstinate in wanting really to continue the war and refusing to negotiate (as they say) with an emissary of the French now here. I have had a conversation with one of them. They are to have a meeting, and want me to attend it; and to give up my motion of course. The latter I decidedly refused to do; as to the former I neither agreed or dissented.

The repeal of the two bills restraining the issue of small notes by tradesmen, did not please me; but it passed without notice. I really did not know the fact, that, there was such a bill in the house, till I heard it read (short of course) a

Digitized by Google

third time, and the ayes in the common form declared to have it.

Adey wants to have bank notes declared a legal tender, as many jacobins demand gold and threaten to bring actions. The whole situation at present is full of difficulties; and I fear that though it is really in its nature and cause no more than temporary, the general tenor of the measures taken and to be taken looks to something like permanency, since they are such as will work themselves into the general system of our public and private credit too extensively to be again easily eradicated. But I really have not had leisure to think over the nature, magnitude, and bearing both of the evil and the proper remedy for it, so accurately as I could wish. Will you favor me with your general view of it, as the great opportunity of talking upon it is yet to come.

What you intimate in your last, of the honor which you intend me, would be most dear to me, but I do not like too much to urge you to exertions which may affect your health.

Remember me to Mrs. Burke. I hope her rash will be beneficial to her general health. It is not an unfrequent consequence.

I have the honor to be my dear sir,

Ever most gratefully and affectionately yours,

FRENCH LAURENCE.

P. S. I write in great haste, having stolen out of the admiralty court for that purpose, while the evidence I am to speak upon is reading.

The French papers say that the greatest efforts are making at Vienna to relieve Italy. *Vienna alone*, though so many of the nobility have to lament relations killed or taken in the late corps of volunteers, raises a new corps of six thousand men. Yet the armed neutrality here say we must not be too nice about *faith and honor*, and such old notions.

Digitized by Google

LETTER LXI.

TO THE SAME.

March the 14th, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR.

It is several days since I have directly heard from you, but thank God, Adey communicated to me the substance of a very comfortable letter from our dear Mrs. Burke. Lord F., who will remain here at least a week longer, is very anxious about you from time to time; and I will thank Nagle, especially for this week or so, to be kind enough to write to me a little more regularly. I wish you would scold Woodford for me: He promised me to write, but not a syllable yet have I received from him.

Last night I was dragged up again in debate; at least I could not sit silent. It was on a motion of Mr. Harrison for an inquiry into our offices for the purpose of retrenchment. Mr. Pitt moved the previous question, but—agreeing to instruct his committee appointed to examine the finances, to inquire also into possible retrenchments of offices. I did not intend to have spoken, being very much dissatisfied with the shabby principle on both sides. But you were the Helen of the war. Fox quoted half a dozen of your works in different ways. It was late, and his speech produced a long and warm squabble between him, Rose, and Canning. These things were unfavorable, but I resolved to notice the more prominent quotations from you.

I took the opportunity of premising my opinions very shortly. I said that I should vote for the previous question, but not the intended instruction, which I thought equally objectionable with the motion. I declared against any of these inquiries, which begged the question of something generally wrong in the whole system, raised an expectation of some great relief to the people, and then left [them] sore with dis-

Digitized by Google

appointment, as any serious relief from such paltry savings is impossible. Real abuses I would ever assist in reforming; but the evil must be specifically pointed out, its nature shewn, and the safety, propriety, and expediency of the remedy made clear to my judgment.

I considered your Economical Reform as the very reverse of Mr. Harrison's proposition. It was on a principle of removing influence, not making little savings; it was undertaken in truth to prevent such crude proceedings; which had been started in another house; you took a view of the whole system; gave your reasons for what you condemned and what you spared, and, in your own language, you heaved the lead every inch of way that you made. Let them proceed now in the same manner, if any new abuses had risen since your bill.

Mr. Fox said the war had been supported by corruption and the influence of the crown. I reminded him of the associations signed by himself at the end of 1792; his humble explanation of his own conduct in his printed letter to the Westminster electors, and the failure of the Whig Club in procuring addresses for peace; asking him as to each of these instances, if the public opinion proceeded from the influence of the crown. I then went to his false quotation of your two letters, as sanctioning the opinion that the minority in the late parliament spoke the sense of the nation. I told him you stated that as conversation, but the whole member on that subject ended with a declaration that you thought otherwise.

He had quoted against Wyndham a passage from one of your early works, of men leaving their party and their principles on specious motives, and sinking into insignificancy. I inquired if in that passage he found that when two sets of men who had formed one party thought differently, on such subjects as the character of the French revolution, the French faction here, and the justice of a war with France, (all put at length and rhetorically) they ought to continue together? Whether he any where found in your writings, that such men acting together, were *a party* at all? Whether he did not

Digitized by Google

find that you called them under such circumstances a faction? Each set of men, I said, ought in such cases to follow their principles, and if they acted from principle, neither had a right to accuse the other of desertion, but both were to be judged by their consciences, their God, their country, the world, and posterity. Fox was very civil to me; he came up to me, and assured me that he thought your writings the best repository of principles, and he accordingly read them all with diligence.—A member near me (I did not know him) was very complimentary to me. Lord Hawkesbury came up, and said he quite agreed with me, as Anstruther also said. Wyndham told me he was at one time anxious. When I stated the question before, then they expected a formal and long argument, but as I left it in three or four sentences, they then attended very well. Pitt was very gracious to me in the lobby.

Yours ever most gratefully
and affectionately,
F. LAURENCE.

P. S. I have drawn a long state paper, of which I will inform you perhaps to-morrow.

LETTER LXII.

TO DR. LAURENCE.

March 16, 1797.

MY DEAR LAURENCE,

IT is very unlucky that the reputation of a speaker in the house of commons depends far less on what he says there, than on the account of it in the newspapers. Your speeches, which are made late in the night, supposing no foul play, (which however I suspect) are taken by the journeymen note makers, and when there is not room for them in the paper, even if they were able to follow you. In the late instance,

Digitized by Google

however, this was unavoidable, since you spoke to vindicate the reputation of your friend, which no consideration of prudence with regard to yourself could prevail on you to omit. As you stated [it] in your letter, it must have been very impressive, and as honorable to your abilities, as it was to the goodness of your heart. As to Mr. Fox's speeches, he seemed to have laid [aside] his abilities along with all decency, liberality, and fairness; and placed himself in the rank of the Adairs, the Bastards, and those gentlemen whose cause he supported, and to whose understandings, "by an extraordinary alacrity in sinking," he chose to level himself. What he said of me was nothing more than his old song, frequently sung, though with a little more liberality in my own presence, and always responded to without a possibility of reply. The major part of his topics have been answered by me in print, and the public must judge between us; but there is one fact, which as it passed fifteen years ago most people may not so well remember; though that too, I discussed with him in the house of commons without a reply, or the possibility of his making any. He has the impudence to say that the reduction of places that I made was not sufficient, and that more would have been made in Lord Rockingham's and his administration, if time had been given to them for that purpose. Both are absolutely false;—In the first place, any lessening of the reduction proposed in my original plan and that which appeared in the act, was not of my doing, but of his own, and the cabinet to which he belonged; and I was no way consulted about it, though I certainly acquiesced in it, and, on the whole, thought it sufficient. In the next place, I do solemnly declare that I never heard him, nor any body else of that cabinet, propose any reduction of offices, but of the two, were of opinion that the matter had been carried too far, rather than that it had fallen short of their mark. They must have thought that it did not fall short, because they knew very well that they never could have had an opportunity so favorable for reduction as during the dependence of that bill, and in the flood tide of its popularity. Mr. Fox now thinks that neither

Digitized by Google

this, nor the pay office bill, nor the contractors' bill, which, though moved by another, was left wholly to my management, as it was originally schemed by myself, nor of Mr. Dowdeswel's and my plan, to his and our honor adopted by Crewe, were of the least significance, in lessening the influence of the crown in that house, and in the other, or in the Scotch election for peers by the abrogation of the Scotch Lords of Police. I know he told me, and that to the best of my recollection in the presence of others, that the acts which he now finds to be so very frivolous, were the means of turning out Lord Lansdowne, and that he had lost his question in the same number of votes as the places that had been suppressed. As to those that had been retained, he perfectly agreed with me both in the policy and the justice of retaining them, considering them as I did as right in themselves; and with regard to the holders in possession or reversion, as property, to all intents and purposes. I cannot say exactly in what form Mr. Rose put the recriminatory charge which he made on Mr. Fox with regard to the places of that kind, which Mr. Fox had held, and disposed of. Mr Fox's reply seems to indicate that he was charged with squandering away their income and value. If so, his reply was proper, because the charge was unparliamentary, and not at all to the purpose in argument. But if it was urged, as it ought to have been, that Mr. Fox had himself considered those places his property, as an argument ad hominem, it would have been conclusive against him. For if he sold that as property which was not such, by his own admission he was guilty of a fraud. But it were an endless task to go through all the nonsense and ribaldry which he chose to vent upon that occasion. As to his arguing for a change of his opinions from the greater burthens which now exist on the public, 'tis perfectly absurd—First, because injustice is not less injustice, though it may admit some palliation on account of the necessities of those who are guilty of it; and next, because those remnants of remnants of savings, which Mr. Wyndham has so justly ridiculed, become more and more contemptible according to their disproportion to the weight of

Digitized by Google

the charge which they are brought to counterpoise. He has used another argument which seems to have more weight, which is, that it may be necessary for maintaining the character and credit of the opposition; but at a miserably low ebb is that character and credit which is obliged to have recourse to such frauds and impostures. Mr. Pitt was very wrong in giving to them the countenance he had given, and which, after the able speech he had made, was no proper conclusion to be drawn from his arguments. Mr. Wyndham, in my opinion, even from what I see in the papers, never made a more able and eloquent speech. I particularly admire the manly tone of scorn with which he treated the miserable imposture of the motion. I thank him heartily for his speech, and subscribe an unfeigned assent and consent to all the articles of his creed. I forgot to say a word about fees, which it seems is one of the articles of charge against Mr. Wyndham's office. Whether they be exorbitant or not, is more than I can judge, but that they are profitable to the officer is no objection, provided they are not onerous to the public, or oppressive to those that pay them. This was so much my principle upon the reform, that I carefully reserved the fees to the pay office; but in the progress of the bill I was absolutely forced by the frauds of Colonel Barré, acting on the principles of Lord Shelburn, who attributed every sort of public evil to fees, in a famous speech of his, and by the unparalleled treachery of our own party I was beat out of my plan, and compelled, whether I would or not, to bring from that abolition a charge of £6,000 a year, or rather more, upon the public, for the official expenses which before had cost nothing, except for the paymaster's salary and some other salaries, which latter were insignificant. Whether the office has been impaired in its diligence and its spirit of accommodation from that time, is more than I can positively say, but I believe that it has. I am sorry to have troubled you so much on these matters, but as they relate to facts which may not be so generally known, I wish you not to throw away this letter. I have no objection to your shewing it to any body, but do not desire it to be

Digitized by Google

shewn to any one but Lord Fitzwilliam and Mr. Wyndham. As to you, "Macte esto virtute tua"—don't be discouraged from taking the independent line, which makes you vote with different men, but always upon the same principle, and not like these vile and most abject wretches who compose the armed neutrality; who, if they were not the most contemptible of the human race, would be the most odious.—Thank God, you have but one political friendship to attend to, and in that you will never find any clashing with public principle.—As you are still solicitous about my health, I am to tell you that to-day has been one of my best days; and though I can't walk without an arm, I have moved about a good deal, at least a good deal for me. Flesh as before. Adieu.

Yours ever, E. B.

P. S. Will the gentlemen do any thing in my affair with Owen—or have they given it up? If they have given it up, why is it so?

PART OF A LETTER, PROBABLY TO MR. BURKE, IN DR LAURENCE'S HAND-WRITING.

(Most secret.) [No date.]

THE paper to which I alluded, and which I drew up in concert with **** on Saturday and Sunday last, was an intended representation to the king, to be signed by the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Fitzwilliam, Lord Besborough, Lord Hertford, Lord Moira, and perhaps some others. Lord Abercorn was supposed to be perfectly ready, and the Marquis of Buckingham, as far as concerned the catholic claims, but not to the point of a change at the castle. How many actually have signed or whether it has been or is to be signed and presented at all, I do not know, as I have not seen Lord F. since Sunday. I called in Grosvenor Square on Tuesday evening, and his Lordship the next morning at my house, but we did not meet.

Digitized by Google

The representation itself filled about eight sheets of paper fairly copied with a half margin. The heads of it are something to the following effect: Introduction—An extraordinary measure to be justified only by the urgent necessity. His majesty will naturally take information and counsel from his ministers in the first instance, but his subjects well know, that he will attend to truth through whatever channel received. The situation and interests of the subscribers make it their indispensable duty to lay before his majesty the result of all the concurring advices which they have lately received and are daily receiving from Ireland.

Fact of the disorders in the North: and fears of greater calamities; women, children flying, &c. &c.

Nature of those disorders, arising from inveterate principles rendered more active and dangerous by the circumstances of the present times. Mass of the people there republicans on system.

Disorders of the South very different both in their magnitude and nature. Considerable discontent there, but hitherto little actual disaffection. Inhabitants principally catholics, who form altogether about seven tenths of the whole population of Ireland. Obedient to the laws, and friends to monarchy from opinions, habits, and prejudices. They remember that their first relief came from his majesty's own paternal regard to their oppressed state. The nature of the only remaining question explained. The lower catholics certainly not directly interested, but they make common cause with their superiors, considering and justly considering the existing restrictions as a brand on their religion, and as depriving them of their natural protectors in the state.—Necessary also to acquaint his majesty, that they did not actually enjoy all which his majesty's gracious disposition towards them and the consequent law meant to give them. Tricks used by the Irish government to defeat the law, and declarations made tending to raise a just alarm for the resumption of the concessions lately granted. Persecution in Armagh. Reference to the testimony of Lord Gosford, a determined enemy of the catholic name in Ireland.

Digitized by Google

Feelings of the catholics at the long indifference of the Irish government to that persecution.

These the causes of some disturbances, in which the catholics may have had part; and of the success which the republicans of the North have had in persuading some of the catholics of their neighborhood to unite in their projects.—But on the late occasion the great body of the catholics gave the most striking proofs of their loyalty. Extorted even praise from the Irish ministers, but their claims immediately treated with insolence and contumely. Impolicy and obvious tendency of such conduct towards such men.—Has not yet produced *all* the pernicious consequences to be expected from it, but has occasioned a sullen indifference to the fate of a constitution, from which they now find that they are to be for ever excluded.

Catholics anciently thought formidable not on account of their religion, but because they were a political party in connection with a foreign power supported by France. That connection at an end for ever. The dissenters of the North were the zealous enemies of monarchical France, they are as zealous friends of republican France; and from thence is likely now to be the permanent danger of Europe. The presbyterians have courted the catholics and offered them every thing, for a democracy of a majority told by the head would put every thing into the hands of the catholics. But the latter have been steady; rebuffed, reviled, and persecuted as they have been, they have constantly wished to prefer a small share (and small indeed it would be) in the present happy constitution, to the whole power of the state on the new republican models. Danger and difficulty, if these two opposite parties should unite now for the first time in the history of Ireland. Inadequacy of the party of the established church—who form not *one tenth* of the population—are the rich, an obnoxious and comparatively helpless class—are dispersed over the whole island—and some of them tainted with the new doctrines. Danger enhanced by the expectation of an invasion.

Digitized by Google

Remedies—Granting every thing to the catholics in the most gracious manner; and under the particular circumstances of this juncture, it should be, as much as possible, marked to be the immediate act of the king himself. Necessity also of a change in the government, by dismissing those men who have impeded and contaminated his royal beneficence in its course, and who in no respect enjoy the public confidence.

Apology repeated.—The subscribers have *many times more interest in the prosperity of Ireland than all the king's servants in both kingdoms.* But that an inferior consideration. What they most dread is, being subjects of republican Ireland and monarchical Britain, which two countries must then be in most bitter and lasting hostility. Only consolation, having done their duty in this extraordinary manner.

APPARENT ANSWER TO THE FOREGOING.

[No date.]

I TAKE it for granted that you have not been authorized to communicate to me the substance of your secret letter: so that I am somewhat at a loss how to state my ideas, such as they are, to ****. But you may throw them out as matters for consideration from yourself.

I had a letter from **** not long since, in which there was an obscure and unformed hint of this business. In my answer I wholly mistook his plan. I now see it distinctly. I make no question but, as to the execution, the work is perfect. With regard to the measure itself I have great doubts; first from the attendant circumstances, and then from the dispositions of some of the persons who are to be principally and most actively concerned. Had this remonstrance been an insulated measure, I am convinced it might be very proper; but following immediately on the heels of a parliamentary

Digitized by Google

motion, the answer (if any) will be, that the king cannot act on the sense of individuals, however respectable, the parliament in both kingdoms thinking differently. I confess I do not see what reply can legally and constitutionally be made to this—and I am afraid it will be employed to make much ill blood on both sides of the water. I do not like to have **** much engaged with **** with **** and above all with ****. They are all men of ambition—the first is timid; and the two last very irregular in their ideas; and, in their views full of ambition and designs, of which self is in the centre. I think it certain, that if any benefit is derived from this, they will take away all the credit; and if it fails (or indeed whether it fails or not) **** will be the victim. I do not like these associates in any design. What turn opposition in Ireland will take on it I cannot divine. They are running the full length of jacobinism, and meaning something little short of the disunion of the two kingdoms—they may take this opportunity of making the absentees (as they are called) odious—and I assure you the court will join with them in the end. Adieu. God direct our friends.

TO MR. BURKE, AT BATH.

(Secret.)

March 23d, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

I VERY much agree with the contents of your answer to my secret letters; but luckily events made it unnecessary to use the arguments, where they were intended to have effect. It was not within my knowledge, as I told you in my last, whether any thing had been done, or was actually to be done with the paper of which I gave you the substance. I can now say, nothing will be done with it.

Originally it was designed, as a substantive and single measure, unconnected with any other. The suggestion, as

Digitized by Google

I understood, arose in a conversation between * * * * and the Duke of * * * *, the latter of whom desired * * * * to get something prepared. At that time there was no intention of any motion in parliament on the subject. On the Sunday, when the paper was nearly finished, * * * * hinted his purpose of moving an address, but it was not actually determined. It struck me, that the two measures would clash. I mentioned accordingly, that if both were to proceed, it seemed to me that some effect might be produced, by making the representation first to his majesty, and then keeping the debate in parliament strictly to generals, professing in the present dangerous crisis, from a regard to the public safety, not to be led under any circumstances into details, which might be thought to give encouragement to the enemy. I submitted also, as * * * * stated himself to be in possession of many facts (such as that ninety-one families of his own tenants on a small detached estate of only four little townships were wounded, or banished after having their cabins plundered, burned, and *wrecked*,—that he could bring home to government a refusal to protect the catholics, and positive encouragement to the orange-boys, and that many of the banished catholics afterwards declined taking the oath of allegiance, declaring that they could not conscientiously swear fidelity to a government, which had abandoned them) whether it would not be proper to send these details to ministers, giving his reasons for not using them publicly at a moment like this, but throwing all the consequences on their future responsibility. This combination of measures, I thought, applying differently in different quarters, might have made some impression, not likely to effect much at present, but not to be wholly without use hereafter, if any actual crash short of absolute ruin should be the result; and would, by the moderation of their public conduct, clearly prove to the king and his ministers the integrity of their motives. But * * * * was desirous of not being limited in public discussion. He said, that by *appearing in his place on the side of the people of Ireland, he might save his estate in the event*

Digitized by Google

of a revolution. You will never drop a hint of this. I before knew him for a man of irregular ambition; this shewed him to me in a more degrading light.

The characters of the two other noble lords whom you mention, I always thought to be what you describe them. The timidity of one drew back, in consequence of the great courage which he now feels from the good news, as he called it, of the army being employed in disarming by force all the Dissenters of Downe, and I believe the whole North; disarming maritime provinces in time of war and under the expectation of an invasion!—Lord * * * * thought that no representation could have effect from *himself*, Lord * * * *, Lord * * * *, and the D. of * * * * supporting opposition as he does in the house of commons.

LETTER LXIII.

TO THE SAME.

Admiralty Court, March 17th, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

I AM exceedingly flattered by your approbation of the very dry summary which I gave you. You saw nothing but the mere bones, stripped even of the periosteum, and not even strung regularly together into a tolerable skeleton. What I said, I would rather that you should hear through any other channel;—I mean more particularly what I said (short as I was obliged to be on each individual part) in relation to your plan of economical reform.

The facts of which you have now put me in possession—one or two of which are new to me—certainly are important whenever the question may come again, as it most probably will more than once. I did not go into very many topics on which I wished to have enlarged; principally on account of the late hour; and in part also because I did not get down

Digitized by Google

to the house till Wyndham was just going to speak, and consequently was afraid of going again over ground better trod before. I had been very busy—the enclosed will tell you how—both Saturday and Sunday evening till one in the morning, and did not get to bed till between two and three. With this and the business of Monday morning in our own profession, I was jaded, and stayed away from the house to take a nap till eight.

Fox's speech was not directly so bad as you seem to suppose; in one sense it was worse; it was disgracefully sophistical. He admitted all his old opinions, and I think toward the conclusion, said that he did not approve the mode of general inquiry; or something to that effect. But this he slurred all over, and then put at length hypothetical arguments, that because your bill had been sufficient in 1782, it was not conclusive that nothing should now be done: *If* any abuses had grown up since; *if* the influence, then suffered to remain had been since found too much; &c. &c.—He then got into personal attacks, and quibbled away so as to give to a vulgar hearer the effect of his having supported the motion, while a fair, candid and attentive judge, in reference to his positions and doctrines, would say that he in principle abandoned it.

Rose's reply was to an attack made on the reversion of his place having been given to his son. This he applied personally to Fox, as having enjoyed a reversion from his father. He used some words which Fox took as alluding to the sale of it; but the words did not necessarily imply that, and Rose declared that he did not mean it.

I shall certainly communicate your letter to the two persons whom you point out. Lord Fitzwilliam will now stay a little longer, as Lord Moira has given notice of a motion relative to Ireland.

Neither of the two occasions on which I have yet spoken, were favorable to my appearance in the public reports, as you indeed remark. But I cannot expect much favor from them, as neither side is very willing (and it would be strange

Digitized by Google

if they were willing) to raise my authority very high. But Fox is pointedly civil to me, frequently crossing the house to talk to me, and Pitt was very gracious as I passed him the other night in the lobby. I attribute this to what I said in conclusion. After explaining what I understood to be your opinions about party, I shortly added for myself, that "I had lived in intimate society with, and I still entertained considerable affection for, many gentlemen on the other side of the house, but thinking with those who had separated from them, I should ever hold it my public duty to resist their principles and the mischievous consequences, which in my conscientious judgment, their conduct tended to entail upon their country;" or to that very effect.

While I have been writing, a long argument has been going on. I must now prepare to reply, should the court think it necessary; but I shall catch topics from Sir William Scott.

How is Mrs. Burke? and poor Woodford too? though he hardly deserves I should ask about him. Believe me to be,

My dear sir, ever most gratefully
and affectionately, yours,
FRENCH LAURENCE.

LETTER LXIV.

TO THE SAME.

(Secret.)

Admiralty Court, March 28th, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

LORD FITZWILLIAM is gone down to Milton, very melancholy as to the situation of things here. Yesterday I received a letter from him, which I enclose. It is kind and friendly in the extreme. He is more anxious for my personal success, than I am myself. I answered shortly, that I came into par-

Digitized by Google

liament knowing that I could only do my public duty by making personal sacrifices. But under the circumstances (not having at present even my seconder, Lord Milton, in town, who has been sent down by order of government to his corps in Dorsetshire,) I shall wait a little and watch opportunities, if any offer. What are the purposes of ministers I know not; I believe they know not themselves. They seem to value themselves, as I understand, on good conduct in suffering the most decisive resolutions to be carried against them without a struggle in the common hall of London, and since of Southwark. It is said, they intend to get counter-petitions. But in my judgment, they will fail. If they seriously meant it, they should have made a battle, and then men would have warmly promoted a counter-address. Now all will be flat and languid. They hope, I fancy, to escape the storm by bending before it. Our friend W. speculates that they will grow more shabby. Yet if they find that shabbiness will not do, it is possible, they may from necessity advance one step more towards honesty. Before I determine on my *time*, I shall endeavor to learn what they actually mean.

I have prepared two sets of resolutions, one longer and more detailed, going through all the parliamentary documents and every where incorporating the words of Mr. Pitt himself, if the state papers, to which I allude, be, as I suppose them, from his pen. There are *twenty* resolutions in that set. The other consists of *twelve*, containing the marrow of the former set, and admitting just as much argument in speaking as the longer and fuller resolutions. I hope to have copies enough to send you one of each to-morrow by the coach, as both sets would take up more than my legal number of franks. They will be with a half margin, and I will thank you to make as many remarks as you please.

W., to whom of course I have communicated them, does not think that the minister will like them. I shall however try to negotiate through the speaker. I am sure I have left every thing open enough for Mr. Pitt. While I shall have an opportunity of stating my sentiments, there will be nothing to

Digitized by Google

tie him up from being to-morrow again as shabby as he pleases; except a little about the Netherlands.

Lord Lansdowne last night declared that he thought "Belgium" ought not to be insisted upon by us: and that is the creed and the object of the armed neutrality. **** with his friends seems to have joined opposition, and I believe that **** in truth was sent for on the late occasion, to be a mediator with Fox, but that scheme did not take. Fox has lowered his tone of late. He said in confidence to **** what must on no account be repeated,—that he thought this the worst time since the commencement of the war for making peace. Till lately he did not doubt the ability of the country to carry on the war for two or three years more. When he was talking with me the other night in the house and some member near me whose name I know not, I observed in reference to something from him,—that I had rather hear him blowing a war-point on his trumpet; he paused a little and then answered, that he doubted whether the country could carry on a war for two or three years. Alas! if he were willing, he has put himself in a situation that he could not do it with effect. Believe me to be,

My dear sir, ever most gratefully
and affectionately yours,
FRENCH LAURENCE.

LETTER LXV.

TO DR. LAURENCE.

Bath, 29th March, 1797.

MY DEAR LAURENCE,

IN reading the Irish debates upon the state of the north of that kingdom, I find that the Chancellor had justified the proceedings of government upon the precedent of proclamations issued in 1780; and which he has said had been then

Digitized by Google

approved by the then leader of opposition. The then leader of opposition was Lord Rockingham. I did not much like that he or any of his friends should be quoted on the occasion, though I do not mean directly to condemn what has been done in Ulster, as I cannot speak to the necessity of it; but if I recollect matters rightly, it has no other resemblance to what was done here in 80, except that in both cases a military force has been employed. But the manner of their employment, and the powers given to commanders, to the best of my recollection are altogether different. As the proclamations then issued in England are referred to, I wish to have a copy of them, as early as possible. You can speak to some friend who may put you in the way of finding them. They may be in the annual register, or some other of the periodical works of the time. I myself took a very active part, but I do not like to speak upon memory to the tenor or purport of the proclamations; for though many of the opposition who were then members of the privy council were summoned (at least towards the beginning of this business) I knew nothing of it personally, not being then a privy counsellor. Lord Rockingham attended but once. During the greater part of the disturbances, though there was a garrison in Lord Rockingham's house, he was ill and confined to his bed. I believe Mr. Lee, clerk assistant of the house of commons, can better put you in the way of getting these proclamations than any other person.—I jog on here pretty much as usual. My last night was a very bad one. God bless you.

Yours ever, E. B.

Digitized by Google

LETTER LXVI.

TO MR. BURKE.

(Secret.)

Admiralty Court, March 29th, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

THE enclosed from Lord F. is on the same subject with the last, which I sent you yesterday. Between this and Monday, I shall look narrowly about me in the house, to see if I can find any fit man beside Lord M.; as Lord F. and myself agreed before, that the measure would come better to the judgment of the country, if it did not apparently come from one and the same quarter. Sheridan's motion on Friday may afford an opportunity of feeling my way a little by preluding to my greater design, if I shall find it expedient; or at least of learning by the general temper of the house, whether there be yet any spirit left in the parliament. There has always been a cry, by no means unpromising, whenever the ministers have, as incidentally they have, touched on the danger of French principles. I am satisfied, that ministers alone are the real causes of the prostration of the public mind. But Friday will probably shew more. Sheridan's motion, you know, is to prevent any more money being advanced to the emperor, even under the vote of credit actually passed for that very purpose by the house. This is in my opinion to propose a breach of implied faith. For, in putting so much money in the discretion of government as a loan to the emperor, I feel that we did in effect assure the emperor of our assistance to such an amount. The question, if government does not run away from it, seems to me therefore to be strong in their favor. Pray let me have your opinion by Friday morning. If I have any fair opportunity I intend to speak; but detained as I am till four o'clock in this court, and then unable to go away immediately to an important debate without some refreshment, I never get down till the first speakers,

Digitized by Google

who take the general ground, have done; and before I can collect from what follows, the tenor of the whole, it grows late, and the house, harassed as it is by daily attendance, becomes impatient. This alone prevented my speaking on the late Irish question, for which I went prepared with my documents in my pocket.—In what a state is Ireland! If I get well through my first great business, I have a mind to move a specific address relative to the Irish catholics, founding it on the words of Lord Westmoreland's speech from the throne in 1793, and arguing the dismission of the castle-cabal merely as a collateral point necessarily arising out of the conduct, which they before held, and which they have pledged themselves for ever to hold against the claims of their fellow-subjects of the Roman communion. At Woodford's the other day I accidentally met Sir Walter James, brother-in-law of Lord Camden. Woodford was alarmed at first at my coming, which he did not expect, and prohibited politics. Sir Walter, however, began, and I did not actually avoid the subject; when to the surprise of our good host, we agreed very well on many points. The distinction made by the Irish between the personal character of the Viceroy, and the character of his government, Sir W. fully admitted on Lord Camden's own authority. He also concurred with me about the catholics, as I put the case, and thought, that if the chancellor had so pledged himself against them, his continuance in power ought not to stand in the way of the peace of the kingdom. This appears to me the best mode of putting the dismission of the Irish cabal to the minds of our ministers here, who are thus in truth made parties against the cabal, and find it difficult to answer in their defence.

I do not know whether I have yet ever told you the continental news. In August last, when the French were in the heart of Germany, the king of Prussia made a convention agreeing to guarantee what is called Belgium, and Holland on the left bank of the Rhine. He has lately expressed his approbation of our terms offered through Lord Malmesbury. Both these very different acts of his were made known about

Digitized by Google

the same time to the Emperor of Russia, who observed, that he would not say of his brother of Prussia, what in a similar case he should say of a private person, "*C'est infame.*" The French, you know, are very uneasy about the Prussian movements; which looks so far well, as at least his plans cannot be concerted with them in consequence of his convention. I am, my dear sir,

ever most gratefully and affectionately yours,

FRENCH LAURENCE.

LETTER LXVII.

TO THE SAME.

Saturday, April 1st, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

MY copyist disappointed me, and I could not send you the two sets of Resolutions. They will come by the coach which sets out from the Bolt-and-Tun, Fleet-street, and puts up at the Castle and Ball, near St. Michael's Church, in Bath; and they will be at your house, probably as soon as this letter. In the same parcel you will find all the proclamations of June 1780 copied from the Remembrancer; they were not in either of the Annual Registers, new or old. I have also taken the opportunity of inclosing a bond which Troward sent me some little time since. He said that he drew it up by your directions. I desired Woodford to mention it to you; and had Troward sent it in time, he would have brought it on his late visit to you.

Mr. Pitt spoke out stoutly last night about the importance of sending money to the emperor. John King told me last night that ministers seem to be in spirits; he does not know about what, but I suppose the elections in France, to which

Digitized by Google

they have been long looking, and which are said to be going on in a manner, which they call, good. I am, in great haste,

My dear sir, ever most gratefully
and affectionately yours,
FRENCH LAURENCE.

LETTER LXVIII.

TO DR. LAURENCE.

Bath, 3d April, [1797.]

MY DEAR LAURENCE,

I RECEIVED your pacquets by the evening coach. The first paper of *Resolutions* is undoubtedly the most full and satisfactory. The latter I fear is alone practicable, and what is deficient in it, may be supplied in the opening or in debate. I think both of them skilfully and ably drawn. I have no serious objection to the wording in any part. If I could wish any thing changed it would be in the ninth resolution, where instead of the words "This house has not yet received," perhaps it might be better to say, "That this house, on combining all the aforesaid circumstances, together with the proceedings of the French in Italy, has found by experience that his majesty's and the public's hopes have been disappointed, and that this house," &c. &c. In resolution 12, page 19, to omit the words "not despairing of the public weal, but."—Resolution 11, instead of the word pleasure [satisfaction."] I am not very confident that the alteration which I have suggested is for the better, on considering the matter fully; I must leave it to your discretion. I see the perilous position in which you stand, and could almost wish you never had engaged, (indeed I don't see how you can go on) without a living soul to second you—A *second* you must secure at any rate or you must drop the business entirely, and find, or make an opportunity on Mr. Sheridan's motion

Digitized by Google

of delivering your sentiments upon our general policy, with regard to the regicides and our alliance with regard to the emperor.

I thank you for the proclamations—they turn out very much as I expected. They have no resemblance to the proceedings in Ireland, but they are perfectly legal. There is no proclamation at all on the part of any general officer. Lord Amherst's orders of the 7th of June are only orders to the military to act without a magistrate, in using force for dispersing the illegal and tumultuous assemblies of the people. On the legality of this order, which is however no proclamation of martial law, there was a great doubt and there is still upon my mind, of the legality; but afterwards Lord Mansfield and the judges of the king's bench declared it to be law "That in all cases wherein by law every man is made a constable for the preservation of the public peace, the military do not lose the civil character, nor the duty and obligation of acting as other men ought to act in like cases." Admitting this doctrine to be true, and to this hour, I am sorry for it, it stands uncontradicted, there does not exist a *scintilla* of illegality, though in a time of such necessity much illegality might have been excused in the whole transaction. General Amherst's orders purport that they were issued under an order of the king's council. The words "king's council" are equivocal, and may signify the king's learned counsel: because the usual style of an order in council is by his majesty in council. Can Mr. Faukener procure for you a copy of that order? at least he can know, whether Lord Rockingham, the only privy counsellor then in *our* opposition that attended any privy council—and that was on the 4th or 5th of June. All the time after he was extremely ill, and for some days kept his bed. I send you executed the bond to Mr. Wallis, and you will be so good as to take care, that the bond to Garrick, for which this is exchanged, should be delivered up and canceled. I have heard nothing about the suit against Owen, nor why it is suspended; for if we do not proceed in it, all my former expense in it is absolutely thrown away.

Digitized by Google

God Almighty bless and direct you. The boyish spirit of ministers makes one laugh in vexation. They are in war, and their whole trust is in the enemy, who, whilst they are thinking of the elections, are menacing them with an invasion.

Yours ever, E. B.

The bond is in a separate cover.

LETTER LXIX.

TO MR. BURKE.

London, April 3d, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

I INFORMED you that the coach by which I sent the parcel put up at the Castle and Ball. My servant has just been to the Bolt-and-Tun, in Fleet street, and learns that the parcel was regularly sent on Saturday, and the coach should have reached Bath by *ten* yesterday morning. If you have not received it, had not Webster better inquire for it. It was done up in coarse brown paper; and directed to you, No. 11, North Parade, Bath.

The political part of the question on Sheridan's motion to-morrow is of the greatest magnitude and scope, from the advices of to-day, that the plan of secularizing the ecclesiastical state is avowed by Prussia, and notified to the diet by the emperor, who has declared his resolution of supporting the constitution and liberties of the empire; and it is said that the emperor of Russia is determined to support him. I should like to speak, but I shall have a long and heavy cause all the morning in the court of admiralty. I shall go down fatigued, and without having had a single moment to call my scattered thoughts about [me] on so very important a subject. Of malice prepense I shall not venture, but circumstances will

Digitized by Google

guide, and I shall take whatever little preparation I can. I scrawl in great haste.

Ever most gratefully and affectionately yours,

FRENCH LAURENCE.

LETTER LXX.

TO THE SAME.

London, April 10th, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

I AM exceedingly delighted with the very good accounts of you to-day and Saturday, especially after your little relapse. You know, that I some time since told you, that from watching your health for some months past I expected occasional recurrences of symptoms more or less bad; but if after every access, you get so much better again, I shall be fully satisfied, trusting as I firmly do, in the natural strength and vigor of your vital powers. Between this and May I hope to have the pleasure of slipping down to you, though but for two or three days.

This morning I have been looking over my papers. Mr. Pollen's motion for peace comes on to-day. Wyndham however told me last night, that he believed the purpose was to let it pass with very little debate, and wished me not to press forward, but be guided by circumstances. I do not understand this policy, which I think no less blind than disreputable—to think of stealing on in a war to no one end but exhausting the finances of the country without an effort. I believe we might ultimately succeed in the battle of the purse, but the people of this country will not bear the burthen of a contest of the desk, the rule, and the multiplication table, without a single principle to animate them.

On Mr. Ellis's late motion, Wyndham paid your name some

Digitized by Google

very just and handsome compliments, very honorable both to the subject and the panegyrist. The planters will not take the essential part of your regulations in the colonies; the connection of the slave with the soil; his consequent right to the spot, once assigned him, around his hut; and his right to purchase his freedom at a certain fixed price, with the fruits of his own industry. Their pretences are weak, as I heard them privately discussed; but that last point, which is most important for the gradual abolition of slavery as well as the slave trade, will I trust hereafter follow.

The inclosed letter is from a gentleman who some time since wished me to put a paper into your hands. This I declined to do; but expressed my readiness to receive it myself. I read it, and was so well pleased with him, that I desired to have a copy, voluntarily offering to send it to you. It is a minute entered in council at Madras, in favor of some Ryots, whom for a job some persons there wanted to dispossess. Mr. Huddlestone, who had protected the rights of the inhabitants before, at the revenue board, now was victoriously in the council asserting their rights: but afterwards, when he was confined by illness, the job was brought forward in a still more enormous shape, and Petrie carried it. Mr. Huddlestone is a candidate for the direction; I strongly commended his principles in my letter to him, but told him they would exclude him from the house-list. You will see his answer.

He has printed a number of testimonials of his services. They are very honorable to him. That which most pleased me was one in a private letter from Mr. *Swartz*, whose name and character you well know, at Tanjore, where Mr. H. was resident almost two years. Mr. Swartz represents him as highly pleasing and useful to the Rajah, beneficial to the company, a protector and mediator for the inhabitants, whom oppression had driven to despair and emigration; and in his own conduct upright and disinterested. This too was a private letter from Mr. Swartz to a friend in England, not a public certificate to Mr. Huddlestone.

Mr. H. is a near relation of Dr. Harington at Bath, and I

Digitized by Google

was very intimate with his brother at Oxford. I write in great haste; and am,

My dear sir,

Ever most gratefully and affectionately yours,

FRENCH LAURENCE.

P. S. I have the bond safe. I told Mr. Troward that I would deliver it to him, whenever he would send the former bond to Garrick. He has not yet sent it: when he does, I will let you know.

LETTER LXXI.

TO DR. LAURENCE.

Bath, 11th April, 1797,
5 o'clock.

MY DEAR LAURENCE,

I AM glad to have heard from you at last. This terrible war on the continent has come to a crisis. Whether our pacific war is come to *its* terrible crisis, is a matter of great doubt; but unless God interposes in some signal way, it must terminate in a peace which, like Scylla, has a thousand barking monsters of a thousand wars in its womb. God preserve us from such peace and such wars. As for himself, Wyndham is perfectly in the right to be governed by circumstances; but as for you, who act with no party and are in no office, your own honor and your personal reputation are the sole circumstances by which you are to be guided.—Therefore profit of the first opening. If the emperor's defection is solely owing to the bad state of his own affairs, than which nothing I admit can appear worse, we have much to lament and nothing to blame; but if the spirit of the debates in the English parliament have tended to bring on despair, or if our want of a supply to his necessities has crippled his armaments, then we have at once to lament and to blame. However, there is

Digitized by Google

the hand of God in this business, and there is an end of the system of Europe, taking in laws, manners, religion and politics, in which I delighted so much. My poor son was called off in time—"ne quid tale videret."

I understand that Ellis spoke handsomely of me, for which I thank him; and do you so too, through yourself or any medium you can find. As to Wyndham he never fails, but of this there is not a word; by our paper I should have thought he had not spoken: but it is no matter—all our plans are defeated by the settlement which the peace will make of the French system in the West Indies. Mr. Huddlestone's letter is very obliging, but I really wish him to keep all his sentiments concealed until he can get into the direction. Tell him that this is my opinion, and that then perhaps he may steal some little good; for we, who had for fourteen years struggled to do more, have been miserably defeated, if not with our own, yet with the national disgrace.

I wrote to Mr. Troward, and wonder you have not seen him. You had better call on him, as he lies directly in your way. Pray let me hear from you as often as you can, though it were but by a line. Your coming hither must be very inconvenient to you, and where is the use of your seeing me in the body of this death. In truth, I suffer very little pain, but I gain no strength at all. If I find any difference it is that my little strength declines. Adieu. God bless you.

Yours ever,

E. B.

Mrs. Burke is a trifle better of her cold—and Webster, who has been dangerously ill, is also better.

Digitized by Google

LETTER LXXII.

TO MR. BURKE.

London, April 25th, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

I HAVE seen the speaker again, and had a long conference with him. He thinks that some of my conclusions of course could not be supported at this moment, during the pendency of Mr. Hammond's mission. The fate of his negotiation will probably turn upon events. There is a violent faction in Vienna for peace; more so than in this country. This has compelled the emperor to allow a negotiation. But Baron Thugut, his principal adviser, is still firm. The Archduke attacked, though unsuccessfully, the rear of Bonaparte's army; and since has agreed to an armistice of five days. On the other side, Bonaparte's left wing in the Tyrol has been completely beaten; Brixen and Botzen retaken; and Trent is expected to follow. Kerpen and Laudohn hope to clear that country; in which case they will be in Bonaparte's rear. His friends here begin already to entertain apprehensions for his safety. Troops are hastening from the Rhine to the Austrian armies, and 20,000 are said already to be in the vicinity of Saltzburgh on Bonaparte's left flank. The emperor is gone to raise and head the Hungarians. There is yet a faint glimmering of light.

The mutiny has subsided. Admiral Sir Alan Gardiner acted with spirit; and there is therefore in the lovers of shabbiness a disposition to say that he went rather too far. The petition to parliament will not be presented. I was in hopes that it would have been rejected.

Troward has just been with me to exchange the bonds. I have cancelled the former, which I inclose. Believe me,

My dear sir,

Ever most gratefully and affectionately yours,

FRENCH LAURENCE.

Digitized by Google

LETTER LXXIII.

TO THE SAME.

April 28th, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

INCLOSED is a letter from France, from the count de Châtillon. It is without an address, but I believe it to be intended for you. He tells me in his letter to me that he has sent one, which he desires me to forward to you; but he says also, that he has written by the same opportunity to Mr. O'Hara, who has, however, not received his letter. Should the inclosed, contrary to what I suppose, be intended for Mr. O'Hara, I will trouble you to return it to me.

The count charges me to assure you most faithfully, that what he has said to you is very much below what he feels towards you. On public affairs his account is by no means favorable. His words are, "Je n'ai pas trouvé en arrivant les choses aussi couleur de rose qu'on les debitait tandis que j'etais avec vous. Un evênement que s'est venu a votre connaissance (I believe he means the discovery of the Royalists at Paris) a tout changé. Le delire se propage de nouveaux, ainsi que l'inquisition la plus vigilante. Vous sentez d'après cela les grandes mesures qu'il faut observer." His letter however is dated so far back as the first of March; since which time the Royalists have a little rallied again. One of the prisoners under prosecution, has been actually chosen a deputy to one of the councils, and chosen unanimously by his electors.

Yesterday I saw Woodford, and requested him to get you through Wyndham a copy of the second report of the finance committee, and another of the third report of the secret committee on the causes of the stoppage of the bank. The latter has some important information. I will not attempt to point it all out in detail to you. Indeed almost every part is curious and interesting in some way or other. The opinion of Mr.

Digitized by Google

Irving the inspector general (*calculating with all possible caution*) with regard to the balance of our trade, is particularly consolatory; and if he is accurate in what he says of the East India and West India trades, he must be, I think, certainly under the mark as to the whole balance. Yet even according to his computation, the actual profit of our trade is not very short of all the expenses of the war abroad in all parts of the world, as they appear in a paper in the appendix, which exhibits a sum total of thirty-two millions, up to the 12*th of April* 1797; and above four millions are for naval stores, which may probably form a part actually allowed, as imports, in Mr. Irving's account. The table of imports and exports for twenty years past will cut up in half a dozen different ways. Since the year 1790 our exports have increased one third of their whole present amount; and more by two millions than they increased in the ten years preceding. The export of British manufactures in the same period has increased in value by a sum equal to one half of their whole value at the close of the American war. That export last year was one million more than in the year 1792, when we were at peace and half Europe at war, while the export of foreign merchandise on a comparison of the same two years is nearly doubled. Looking back to the American war again, our export of British manufactures has more than doubled itself, and our whole export trade considerably more. The view is still improved, if you turn to the imports, which have not increased in proportion; and the great increase there is in the East and probably in the West India trade, neither of them to be put on the side of loss. Taking Mr. Irving's explanation relative to these two branches of trade, and the Newfoundland fishery (circumstances which since your observations on the state of the nation all writers on political economy have learned to distinguish) I cannot but be of opinion that the whole balance must be greater than Mr. Irving makes it, if you only cast your eye on the table of imports and exports, with every possible fair allowance for articles among the exports intended for the uses of the war, and for second cargoes sent to replace what may have been captured by the enemy.

Digitized by Google

I do not know whether I told you what the speaker informed me;—that Mr. Pitt the other day at dinner repeated with much commendation some parts of my speech on Mr. Harrison's motion. I should not have mentioned this to you, had not you been the principal subject of that speech. Believe me to be,

My dear sir,
Ever most gratefully and affectionately yours,
FRENCH LAURENCE.

LETTER LXXIV.

TO THE SAME.

Wednesday noon. [April 1797.]

MY DEAR SIR,

I HAVE just agreed with Sir William Scott (whose Lady is at Bath) to put myself into a mail coach with him on Saturday night, and to return hither again on Thursday morning by the same conveyance.

With your unpleasant reflections on public affairs I perfectly accord. It was not possible, or I should have certainly spoken on Monday. I could not get down till Mr. Pollen's and Mr. Pitt's first speeches were over; nor did I know a syllable of Mr. Hammond's mission but from the information stuck up at the window of a newspaper office, and conceived in the most vague and general terms, which I read on my way to the house. What I could learn by inquiry about Mr. Pitt's declaration, was very little and uncertain. I waited therefore till I could collect it better in the course of the debate. The house from the first moment of my entrance was very impatient, and called for the question at the end of every speech; and Sir John Macpherson about eight o'clock pushed that impatience to a climax. He was almost incessantly laughed at, coughed at, and shouted at, yet he persevered in

Digitized by Google

the most gentle and conciliatory manner, though in vain, for more than half an hour. He uttered two or three follies in the two or three first sentences, and the house, which was very full, could not afterwards get their risible muscles into any order, notwithstanding the most strenuous efforts of the speaker.

The speaker's brother made not a bad speech (at least the latter part of it, which alone I heard,) on very good principles. Sir William Pulteney was very stout and sound respecting the Netherlands and Holland; and for a monied man, spoke with a due contempt of the value of money in competition with such objects. He asked what signified so many more or so many less guineas in the pocket, if none could be enjoyed with security. If the emperor had experienced disasters, that was the time to say to him, "Here, take so much the more money, and exert yourself so much the more to repair your disasters." A Mr. Johnes spoke also some few sentences very well and very stoutly. The house gave indications of liking these things, if ministers had not stummed the cask beforehand.

I shall endeavor, before I see you, to renew an old and very long-interrupted acquaintance with Sir William Pulteney; I have had my eye upon him, and so has Lord Fitzwilliam too, for my seconder, but I wished first to see more of his opinions, because I had heard his conduct on the vote of credit attributed (but I am now satisfied unjustly) to resentment for the refusal of some job or other. Thus is character whispered away on one side. On the other, I myself last Monday night in the house overhead a jacobin (who he was I could not positively ascertain) in one of those running comments, which many men perpetually make to their neighbors, prophesy the guillotine, or menace it, I did not distinctly hear which, to Sir William Pulteney for his speech of that night. I am the more resolved to utter my opinions on the loan to the emperor next Friday se'nnight, and perhaps work some allusion to what I overheard into an exordium, as I think it may be made impressive.

Digitized by Google

Your intelligence about Mrs. Burke, and poor Webster too, gives me great satisfaction. About yourself it is not bad on the whole. God ever bless you and all yours! Believe me ever to be,

My dear sir,
Most gratefully and affectionately yours,
FRENCH LAURENCE.

P. S. I will thank Nagle, if he will carry the enclosed draft for acceptance or payment, and *let me know by the return of the post*, as it will make a difference in the *viaticum* which I may bring to Bath.—To-morrow I will call on, or send to, Troward.

LETTER LXXV.

TO THE SAME

April 29th, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

WOODFORD, I find, sent you the authentic intelligence of yesterday, except that it was a mistake to state the French to have been under General Massena; they were a separate force under General Joubert acting in the Tyrol. Bonaparte's situation is certainly very critical; and among other reinforcements of the Arch-Duke, General Mack is on his march from the Rhine with twenty squadrons. In the meantime the successes of the Austrians in the Tyrol will enable them to push forward towards Italy, and intercept all Bonaparte's supplies of every kind, and the troops which might be sent to strengthen him.

I write this from the house: A message from the king has just been delivered, recommending a loan of a million and a half to Ireland; and one of three millions and six hundred thousand pounds to the emperor; to pay one million six hundred thousand already advanced by government here, and

Digitized by Google

two millions to be sent as government here shall think best, for the support of his exertions in the common cause, till we can obtain *a secure and adequate* peace. Very flat and tame! But I will not lose every hope. Things seem to be taking a turn in Germany, which may once more give us a little common spirit and common sense. God bless you and all yours.

Ever, my dear sir,

most gratefully and affectionately yours,

FRENCH LAURENCE.

LETTER LXXVI.

TO THE SAME.

London, May 8th, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR.

THE general good account of your health (I mean especially, that the returns of your complaint are less and less violent and obstinate, and your strength more and more increased in the intervals,) is the best intelligence which I have received for some time. Why we are taken away and why we are spared, we know not; the dispensations of Providence are inscrutable; but while you are suffered to remain, I shall always cherish a hope, even beyond my general confidence, that the moral, and in that the political, order of the world, can never be intended by the great Creator and Disposer of all, to be abandoned to final destruction.

There is something a little, and but a very little, consoling in the last accounts from the continent. What are the exact preliminaries between the emperor and France is not known accurately here. Ministers have not been acquainted with them. But a state paper from another quarter makes the congress probable and something of more efficiency. The Directory applied in March to the King of Prussia to mediate

Digitized by Google

a peace, including England; and this he has notified at Ratisbon. We have also been told before that he approved Lord Malmesbury's offers; and it is said, that now he does not mean that the Rhine shall be the French boundary, but the Meuse.

You know my opinions. They remain the same. They are even strengthened in one point, as to the distress of the common enemy; since the French have abandoned their high pretensions of suffering no mediation, asserted in their answer to the Danish Minister on our first application for Lord Malmesbury's passport, have allowed a congress which they before refused on our original proposition, and by both these acts in the midst of their successes have evinced some little disposition to moderation, which in them can only be the effect of necessity. On our side, bullion has been literally pouring into the country, and I think some new indications of the prosperity of the country have lately come out. The number of inclosure bills passed last year was greater than ever was known, and more than double the average of the period from the American peace up to the last year. I should therefore be stouter than ever were it not for the internal state of the British empire. Ministers will not open their eyes with regard to Ireland; and they have lost the time of gaining the catholics in my estimation, while in the meantime the opposition party in that country have gone farther than sober men can approve and in all respects support, as they would wish. They have entangled themselves inextricably, I fear with what is called parliamentary reform. I have every serious alarm for Ireland, if the Foreign war should continue. What must be the primary defence of that country? Our navy, to prevent a junction between the French and Irish jacobin armies. And what is the state of our navy? I sometime since intimated my apprehensions of the consequences which might arise from the weak and undignified manner in which government gave way to a just claim of the seamen, improperly, illegally, and dangerously asserted. It is said to-day,

Digitized by Google

that a fresh mutiny has broken out, in which blood has been shed,—I believe, on both sides. With a mutinous navy and a rebellion in Ireland (which I think will certainly be if the war continues and ministers remain obstinate as to Ireland) it would require very different abilities for the conduct of war from those which have been manifested by the present government, to make me expect any benefit from *suffering war* under them rather than treat in a congress. The armistice of four months (in which it is said we may be included if we please) may give time for our credit to recover itself, as it is now in fact very nearly recovered; and for suppressing the first possible movements in the North of Ireland. The congress in which I presume the Emperor of Russia *as our ally* may take part, may produce some impression unfavorable to the French, both in the mind of Paul the First as well as of Frederic William, who I have reason to think, now that he has weakened the house of Austria by his neutrality, begins to be uneasy at his new neighbors and friends. Neither am I wholly without hopes from some late publications *of the official style* in the Morning Chronicle, and what I have privately heard and observed, that Fox may take the opportunity of putting himself on something more like constitutional grounds against French ambition.

The true cure of our internal evils, I conceive, would be the attachment, the warm and zealous attachment, of the Irish catholics, and a vigorous and united attack with our whole force on those parts of the French coast, where we might yet best expect to reanimate the royal cause. But this is too great for the present ministers, who are little. I shall take some occasion to express these sentiments; but I shall less commit myself with such a government and for such a government. Lord F. will be in town this week, I shall talk to him seriously about it.

I am obliged to conclude in haste. What I have written was scrawled, till I had no more paper, in the admiralty. I am going to a call of the house. Remember me to Mrs.

Digitized by Google

Burke. God bless you and her, and all yours! Believe me to be,

Dear sir, ever most gratefully
and affectionately, yours,
FRENCH LAURENCE.

LETTER LXXVII.

TO THE SAME.

May 11th, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

HAPPILY I escaped the disgrace of last Monday. Did you ever witness such a scene; as abject a surrender to our own mutineers, as to the jacobins of France! And then what childish weakness to think that we can deceive ourselves as well as our enemies, by shutting up our own mouths and eyes!

I was going down, when I found that the house was up. Last night a vote of censure was moved against ministers, for not having been sufficiently precipitate in their surrender. Indeed upon their own principle, of carefully avoiding any thing dignified in doing an act of justice, accompanied with a censure on the manner in which the claim had been asserted, I do not well see why ministers did not sooner bring forward the subject, and make the earliest submission. I arrived about seven o'clock, having been speaking for two hours in a heavy cause in the Court of Arches. After a single short speech from Lord G. Cavendish, from whom I could collect nothing as to the general situation of the debate, there was a cry of question, and the house divided. I wished to have spoken, but it was actually impossible. Indeed of late, as affairs grow more serious, there seems to be an increased impatience of lengthened debate, and ministers have no other feeling but that of delight at getting rid of every question so

Digitized by Google

quietly. These are some of the worst symptoms in the present general breaking up of every authority. We run away from that situation which we have not courage to face.

Wyndham is getting right about Ireland. I had a short conversation with him last night on the subject. He is for treating with Grattan and the Ponsonbys, and not only giving up the catholic question, but even allowing (what he does not himself like more than you and me) some change in the constitution of parliament. I told him what had been Ponsonby's specific motion on that subject, and he said he was glad to have known it, as it was so little objectionable in comparison of every other.

He wishes to have your opinion; but he is a little afraid to ask it, from his former difference on that point. You may write to me as if I had asked it for myself, and I will communicate it to him, as I think it may be of real use at this moment. His system in one word, is to go with an army in one hand and conciliation in the other—*Bella manu pacemque gerens.*

The report of the Lords' secret committee is just come out. It is more ably done by much than our report. If possible, I will get and send you a copy. I dipped into Mr. Irving's evidence, and he explains himself on a question there asked him, that he calculates the commercial balance at six millions five hundred thousand pounds, *independently of the remittances of the fortunes of individuals from the East and West Indies*, which he estimates at *four millions more.*

There have been very opposite advices from Portsmouth in the course of the night: but the last, thank God, is favorable. Adair received an express from his son, telling him that the delegates had resisted the wishes of the people of the London to send Colpoys and his captain ashore, and were determined to proceed against them with all severity; adding the strongest expressions of apprehension for their safety, if there was not some immediate and decisive interference of government or parliament. He went instantly in the middle of the night to Lord Spenser, and with him to Mr. Pitt. He

Digitized by Google

was on his road to Portsmouth with the result of their consultation, when he met a second express from his son, informing him that things had taken a better turn, and he believed the admiral and captain to be safe: The most mutinous of the crews had returned to their duty. The ministerial mercury, I suppose, will be to-day up at *settled fair*. God bless you and my late correspondent Mrs. Burke! I am,

My dear sir, ever most gratefully
and affectionately yours,
FRENCH LAURENCE.

LETTER LXXVIII.

TO DR. LAURENCE.

Bath, 12th May, 1797.

MY DEAR LAURENCE,

THE times are so deplorable, that I do not know how to write about them. Indeed I can hardly bear to think of them. In the selection of these mischiefs, those, which have the most recently oppressed, and overpowered, rather than exercised the shattered remains of my understanding, are those of the Navy, and those of Ireland. As to the first, I shall say nothing, except this, that you must remember from the moment the true genius of this French revolution began to dawn upon my mind, I comprehended what it would be in its meridian; and that I have often said, that I should dread more from one or two maritime provinces in France, in which the spirit and principles of that revolution were established, than from the old French monarchy possessed of all that its ambition ever aspired to obtain; that we should begin to be infected in the first Nidus and hot-bed of their infection, the subordinate parts of our military force, and that I should not be surprised at seeing a French convoyed by a British navy to an attack upon this kingdom. I think you

Digitized by Google

must remember the thing, and the phrase. I trust in God that these mutineers may not as yet have imbrued their hands deeply in blood. If they have, we must expect the worst that can happen. Alas! for the mischiefs that are done by the newspapers, and by the imbecility of the ministers, who neither refuse or modify any concession, nor execute with promptitude the resolutions they take through fear; but are hesitating and backward, even in their measures of retreat and flight: in truth they know nothing of the manœuvre either in advance or retreat.

The other affair, hardly less perplexing, nor much less instantly urging, is that of Ireland.

Mr. B. was here, and he spoke something, though indistinctly and confusedly, of a strong desire that he supposed the **** to have for a reconciliation with ****. Whether this is mere loose talk, such as I have uniformly heard from the day of the fatal rupture, is more than I know. My answer was, that while the cause of this calamitous rupture was yet in its operation, I had done every thing which a man like me could do, to prevent it, and its effects, but that now the question was not what should reconcile the **** to ****, but what would reconcile Ireland to England. This was very near the whole of our conversation. You know he does not see very far, nor combine very much. I have had a hint from another quarter, not indeed very direct, to know whether it was my opinion that a concession to the Irish catholics, would quiet that country. To this I have given no answer, because at this moment I am utterly incapable of giving any, the least distinct. Three months ago, perhaps even two months ago, I can say with confidence, notwithstanding the hand from which it would be offered, it would have prevented the discontents from running into one mass; even if the compliance had been decently evaded, and future hopes held out, I think these mischiefs would not have happened; but instead of this, every measure has been used that could possibly tend to irritation. The rejection of the memorial, was abrupt, final, and without any temperament

Digitized by Google

whatsoever. The speeches in the house of Lords in Ireland were in the same strain; and in the house of commons, the ministers put forward a wretched brawler, one Duigenan of your profession, to attack Mr. Fox, though they knew, that as a British member of parliament, he was by them invulnerable; but their great object was, to get him to rail at the whole body of catholics and dissenters in Ireland in the most foul and unmeasured language. This brought on, as they might well have expected from Mr. Grattan, one of the most animated philippics which he ever yet delivered, against their government and parliament.

It was a speech the best calculated that could be conceived further to inflame the irritation which the castle-brawler's long harangue must necessarily have produced. As to Mr. Fox, he had all the honor of the day, because the invective against him was stupid, and from a man of no authority or weight whatsoever; and the panegyric which was opposed to it, was full of eloquence, and from a great name. The attorney general in wishing the motion withdrawn, as I understand, did by no means discountenance the principle upon which it was made, nor disown the attack, which was made in a manner, upon the whole people of Ireland. The solicitor general went the full length of supporting it. Instead of endeavoring to widen the narrow bottom upon which they stand, they make it their policy to render it every day more narrow. In the parliament of Great Britain, Lord Grenville's speech turned the loyalty of the catholics against themselves. He argued from that zeal and loyalty they manifested, their want of a sense of any grievance. This speech, though probably well intended, was the most indiscreet and mischievous of the whole. People do not like to be put into practical dilemmas. If the people are turbulent and riotous, nothing is to be done for them on account of their evil dispositions. If they are obedient and loyal, nothing is to be done for them, because their being quiet and contented is a proof that they feel no grievance. I know that this declaration has had its natural effect, and that in several places the catholics think

Digitized by Google

themselves called upon to deny the inference made by ministers from their good conduct. It seems to them a great insult to convert their resolution to support the king's government into an approbation of the conduct of those who make it the foundation of their credit and authority that they are the enemies of their description.

I send you two extracts of letters, for **** and your information, from intelligent and well informed people in Cork;* and one of them from a gentleman of much consideration and influence in that place. These will let you see the effect of that conduct which tends to unite all descriptions of persons in the South, in the same spirit of discontent, and in the same bonds of sedition with those of the North. As far as I can find, no part of the army in Ireland is yet tainted with the general spirit; but under a general discontent it is impossible it should long continue sound; and even if it did, it is as impossible that such a country can be ruled by a military government, even if there were no enemy abroad to take advantage of that miserable state of things.

* *Extract of a Letter from Cork; dated May 3d, 1797.*

..." As to the affairs of this country, I neither know what to say or think of them; but this I am sorry to be able to assure you of, that there is a very great and general change in the minds of the people here, brought about within a short period. No more of that enthusiasm of loyalty and detestation of French principles, which prevailed so much on the late alarms. It is now "*The English minister and government detest poor Ireland, and would set us to cutting one another's throats, as they have done in the North,*" &c. &c. In short, such is the language spoken by every man almost you meet, and a great deal worse. Government's ingratitude, in an absolute refusal of any further boon to the catholics, has roused the resentment of the quietest spirits; and the severe punishments inflicted in some places on the militia, for going to mass, instead of the protestant church, is surely, not to give it a worse appellation, impolitic in the extreme."

Extract of a Letter from Cork; dated May 4th, 1797.

"By the Dublin papers you will see what is going on there. We can expect no remedy from a wretched junto, who are involving their country in certain ruin. A letter from a man in government (whom I cannot mention) to his

Digitized by Google

Now suffer me to throw down to you my thoughts of what might be expected under the existing circumstances, from the mere grant of an act of parliament for a total emancipation. This measure I hold to be a fundamental part in any plan for quieting that country and reconciling it to this; but you are well aware, that this measure, like every other measure of the kind, must depend on the manner in which it is done, the persons who do it, and the skill and judgment with which the whole is conducted. And first, my clear opinion is, that as long as the present junto continue to govern Ireland, such a measure into which they must manifestly appear to be relunctantly driven, never can produce the effects proposed by it, because it is impossible to persuade the people that as long as they govern, they will not have both the power and inclination totally to frustrate the effect of this new arrangement, as they have done that of all the former.

Indeed it will appear astonishing that these men should be kept in the sole monopoly of all power, upon the sole merit of their resistance to the catholic claims, as inconsistent with the

friend here, laments the infatuation of what he calls the *interior cabinet*, to which he of the *exterior* has no access. The great turnings out there give us some hopes of their filling up the measure of their iniquities before it is too late to save us. That *interior* cabinet must have choked up every channel of communication to the king, or we never could be abandoned to the situation we are now in. The swearing has reached to Carberry; and it is said to have got into Blackpool, which is known to be the most protestant suburb of this city. Roger O'Connor was obliged to fly for his apostleship, and his steward would have been probably convicted at the assizes, had he not put off his trial. The minds of men are much changed since Christmas. The golden opportunity was lost to government, of assuming the whole merit of granting, what is certainly but a small boon.

It must come in spite of ascendancy, with many other reforms through every department, otherwise the foundation will be undermined. The tithe folks are hard at work to increase them, and as overbearing as ever. It is astonishing how the interest of the moment can blind them. But until some commutation takes place, the country never can be quiet.

Tithes will ever be one of the most powerful weapons a demagogue can wield. On the whole it appears to me that the minds of men are so heated, that nothing but the *horrors* of revolution can cool them. Many wish for the experiment, and to fly to ills they know not of."

Digitized by Google

connection of the two kingdoms; and yet at the same time to see those claims admitted, and the pretended principle of the connection of the two countries abandoned, to preserve to the same persons the same monopoly. By this it would appear that the subject is either to be relieved or not; and the union of the two kingdoms abandoned, or maintained, just as it may answer the purposes of a faction of three or four individuals. But if that junto was thrown out to-morrow along with their measure, government has proceeded in such a manner, and committed so many [things] in violent declarations on this subject, that a complete emancipation would no longer pass with its former facility, and a strong ferment would be excited in the church party, who though but few in numbers have in their hands most of the ultimate and superior property of the kingdom. These difficulties appear to me to be great. Certain it is, that if they were removed, the leaders of the opposition must be taken into their places, and become the object of confidence to an English government. They are to a man pledged for some alteration in the constitution of parliament. If they made no such alteration, they would lose the weight which they have, and which is necessary to quiet the country. If on the other hand they were to attempt a change upon any of the plans of moderation which I hear they have adopted, they would be as far from satisfying the demands of the extravagant people, whom they mean to comply with, as they would be in preserving the actual constitution which was fabricated in 1614. The second infallible consequence would be, that if a revolution of this kind (for it would be a revolution) were accomplished in Ireland, though the grounds are a little different yet the principle is so much the same, that it would be impossible long to resist an alteration of the same kind on this side of the water; and I never have doubted since I came to the years of discretion, nor ever can doubt, that such changes in this kingdom would be preliminary steps to our utter ruin; but if I considered them as such at all times, what must they appear to me at a moment like the present? I see no way of settling these king-

Digitized by Google

doms but by a great change in the superior government *here*. If the present administration is removed, it is manifest to me, that the Duke of Bedford, and Lord Guilford, and the Duke of Northumberland, and Lord Lansdowne, all, or most of them, under the direction of Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox, will be the sole option; that if they took in the Duke of Portland, they must take him in, at best, in the state of utter insignificance in which unfortunately he now stands. That they would gladly take in my Lord Fitzwilliam I have no question; but, I am sure, he would have no support, and never would be suffered to play any principal part as long as he holds the maxims, and is animated by the sentiments for which, as a statesman, we value him. He certainly would be best in Ireland, but I am very far from being sure that his connections there would look up to him with the same simple and undivided affection which they formerly did; and I am equally uncertain whether he would leave behind him a ministry, which in the mass would be better disposed to his support, than those who had formerly betrayed him. Besides, I cannot look without horror, upon his being conjoined (and possibly found in a new reign in such a conjunction) with a ministry who have spared no pains to prove their indifference at least, to the local honor and interest of their country, or to the general liberty of Europe. And indeed, who have wished to leave no doubt upon any mind, that it is their ambition to act in this country as a subordinate department to the directory of the French republic. I see no ray of hope but in some sort of coalition between the heads of the factions who now distract us, formed upon a sense of the public danger. But unfortunately their animosity towards each other grows with the danger. I confess that if no such coalition is made, and yet that a change should take place, I see in the present ministry and its partisans an opposition far more formidable than that which we have at present; and that after awhile at least, their principles and their modes of proceeding will not be found very different from those of the present opposition. I must add, since I am opening my mind so much at large,

Digitized by Google

that when I look at the state of the *civil* list in Great Britain, which I have reason to know and feel to be full two years in debt to most of the departments, I see no means of carrying on government upon any thing like a broad bottom, even officially; to say nothing of the necessary accommodation to those expectants who will look to come forward with advantage, or to retire without marks of disgrace; and both parties have emulously concurred in cutting off all those extraneous means of accommodation, which might supply the deficiency of the civil list resources. In Ireland things are yet worse. They have seized upon all the means of government, in order to accommodate one family, and its dependencies; and they have so squandered away every resource, under the pretence of providing a home defence, that not only is Ireland unable to form a system of comprehension, but England will soon find itself unable to supply that kingdom with the means of its ordinary existence. To whatever point of the compass I turn my eyes, I see nothing but difficulty and disaster. You will naturally say, why therefore do you reason in a state of despair? I do it, that **** and yourself may see my melancholy reveries in this deplorable state of things. The very consideration of the difficulties which strike me, may suggest to better heads than mine, the means of overcoming them.

I do not know whether you have seen Hussey's pastoral letter. It is written with eloquence and energy, and with perhaps too little management towards the unfortunate system which rules in Ireland at present; but it is the product of a manly mind, strongly impressed with the trust committed to his hands for supporting that religion, in the administration of which he has a very responsible place, and which he considers as in the commencement of a new persecution. It is therefore no wonder that he recommends an adherence to it under all circumstances, which many people animated by a contrary party zeal may not approve: but men must act according to their situation, and for one I am of opinion that it were better to have a strong party zeal, provided it is bottomed in our common principles, than any thing resembling

Digitized by Google

infidelity, which last we know, by woful experience, is as capable of religious persecution as any sectarian spirit can possibly be.

I received your letter of yesterday. Nothing can equal the precipitation of ministers, in acceding to the demands of the first mutiny. Nothing but want of foresight can be alleged in favor of the formalizing delay to effectuate the purposes of the grant which had been extorted from their fears. But this will ever be the case of those who act from no principle but fear. The moment that is over, they fall into a supine security. I agree with you, that no folly ever equaled their attempt to beg off discussion upon this subject. They ought to have known that it would have no other effect than what it had, which was to provoke and inflame the discussion they so childishly sought to avoid; but the whole is the result of that meanness of spirit which has brought on all our misfortunes, and rendered all our resources fruitless.

Delicacy alone has been the sole cause of my silence to Mr. Wyndham, with relation to the affairs of Ireland; otherwise he is entitled to, and he possesses my most unreserved confidence. I have therefore no sort of difficulty in wishing him to know my thoughts upon that subject. They will not be very encouraging to him, because I am greatly afraid that the preposterous method [of] beginning with force and ending with concession, may defeat the effect of both. If things had been in their natural course, I should certainly have agreed with him. No concession on the part of government ought ever to be made without such a demonstration of force, as might insure it against contempt. It will always be a matter of great moment in whose hands the force to be applied in domestic disturbances is placed. Never, no, never shall I be persuaded that any force can appear otherwise than as odious, and more odious than dreaded, when it is known to be under the direction of ****. I will not enter into all the particulars, but among the many mischievous measures lately adopted, his nomination to the office of commander in chief led to by far the worst consequences.

Digitized by Google

When I am opening my mind to you, I must add, that as long as a shallow, hot-headed puppy, proud and presumptuous, and ill behaved, like ****, has the chief or any credit at the castle, or with ministry here, I can expect no sort of good from any thing that can be done in parliament. When we talk of giving way to Mr. Grattan and the Ponsonbys, I suppose it is meant that they should be taken into the Irish ministry; else to give them a triumph, and at the same time to leave them in a state of discontent and dissatisfaction, if we consider the interest of government as government, is to act against the most obvious dictates of common sense. Adieu. I may truly say with Addison's Cato, "I am weary of conjecture." I will not add with him, that, "this must end them." But they must soon be ended by the Master of the drama, to whose will, pray with me, that we may be all, in all things, submissive.—Don't forget to send me the report of the house of commons, and that of the house of lords, if you can get it; though I do not know why I am anxious about it, because as a nation our fate seems decided, and we perish with all the material means of strength that ever nation has possessed, by a poverty and imbecility of mind which has no example I am sure, and could have no excuse even in the weakest. Adieu, adieu.

Yours ever,

E. B.

LETTER LXXIX.

TO THE SAME.

Bath, 18th May. [1797.]

MY DEAR LAURENCE,

I SEND you the copy of the memorial which you desire; which surely if any one thing rather than another could less deserve the proud and disdainful reception and negative which

Digitized by Google

it met with, it must be that paper. I believe you will coincide with me in opinion. I think you read it to Mr. Wyndham, and that he saw nothing objectionable in it; but, on the contrary, a degree of moderation much to be commended.—A letter from Dr. W. King gives me to expect to see Lord Fitzwilliam here in this week or the beginning of next. If he should not then come, I wish he would not trouble himself in coming at all; as, in my own opinion, and that of my physician, I am to expect no further good from the waters here; and he more than doubts, whether his permitting me to use them upon the credit of the benefit I derived from [them] last year, has had the support of experience. The fact is, I am just where I was when you left me; and if there be any difference, it is, that I find myself weaker, and more emaciated. So, that my purpose is, to point my view homeward, and to proceed on my journey only as my strength shall give me leave; and as I think to proceed only as by airings, to take the way by the Vale of Rodborough, Cheltenham, and Oxford. But on this point I am not determined. As to my general regimen, and course of physic, if it pleases God to continue me a little longer here, I can observe [them] at home; and if I should die, I should certainly die with something more [of] satisfaction there. All this you will communicate in substance to Lord Fitzwilliam. I shall certainly not set off until Wednesday or Thursday next; and it is likely that I shall be four days, at least, in going home.

What I have now to say, you cannot directly communicate either to Wyndham or to ****. I am astonished to find **** approving as he does, in a short letter to me, my ideas upon the subject of a coalition, and yet proposing a plan in direct opposition to it—namely, the total turning out of this ministry, and substituting in its place all the leaders of opposition. I consider what he says of Mr. Wyndham and the D. of Portland as no exceptions, because they would be as insignificant in such an arrangement as they are in the present; and after all the foul motives assigned by that opposition, publicly, for the part they have taken, between you and I, I

Digitized by Google

do not see how, as men of honor, they can arrange with it; particularly the Duke of Portland, who is not in the habit of explaining and defending his conduct—and therefore is wholly at the mercy of others in every step of life that he takes. I am bitterly sorry for it, but he has had his day and he is no more. As to ****, I believe they would be very glad to take him in; but upon whose support is he to depend? whether he is to stay in cabinet here, or to trust himself to the tempestuous sea of Ireland, as Lord Lieutenant; because for him to advise a system of administration in which he has no part, is so unwise a proceeding, that, most assuredly, for one, I shall never recommend it. Indeed I shall never recommend the jacobin ministry he proposes; with principles unretracted, and with propensities unchanged—without either direction or control. I am astonished at ****'s impudence in speaking to him at all; but much more of his speaking in favor of that low, intriguing, and perfidious tool ****, whose sole recommendation to the great office he holds, and which is much above his merits, was his betraying ****. At ****'s impudence I am not surprised. If I should have the happiness of seeing **** when he has himself communicated to me his own ideas, I shall give my opinion upon them fully and freely. What is the reason that among the removals they say nothing of ****, who is a more mischievous person even than the chancellor. Why talk of ****, when Yelverton was upon all accounts the fairest pretension upon a change conducted on ****'s ideas. But I shall not just now trouble you any more upon this part of the subject. I shall certainly never desire Wyndham to resign, for the destroying this administration, without seeing distinctly what other can be made. It would be highly dishonorable for him to quit administration, merely because it is in difficulties, for the direct purpose of bringing in their enemies. The public is gone irrecoverably, and there is nothing left to individuals but to fall with decorum.—Mrs. Burke is tolerable, and yours as usual. Adieu.

Yours ever,

E. B.

Digitized by Google

LETTER LXXX.

TO MR. BURKE.

May 18th, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your letter too just, though so melancholy, I have read both to Lord Fitzwilliam and Mr. Wyndham. I have given a copy to the former, and promised one to the latter.

****, I must inform you in confidence, seems to be more pleased with your opinion that some *coalition* is the only chance of safety, than deterred by the horror which you express of one particular junction. He is very eager that Wyndham should take his stand on the affairs of Ireland, and go out, if necessary, on the question of changing the ministry there.

Wyndham seems to be impressed with the impossibility of doing any thing through the present men in Ireland. I sent him an extract from the chancellor's speech in 1793 against the catholic delegates, and in support of the popery laws of Ireland, in which he stated all of that religious persuasion to be essentially traitors; and Wyndham owned he was satisfied. He then asked me as to the details of a new arrangement. I professed myself wholly unable to answer, but said I thought that was a subsequent consideration. The first thing was to settle the general principle, whether a fundamental change were necessary, and if so, what connection of men must be received into the government. Then, it seemed to me the natural and wisest mode of proceeding to give the new ministers a fair and full confidence, and make the detail of arrangements in consultation with them. I was particularly asked about a new chancellor, but that I avoided.

**** was sounded nearly in the same manner by ****. The latter considers Fitzgibbon as a protégé of his own, he having first appointed him solicitor general; but he said that

Digitized by Google

private partialities must now give way to public safety: the chancellor must go; but who should succeed him? Would lord chief justice Carlton do; or would they take *an English chancellor!* Would **** recommend ****?

I believe there is a disposition to send the latter, and to get **** if possible, to let it be considered as a job for him. **** came to me the other evening in the house of commons for the first time since I have been a member, sat down by me and was very gracious. He inquired very affectionately for ****, and regretted that he had not seen him since his arrival in town. His Lordship, however, is as correct on this subject, as he usually is in all his public sentiments. He answered ****, that he lamented the situation to which Ireland had been reduced, and which made it necessary in his opinion, contrary to his general wishes and inclinations, to have for that country a government which more immediately belonged to the country itself: the connection must in that respect be weakened for the present, to be preserved at all for the future.

Other topics arose. The full admission of the catholic claims seems to be agreed as of course; and parliamentary reform, as it is miscalled. **** had forgot the particulars of G. Ponsonby's former motion, but remembered the aristocratical nature of it. The representation which he gave, seemed to be highly satisfactory, and he understood that it was intended to yield in that point also.

Should that take place, though G. Ponsonby's plan is the least exceptionable which I have seen, though it is most on the original basis of our constitution, being wholly built on the landed interest by throwing in all the freeholders of £10 a year within four miles of every borough; yet as I think it too uniformly aristocratical in the same mode and kind of aristocracy even for me, and above all as it admits the necessity of altering the existing constitution, I shall consider it, if it really takes place, but as the first breach to let in ruin. Ponsonby has given notice, I see, of his motion next week. It

Digitized by Google

may be useful, if he is not indiscreet in his manner of doing it. It will certainly be negatived, and then the new government of Ireland could have a year before them at least without being goaded on that subject, and may give their ill success now as a reason, if they please, for not reviving the question hereafter.

Have you seen the report of the secret committee in Ireland? What a horrible-formed system of jacobinism had been established there! Actual tribunals, the sentences of which were carried into execution by assassinations, taxes levied, troops arrayed, and a train of ordnance provided. They had their emissaries in Scotland, where the lower orders, I am told, are exceedingly discontented.

The cause of the Olive-Branch, an American vessel laden with nearly fifteen thousand muskets and bayonets, and twenty-one brass field pieces, four pounders, which, it has been suspected, were destined to Ireland, comes on to-morrow in the admiralty court. I have just been looking into my papers, but I cannot prove what we so much suspect. The arms are stated to have been purchased by contract for the militia of Vermont, and to have been to be delivered at New York. The pretended contract was made in July last, and the vessel with the arms was stopped and seized near Scilly in *November last*, just coinciding with the time that Hoche's expedition was almost ready to sail against Ireland.

As to our domestic politics, I gave you a hint of ****'s opinion in the beginning of this letter. He wants Pitt and the Grenvilles to go out; and Fox to form a junction with the Duke of Portland, Wyndham and the rest. Of himself he says nothing. Wyndham, on the other hand, wishes Lord F. the Duke of Leeds, and others, to be united with Fox, supposing the necessity of the latter coming into power; that there may be some check upon him, and that he may have an aristocratical authority to hold forth if he pleases, to some of his colleagues: but Wyndham says nothing of the Duke of Portland or himself. I see little chance indeed of safety and less of honor in either of these schemes, and can form no

Digitized by Google

speculation myself for a single instant, to which I can look with a rational hope.

> - - - Cloud and ever-during dark
> Surround me. - - -

If you think, my dear sir, of throwing forth your thoughts on any of these subjects to his Lordship, or to W., you may do it as before through me. You may, if you will, suppose me to have consulted you upon the details of an Irish ministry, and the two schemes of a new ministry here, though in truth I despair too much to make a serious question about them. I would particularly wish your opinion as to Wyndham's going out on Irish affairs, if, what I think will hardly be, there should be a determination to grant every thing rather than a new administration there. Your authority would go a great way either with **** or Mr. W.

In another cover I shall send you some fragments of a letter from an Irish barrister of good talents and principles to his brother here. If I get the whole, when Mr. Pitt has done with it, I will send it to you.

I have not yet got the two secret reports.

Remember me to Mrs. Burke. It is a long time since I have heard of your health. In all your long letters not a word upon that, no less interesting subject than all the rest to my feelings.

What think you of the following description of—I had almost said our parliament—but I mean of the Roman senate—by Cicero: "Quo me dolore affici creditis, cum alios malè sentire, alios nihil omninò curare videam, alios parùm constanter in susceptâ causâ permanere, sententiamque suam non semper utilitate reipublicæ, sed cum spe, tum timore moderari?" Believe me to be,

My dear sir, ever most gratefully
and affectionately yours,
FRENCH LAURENCE.

P. S. I will thank you for a copy of Lord Kenmare's petition, which no one here has seen.

Digitized by Google

LETTER LXXXI.

TO THE SAME.

Tuesday, May 30th, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

THE accounts which I have received from Woodford, give me great satisfaction. Shortly, I hope, it will be in my power to satisfy my own eyes and ears of his veracity; but our term will not be at an end, till the close of the week, and after that I expect my brother for some days on business.

The other day I had a very civil message from some of the poor royalists of St. Domingo, for saying two or three words in their favor, and throwing out a general challenge on the same side, when Fox was pleased to impute to them the origin of all the crimes and horrors in that miserable colony. Fox told me afterwards in the house, that he formed his opinion wholly on Bryan Edwards's authority. I have since looked over that history, and find to my astonishment, that the principal channel of Edwards's information was a member of the jacobin *commission intermediaire appointed by Polverel and Santhonax.*

Several times I was disposed to have spoken on the proposition for a parliamentary change introduced the other night by Grey; but I had unusually fatigued myself in the morning in two courts, before I went with the Oxford address in my scarlet robes to a hot levee room at St. James's. Had Wyndham risen, I was determined to have supported him. But in truth I feel very little spirit to commit myself much in battle by the side of a ministry who betray their own cause, and who I know would make any failure of mine a new excuse for shabbiness in regard to the principles which I should maintain. I am attentive to all that is going on, turn all the topics in my mind, and exercise myself in silence every night. My seat now, when I can get it, is generally in the front row

Digitized by Google

towards the bottom of the house, two or three from the bar on the treasury side.

I have lately received much pleasure from a letter of our old friend *Garat* in the French papers. He was a candidate for Versailles at the late elections, and complains bitterly of the open *royalism* of the electoral assembly there. When he entered, he was hustled, and there was a cry "Voilà l'infame, qui a lû le jugement à Louis XVI." or to that effect. He was driven with hisses and all sorts of contumelies. He says too, that the scene was nearly the same in most other electoral assemblies. The new third seems, as far as they go, to be doing some good. They have appointed a committee to revise the laws against the clergy, and intimated an intention of repealing totally the declaration which has been substituted to the former oath. I believe also, they will repeal, or in some other way defeat the present abominable laws against emigrants. These things will be some consolation amidst the political destruction of the commonwealth of Europe. I shall not be surprised to see a considerable change for the better in France, and that she may begin to recover from the revolutionary madness, but not till she has ruined and overturned by external force and internal intrigues, every other part of the civilized world.

You will know much more of Ireland than I can tell you, from Lord Fitzwilliam and Dr. Hussey, who, I understand, are now with you. As far as I can collect, ministers are disposed to grant every thing to the catholics, and to give up the **** faction; but now the Ponsonbys have entangled themselves with a change in the form of parliament, not only different from, but opposite to, their former plan.

I scrawl this from a committee room, and must now attend a little to the job, which I came honestly to support. I believe it to be of public utility.

I am, my dear sir,

Ever most gratefully and affectionately yours,

FRENCH LAURENCE.

Digitized by Google

LETTER LXXXII.

TO DR. LAURENCE.

Bath, 30th March, 1797.

MY DEAR LAURENCE,

I HAVE but time for a very few lines. I send you back Lord F.'s note. As to the inclosure you refer to as coming by yesterday's post, I received no letter from you by that post, and consequently no inclosure. How this has happened I know not. Nothing can be more unlucky than the contrariety between your times in your court and in the house of commons. I can think of no way of reconciling them, even tolerably, but by your taking the refreshment which you state to be necessary, in the chop-house of [the] commons, during such a period of the debate as you think can best bear your absence. The whole proceeding of the minority goes systematically and with unwearied application to the destruction of our credit at home, and of every connection which we can have abroad. This is not one of my best days; but though I have had much pain, I don't find myself proportionably weakened; and I am at this minute very easy. Mrs. Burke cordially salutes you; and in all states I am faithfully and affectionately

Yours, E. B.

LETTER LXXXIII.

TO THE SAME.

Beaconsfield, 1st June, 1797.

MY DEAR LAURENCE,

IT is not easy for me to describe to you the state of ****'s mind. Indeed the condition of all affairs, of Irish affairs in

Digitized by Google

particular, especially as they relate to him, both as a man and as a statesman, are enough to perplex a very clear understanding, such as in truth his understanding naturally is; but independently of these difficulties, which I feel to press equally upon any judgment of my own, he has those which result from his own passions, from a strong predilection to Mr. Fox with regard to this side of the water, and a still stronger with regard to Mr. William Ponsonby on the other side. As to Mr. Ponsonby, he seems to be guided by nothing but his passions. He is by his natural temper perhaps the most vehemently irritable and habitually irritated of any person whom I have ever heard of—I mean of a man conversant with public affairs; and he is even yet more hot in deliberation and council than he is in debate. **** has not only his predilections, but he is influenced, too much so in my opinion, though very naturally and very excusably, by a rooted animosity against Mr. Pitt, and, indeed what he has not in particular to himself, an incurable suspicion of his sincerity. If his predilections had been returned by any correspondent degree of attachment or confidence on the part of Mr. Ponsonby or Mr. Grattan, I should not be inclined to blame the confidence which he has in them, because, independently of their conduct (under great provocations, I admit) they are, especially the latter, men of integrity and public spirit; but they not only do not act in confidence or in concert with **** but they are actually engaged in personal connection and combined in public arrangements in a manner that would virtually exclude **** as much from all influence and direction in public affairs as Mr. Pitt does, or possibly can do. It is plain that Ponsonby has concerted the infernal plan of what he calls parliamentary reform, with the opposition here, and eminently with his son-in-law, Mr. Grey, with whom he is connected full as much by politics as he is by family ties. **** sees this parliamentary reform thus pushed in concert by the opposition in both kingdoms exactly in the same light which you and I do, and yet without regard to the dreadful consequences which he foresees

Digitized by Google

from this measure, and without regard to the total, at least temporary, alienation of those people from his confidence, his connection, and his principles. I plainly perceive that if he was consulted, he would advise to throw every thing into their hands. If I am asked what I would myself advise in such a case, I should certainly advise the same, but with this temperament and express previous condition, that they renewed their confidence in ****, whom I hold to be the only person to settle Ireland; and that they give him some assurance as a man, a gentleman, and a friend, that they will be practicable about their schemes of changing the constitution of the house of commons; and that they will desist from the scheme of an absentee tax, which in its principle goes more to the disconnection of the two kingdoms than any thing which is proposed by the United Irishmen. As to Mr. Grattan's other project, of laying new taxes upon English commodities, and the principle upon which he proposes it,—namely, that England is a foreign and a hostile kingdom and adverse in interest, [it] is, I think, a measure he would hardly persevere in. I think the difficulty of the case is extreme, when you consider the military government established on the one hand, and the wild democratic representation proposed as its cure [on] the other. If **** cannot be the Lord Lieutenant, a thing to which he never would consent, and indeed in prudence ought not to do, leaving an adverse cabinet behind him, and if that adverse cabinet be, as it is, full as little disposed to trust to him as he is to rely upon it, the only way in which he can be serviceable is in a mediatorial capacity; and this office of a mediator he certainly cannot perform in the temper he is in at present. I have entered into a very great detail with him, perhaps into too great a detail upon all those points, not being quite sure that I should live to converse with him again upon the subject; yet I am afraid that I have poured too much into a mind in itself over anxious and over full. He does not like, nor indeed do I much, the manner in which he seems to be indirectly and without the least confidence consulted about a

Digitized by Google

particular member of an arrangement, I mean that of naming your namesake, Judge Lawrence, to be chancellor of Ireland. It is plain that they mean some change to satisfy the people, but not essentially to alter their system, or to bring in any man whose local weight and authority might counterbalance that of Lord Clare and his faction, or prove a gratification to any description of the people, or to facilitate any general arrangement; and they seem to want a sort of sanction from * * * *, with regard to a single member of some system with which he is wholly unacquainted. The thing was first suggested to him by Lord Carlisle, and Woodford in a letter to me made the same suggestion, to be communicated to * * * * as from Mr. Wyndham. He was naturally much against giving any opinion on the subject; for which he gave many good reasons; but he was so hurt at those unconfidential confidences, that he was for some time unwilling that I should communicate his reasons for declining any opinion in my answer to Mr. Woodford's communication. However, I persuaded him to let me do it, as I am sure that guarding himself by a prudent suspicion, he ought to be as open to hear, as cautious to determine upon any matter relative to Ireland. This is all with which I have to trouble you at present.

As to the state of my body since my return, I cannot help smiling at the thought of Woodford's seeing it in so gay a point of view; for I am sure if I should live to see you, you will rather think me a man dug out of the grave than as a man going, as I am, into it. I am infinitely weaker than when I left this, and far more emaciated. "Pallor in ore sedet, macies in corpore toto." I look like Ovid's envy, but thank God without much envying any one; and certainly not in a condition to be envied, except by those who prognosticate the dreadful evils of every kind which are impending over us. Adieu. Mrs. Burke salutes you cordially; and believe me

Ever yours,

E. B.

P. S. I forgot to tell you that I have seen and conversed, though not enough, with Dr. Hussey; but this I know, that

Digitized by Google

he has stated facts sufficient to justify almost every thing which might have been considered as indiscreet in his pastoral letter.

LETTER LXXXIV.

TO THE SAME.

Beaconsfield, 5th June, 1797.

MY DEAR LAURENCE,

I AM satisfied that there is nothing like a fixed intention of making a real change of system in Ireland; but that they vary from day to day as their hopes are more or less sanguine from the Luttrellade. The system of military government is mad in the extreme—merely as a system, but still worse in the mad hands in which it is placed. But my opinion is, that if Wyndham has not been brought into an absolute relish of this scheme, he has been brought off from any systematical dislike to it. When I object to the scheme of any military government, you do not imagine that I object to the use of the military arm in its proper place and order; but I am sure that so long as this is looked upon as principal, it will become the sole reliance of government—and that from its apparent facility, every thing whatsoever belonging to real civil policy in the management of a people will be postponed, if not totally set aside. The truth is, the government of Ireland grows every day more and more difficult; and consequently the incapacity of the jobbers there, every day more and more evident; but as long as they can draw upon England for indefinite aids of men, and sums of money, they will go on with more resolution than ever in their jobbing system. Things must take their course.

As to the state of this kingdom, it does not appear to me to be a great deal better than that of Ireland. Perhaps in some points of view it is worse. To see the Thames itself boldly

Digitized by Google

blocked up by a rebellious British fleet, is such a thing as in the worst of our dreams we could scarcely have imagined. The lenitive electuary of Mr. Pitt's bill is perfectly of the old woman's dispensatory. The only thing which he spoke of, and which has any degree of common sense, is a general association of the whole kingdom to support government against all disorders, and all enemies foreign and internal; but I doubt whether he has stuff enough in him to carry it into execution. What is all this coqueting with Sheridan? and what, except shame, do they get by it? Farewell, and God bless you.

Yours ever,

E. B.

Digitized by Google

LETTERS WITHOUT A DATE.

TO MR. BURKE.

Probably in 1792.

MY DEAR SIR,

I SEND you two papers—the Morning Herald has the Duke's paragraph of contradiction and declaration—the Morning Chronicle a declaration from Mr. Fox, with a most impudent addition of the editor's, instead of the Duke's paragraph. The Oracle, World, and Whitehall Evening Post, were all that would insert it on Saturday. Even these ministerial papers, contrary to my orders, have thrust it into an obscure corner. The Morning Post noticed the receipt of the paragraph, but would not believe the authority; because it *affects to disclaim the manly sentiment of Mr. Fox, which no patriotic member* CAN *disavow*. Thus is he derided and insulted by those who have eat his bread to his own beggary.

He and Lord Fitzwilliam seemed to think Fox's declaration something gained: I think it makes the matter worse and worse. The Duke himself is by no means satisfied. I have just been writing a very long letter to Wyndham on the subject, and find that Abey has written to you. So I shall shorten my scrawl.

Digitized by Google

I am truly rejoiced in Richard's safe arrival,* especially since the late high winds. Believe me to be,

Dear sir,

Most sincerely your obedient, &c.

FRENCH LAURENCE.

LETTER II.

TO DR. LAURENCE.

Monday.

MY DEAR LAURENCE,

YOUR employment has been troublesome; but I hope it will not be fruitless. I think the efforts of the faction are not at all abated, and that the evil they intend equally appears in their desperate boldness, and in their insidious hypocrisy. They have changed some of their notes since the riots at Birmingham. Now that their anniversary of *murder* has produced *arson*, and given it a direction they did not wish, they are the martyrs of order, good government, and sobriety—but, "peace to all such;" a thing, by the way, they do not over eagerly desire. I wish you to persevere, since there are found amongst (what I still am willing to call) our people, those, who like the principles of Paine, better dressed, or rather more disguised. I have not read, or even seen Macintosh;—but Richard tells me, that it is Paine at bottom;—and that indeed all the writers against me are, either Paines, with some difference in the way of stating, or even myself. I think to have done with the whole in the pamphlet which comes out to-morrow—I mean as to writing—for I am pretty clear that the Birmingham affair will come into parliament; and that our first set-to there will not be also the last.

As to our proceedings. Mrs. Burke is much better, I think,

* In Ireland, sometime in the Autumn of 1792.

Digitized by Google

as to her general health; but with regard to the stiffness in her limbs, there is little, I had almost said no amendment. However, we mean to continue here till Thursday se'nnight. If it suits you to come for so short a time—I need not tell you how happy you will make us. The sooner you set out, the better. It requires no great preparation to throw yourself, and a cloak-bag, not quite so long or so full as your person, into the coach. You will like this place. God bless you.

Most truly yours, &c.

EDMUND BURKE.

All here salute you cordially.

LETTER III.

TO MR. BURKE.

Doctors' Commons, Saturday Morning.

MY DEAR SIR,

I AM truly sorry you have had the trouble of sending to me, as I am unfortunately under the necessity of disappointing you. Some little business will keep me in town too late, I fear, for your arrangements. I shall therefore ride down to Beaconsfield either this evening or to-morrow morning, as may suit me best, and will bring any letters there may be, or any packet from Swift. I took some liberties with the Constitutional Society in the note about Ball's sermon, but I know not whether the language of the old *philosophers* may not require translating into rather more modern English; but of that I shall leave you of course to determine, when you see it.

I am, my dear sir,

Ever most sincerely your obliged humble servant,

FRENCH LAURENCE.

Digitized by Google

LETTER IV.

TO DR. LAURENCE.

Saturday.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I HAVE not heard, since the day of my calamity, any thing which has given me half the comfort, which I received from your letter, which I received on this fatal Saturday morning. If your departed friend were with us, his satisfaction would have been at least equal to mine. The Duke has acted well. I do not know whether the letter I wrote to him, stating the intrigue he was to expect, and the consequences which would result from giving way to it, was of any use in fortifying him, or not. I had no answer; from which I augured nothing ill; as I was sure, that if he had given way he would have made some awkward apology. He has indeed done perfectly well; and if any thing can give us a chance, for protecting the laws of the old world against the arms of the new, this step, I may fairly say has done more towards it, than any I could think of. May the God of law and order forward and protect you. You are far above the need of any counsel of mine. Follow where your own genius leads, and you will go right. The times are gloomy indeed. What good can be done by what I write? I have not been very well; nor am I. I am full of the detail of this school; but, please God, I will set to the work, since you desire it; though I shall be torn limb from limb by all parties.

The Masters the good Bishop has furnished me with, are good and virtuous men, I really believe; but I am afraid utterly unfit for this employment. God Almighty bless you. Mrs. Burke mends sensibly—and is able to go up stairs. She is abed—but will be full of comfort when she comes down. Again and again all sort of felicitation. This is good indeed.

Your ever, ever

EDMUND BURKE.

Digitized by Google

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have not heard from Walker King—but he must stop the coming of any more tutors, till we hear something of their capacity. They, or at least one of them, must speak English—the boys speak it as well as natives—and they will be ruined if they are put back and made foreigners again. The bishop has been intolerable in this respect.

Yours ever,

E. B.

LETTER V.

TO THE SAME.

Friday.

MY DEAR LAURENCE,

MRS. BURKE has passed three very quiet nights—her days too are tolerably good: but she does not gather strength. As for me, this India business has quite overwhelmed me. I send you the letters I have received in answer to mine. Take care of them. I shall do nothing public till they are fully answered. I am about it, as far as my state of mind will permit. For God's sake, for I am now on my trial, at the suit of Mr. Hastings or his representative the general court, let all the India books and papers, that Troward has, be got together, and sent home, as well as any you may have. They are my vouchers. I see I shall be driven out of this country. But they shall go with me. They are a vast body, and every moment I grow more and more anxious about them. I little thought a year ago that I should be ever so anxious about any earthly concern.

Have you ever read any thing like Lord Loughborough's letter? You see they are nursing up Hastings for the peerage. I wish I could see you. Tell Mr. Wyndham that I

Digitized by Google

have in effect finished and even printed two letters: but indignation strongly impels me to suppress them. Am I to be the pimp of Indian peculation and oppression, and to prove how right it is to raise a sharping bullock contractor above the common level of citizens? I am not up to this sublime as yet; whether it be the high sublime or the low. Mr. Elliot told me, that Mr. Wyndham has my letter to him about the Duke of Norfolk's attack.

I thank you for your Anderson notes. You have carefully selected all that can be found on the subject in that author. The more I think of it, the more convinced I am, that it ill becomes me to be an upping-block to Mr. Hastings, which it is plain they want me to be. God bless you. Adieu. Adieu.

Yours ever,

EDMUND BURKE.

LETTER VI.

TO THE SAME.

MY DEAR LAURENCE,

I HOPE Lord Inchiquin's franks were not overloaded with the extraordinary letters I inclosed to you last night. What shall we say to this extraordinary convalescence, from frantic into fanatical insanity; so much method and such conclusive reasoning from principles so absurd. I confess if he does not get better, I should wish him rather to continue as ill as ever. These half madnesses are of all things in the world the most mischievous. As his friend wished, I have written to him. The greatest part of my letter—expressions of kindness and news of his friends. The other matter is touched lightly—and I have undeceived him as to the numbers, and possible conversion of his Huguenots to Henry-the-fourth-ism. It would have been awkward not to mention the matter at all,

Digitized by Google

and mischievous to oppose him too much, or to rest too long on the business.

As to my own madness—be assured I shall be as regular in it. I shall certainly precepitate nothing. If *I* were the sole consideration, Lord F.'s letter would have been decisive with me. I shall certainly kick down my molehill by morning. But what a dreadful example it is to add myself to the number of those who have successively betrayed the poor people of India! I am writing, now that my indignation is a little evaporated, an answer to the monstrous and provoking letter of the chancellor, and another to Dundas. They will be long: but if I am forced to abandon the other affair, they will be but the more necessary. What you say of Lord F. is most true: he is the best of men; and one of the ablest—and not at all made for this age of half virtue and half sense, or of total prostitution. The other folly, I doubt of more and more. In the little squib I have one party for me; and the neutrals to be got. In the other every thing is adverse. What you say of the emigrant part is right; but I know hardly that part which can be made tolerable to some without being wholly enervated. Adieu till I see you. Adieu. Adieu.

Yours ever,

EDMUND BURKE.

P. S. The weather has been very favorable. Mrs. B. twice out on an airing; and the better for it each time. To-morrow, please God, if things continue mending, I propose to have her in the breakfast room.

LETTER LXXIV.

TO THE SAME.

MY DEAR LAURENCE,

A PROTEST is preparing, the end of a sketch of which I will send to-morrow, so as to be with you at night at Grosvenor-

Digitized by Google

square: but as the day itself will give the best, and indeed the only conclusive lights for the protest, I wish, and so does Lord F., that you would call at Grosvenor-square in the evening. I am anxious about this. Adieu. I write on the road.

Your affectionate unhappy friend,

EDMUND BURKE.

LETTER VIII.

TO THE SAME.

Sunday Evening.

MY DEAR LAURENCE,

YOUR letter is very comfortable to me upon all the points you mention; the college particularly, the chancellor takes up very properly and on the most solid grounds. If he sticks to those, as I have no doubt he will, that infernal job never can take place, and it will be a good earnest given by government, that every thing in future is not to be done as a job in church and in state. I have thought for some time that the chancellor in Ireland must stand. I was very sorry for it—but I considered it as an odious necessity, that must be submitted to; but when I find that his removal was to be a job for ****, and that I know by old and by recent experience, who and what **** is—I am satisfied: because I do not see what one good can be gained by it, to balance the odium and contempt that so scandalous an appointment must bring upon those whom I honor and esteem; particularly as no rational motive under heaven can be given for this kind of patronage. What! are they ignorant of his proceedings (if his shabby and prevaricating, as well as insolent conduct deserves the name of a proceeding) in the first session they have brought him into parliament? Is this a specimen of their vigor and discernment in the choice of magistrates of

Digitized by Google

the highest order? and is ****, who has acted so by them, the person upon whose honorable, firm, and manly support, their administration in Ireland must turn? I was as sure as of my being, that Yelverton had been their choice. But I faithfully assure them, that the Irish bar, in which there is not one man of name, but feels himself infinitely his superior, will consider it as an outrage on them. Had we in England—a person of great honor, spirit, talents, and learning, like West, or Broderick, or Gilbert, I should prefer an Englishman for a chancellor. But since the law here is low indeed, infinitely lower than the law in Ireland, to pick out of it a man of straw, known to them, only by his either flying in their faces, or turning his back upon them, is a woful thing indeed. I hope in God they have not promised it to him. **** is a mongrel in respect of the policy—not Irishman enough to be known on that side of the water—not enough of a stranger to be reputed English; and no splendid person at either bar—he can be only chosen from personal favor: and good God what are the personal qualities that entitle him to personal favor? Can he dance like chancellor Hatton? If he cannot do that, what can he do? He is the dullest and most unpleasant of men. I shall be in town, please God, on Tuesday. I am thoroughly sensible of the chancellor's kindness; but do not know whether we shall accept his obliging offer, as that will depend on our stay in town. What can I stay for? Is it to see the whole frame of Europe torn to pieces, to raise **** over the heads of all the law in England and Ireland; and for this Helen to behold the world on fire? Cazales is here—poor Nagle is come, but in a very poor state of health indeed. God bless you ever. I am very sick at heart.

Yours ever,

EDMUND BURKE.

Digitized by Google

LETTER IX.

TO THE SAME.

Wednesday.

MY DEAR SIR,

I THINK the speaker has acted very properly, wisely, and kindly; and when you see him, you will be so good as to tell him I say so. Hughes is here, and stays this day. I am obliged to attend to him, and therefore cannot write to you and to others so fully as I wish to do. Dupont is gone to London, so I cannot avail myself of his assistance in obeying your commands. As he is to settle his nephew, who has a talent for painting, in London, he cannot come down immediately. However to-morrow I propose to set about unpacking without him. I don't think I have kept Necker's defence; nor is it much matter, as it is no better than a disgusting panegyric on himself. I regret much more the loss of Monjoye's pamphlet in answer to it, which, I think, had some decisive facts against that archquack. There is a defence, of which I had only some of the numbers (for it makes more pamphlets than one) the best I have seen. The author's name—he was some advocate, of a very singular name, that I have forgot: I lent this too, and it has never found its way back to me. I have scarcely any thing about French affairs, in a state approaching to completeness, except my Avignonese collection, which, I believe, I have already put into your hands. God bless you. Things are in a dreadful way. No mental resource ever seems to have been thought of. Much of men, money, ships—of mind, nothing. Corpus sine pectore. Adieu. May we have strength of mind to bear the lot which we cannot keep off. All here salute you.

Ever most cordially yours,

EDMUND BURKE.

Digitized by Google

LETTER X.

TO THE SAME.

Thursday.

MY DEAR LAURENCE,

I AM truly happy with the turn this business has taken. I suppose nothing, as yet, is to be said about it. Very few of the objects which my dear Richard had on his mind in dying, are, thank God, left wholly unaccomplished—the deliverance of Ireland from the hands of the job ascendancy excepted—that was nearly done too—but Providence, for reasons above our wisdom, has suffered that great affair to be snatched out of the hands that alone seemed made for it. However he was saved that pang, worse than any he could have felt in the parting of that fairest of all souls from a frail human body. Here we are, and with thankfulness we acknowledge it, returned to that house, in which we had many such moments as we never can see more. Our thankfulness, very sincere, I hope, did not hinder us from feeling that we were come to a place in which there was none to rejoice in receiving us; none in whom we could rejoice by being received! But that is over—all over, all our domestic comforts, the only comforts, are all at an end; and if we look abroad—what a dreadful horizon!

What you say of Jack Nugent's family is worthy of your goodness of heart. Great advantages to it will be derived from your generous protection, I have no doubt; and we receive your intentions most thankfully, knowing as we do that the very line, in which we wished you to come in, must for a long time at least, be a barrier against all your hopes for yourself or for any body else: and we trust that you do not think that when your late friend and myself, his unworthy and misplaced representative, wished you that seat, that any thing of the sort ever entered into our heads, much or little.

Digitized by Google

Adieu till Saturday. Our cordial love to Woodford and Nagle, and to our friends on the south side of the Thames.

Ever most affectionately yours,

EDMUND BURKE.

LETTER XI.

TO THE SAME.

Tuesday morning.

MY DEAR LAURENCE,

THE gentleman, whom you left with me, is easy and confident about the result of this day's business. He entered into a full detail of the whole money part of the transaction. With that I had indeed been before fully satisfied. The thing itself is, he says, not at all new, either in the practice or the attack made upon it, nor in the approbation of parliament; of which he gave an instance in the affair of the Hanover troops during Lord Grenville's short administration, and another in the reign of George the Second also, which I don't recollect. His precedents went back to the war of Queen Anne. They are not present to me. I suppose the matters will be found in the parliamentary debates. I find Mr. Pitt has had a large meeting of the members, who are his friends, to whom he has explained the whole matter at large. He will attempt to turn the adversary, and to have a strong vote of approbation—but this I am not authorized to talk of. On the whole, since it is so ardently wished, that you should give a minority vote, I cannot think you could have a better occasion—it will open a way the better and plainer to the resistance of the other projects.

Ever and ever yours,

EDMUND BURKE.

Digitized by Google

LETTER XII.

TO THE SAME.

Nerot's, Tuesday.

MY DEAR LAURENCE,

I HAVE passed a night without a wink of sleep. This sleeplessness has rather given me employment in thinking, than that thought has interrupted my sleep. I have turned over the affair of the subsidy in my mind, together with ****'s letter. On the coolest and maturest consideration, I am perfectly convinced of three things—1st, That the subsidy proceeding is *not* illegal—2d, That *it is* unconstitutional, that is, against the spirit, use, and fundamental duties of the house of commons—3d, That in the then state of things (whether induced by Mr. Pitt's want of a previous manly course of action, or not,) it was necessary for the preservation of public credit, and not to run across and traverse the loan. The paper I inclose proves, I think, the last point. So that if you agree with me, I do not see but that your falling in with ****, doing the thing with political modesty and management as you proposed, may be very right. I see it will be difficult to disentangle the political consequences of this proceeding from the constitutional. To come to a direct censure would damn the war and all our alliances. The first act of my opposition—was in conjunction with others to force Pitt's father and Lord Camden to take an act of indemnity. But there, though the not sitting of parliament, was a better excuse than here is had,—yet the act itself was directly *illegal*. But as to the unconstitutional tendency, there was none in it. They resisted for awhile the indemnity—but they were beat out of it. There was no censure, but on the contrary, the necessity was admitted—the obstinacy of adhering to prerogative, only blamed and scouted. The minority did not suffer by it—nor will Mr. Pitt, if he will be well advised. But this we shall talk over. Woodford may

Digitized by Google

not be well. I wish to see you, if possible, before you go to the house. I dine at home. God bless you.

Yours ever,

E. B.

LETTER XIII.

TO THE SAME.

MY DEAR LAURENCE,

We are obliged to *Woodford* for what he has attempted; he could do no more; and considering how well I know that Wyndham cannot bear to be solicited, he did more than I should have ventured to do. He has a way of his own of walking, and if we hope to do any thing with him, we must follow him, and not cross him in his walk. I am sure he is my only resource for being useful to any human creature. I have nothing to say against the rule which Mr. Wyndham has laid down. He has adhered to it in all other cases, I take it for granted. As to any hope in the commissariat of musters, it is on the face of it, except in the case of a vacancy by death, wild, chimerical, and utterly hopeless. The office is the only resource, though I am utterly incapable of conceiving how a corps of foreign troops can be kept here in time of peace, especially, when I consider how little the disposition was to keep them up even in time of war, and that we shifted them upon Portugal as the only resource for saving them. However, this official chance, which I look upon to be nearly desperate, from the reasons I have given you, is the only thing that remains to us, and therefore it would be intolerable for me to preclude Nagle from attendance on the office in which alone he can have any hope to rise, by my keeping him here for my conveniency, at the expense of his almost certain ruin. I therefore propose to send him off on Monday or Tuesday morning—and tell Woodford so, and my reasons for it, with my best love and thanks. Nagle himself

Digitized by Google

has nothing to do in this business, for he is too willing to stay; but it has never been my mode, I hope, to sacrifice other people's existence to my accommodation. I confess to you I grow quite out of heart about any hope from what I may hereafter attempt in the way of writing. It must more and more offend the people in power, and it will teach nothing either to them or to the opposition. The former wish to make a *plausible* peace with France; the latter are resolved that it shall be a bad one, not only in substance but in appearance. A ministry wanting to conciliate with the Regicides—an opposition desirous to be incorporated with them. A pretty kettle of fish Mr. Pitt has cooked up about the imperial subsidy. All his trouble is from a want of direct and manly proceeding. I cannot think that his application of the vote of credit is, in strictness, illegal, or even unconstitutional, but sure I am that it is not direct, nor at all according to parliamentary course, nor in its deviation warranted by any public necessity. Had the subsidy been avowed as it ought to have been done, it would have given strength and credit to the alliance—And as to the remittance, it would have been open to him to consult convenience on that subject, as well as if the whole transaction had been concealed. In fact it was not such a secret as they thought; for it was publicly talked of at Bath last summer, to my knowledge, or at least to the end of autumn. I am afraid the whole of this business, in its not being done in the last parliament, arose from the resolution of making peace, even separately from the emperor. I have had a letter from Hussey, giving me a woful account of the pranks that are playing by the Lilliputian directory in Ireland. Instead of preparing to resist the French, they are making war with all might upon popery; "ex stultis insanos" some dæmon makes them. Adieu. God grant a submission to his will. I have had two or three bad days and nights, and though my flesh is further reduced, I do not find my strength impaired nor my spirits in any degree. God bless you.

E. B.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

LETTER I.

FROM DR. LAURENCE TO THE SECRETARY OF THE WHIG CLUB.

Doctors' Commons, March 5th, 1793.

SIR,

It is not without concern that I conscientiously feel myself compelled by some late proceedings of the Whig Club, to request you will do me the favor of withdrawing my name. I make this request separately and singly, because I wish to mark what I do as the act of an individual, not influenced by any man or set of men; and I do not assign my reasons, because it would be arrogant in me to suppose they would have any weight with a single member of the club. They are fully sufficient for my justification to my own breast, and (I trust) to the world, if circumstances did or could demand a public explanation of them; I hope they would, in such an event, more than justify me,—obtain for me the approbation of the wise and the good.

I am, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

FRENCH LAURENCE.

LETTER II.

FROM DR. LAURENCE TO THE SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY FOR CONSTITUTIONAL INFORMATION.

Doctors' Commons, April 3d, 1793.

SIR,

I AM induced to trouble you at the request of a friend,

Digitized by Google

whom I have long sincerely valued, and whom the subject, on which he has now authorized me to write, will not lessen in my estimation,—Mr. Hamilton O'Hara. He lately addressed me a letter from Ireland, the contents of which I must in part communicate and desire you, sir, officially to lay before the society.

"I was introduced (he says) into the Constitution Society about fourteen years ago by Major Cartwright, a man for whom I have still a very high personal esteem; but I have never attended it since, nor paid any thing towards the purposes for which it was instituted.—*It is my wish to withdraw from it.*"

The society may perhaps desire to know the reasons, which he assigns. These are, that "he understands the society is affiliated to the jacobins;" that sometime since "they raised a subscription to buy shoes for the French army;" and that they have "copiously distributed Paine's pamphlet, a book which he thinks highly dangerous in these times."

Had not this opportunity occurred, I should not have thought it worth while to consume a single moment in writing to you respecting myself. The history of my connection with the society is a mere blank, like that of Mr. O'Hara; with this difference only, that I have now *resided on the spot in London between eleven and twelve years.* Till within these few years I have regularly received an annual letter, which I have as regularly passed over with annual neglect. In truth I did not consider myself as really belonging to the society; and this I intended to mark by my continued silence, the meaning of which I believe has not been misunderstood: for, as I have intimated above, your applications to me have for some time ceased. I presume, therefore, it is wholly superfluous for me to entreat——what, if the ceremony has been accidentally omitted, I do now entreat——that the society will, without delay, do me the signal favor of striking my name from their list. Believe me, sir, it is an honor, of which I shall be much prouder, than I ever was of my unsolicited election.

Digitized by Google

I cannot however take my leave of the society, without returning them my most sincere thanks. The schemes and projects of rash and pernicious innovation on unsound principles of extravagant theory, which have been proposed or recommended by the society under the false name of constitutional information, have done more than any thing within my reading to fix and confirm my attachment to the existing constitution of my country which I rationally admire and love, as founded in practical wisdom, and exemplifying altogether in the greatest possible perfection the union of liberty with public order.

I am, sir, your obedient humble servant,

FRENCH LAURENCE.

LETTER III.

FROM THE DUKE OF PORTLAND TO MR. BURKE.

Welbeck, Thursday, 10th Oct. 1793.

MY DEAR BURKE,

PERHAPS it had been better that I had literally followed your instructions, and acknowledged the receipt of your letter and observations which arrived here last Thursday by the return of the post. But you tempted me, and I was seduced. I could not help reading the observations as well as the letter, and although it is my decided intention to confine myself strictly to the latter, I am well aware of the difficulty of adhering to that resolution. I am very much obliged to you for all the objects and all the purposes for which you have sent me the paper of observations. I consider it as an additional testimony of the friendship I have so long had the happiness and credit of possessing, and although in that point of view I must insist upon its being wholly unnecessary, I am not the less gratified by it or the less thankful for it. It is no disgrace to me to admit (and were it so I should feel no

Digitized by Google

difficulty in avowing it to you, and indeed to the world) that my imagination, my feelings, my judgment, my conclusions, do not and can not keep pace with yours. I have not the same sensibility, I have not the same fears, I have not the same confidence; but I want not a day of *compulsory* reflection to make me see the horrors of jacobinism, and the duty of exerting my best efforts, (those I mean, which from their regularity and steadiness are likely to prove the most lasting,) to resist, subdue, and finally extirpate the diabolical spirit in which it has originated. You may possibly remember my suspicions, my distrust, my dread of the setting up a free constitution in France; not that I envy the French more than you do the blessings of a free government, but because the true cause of liberty is not to be polluted with unhallowed hands. The French I thought would be idolaters, they were not capable of being true worshipers, and consequently I dreaded, and with but too much reason, that that sober, discreet, and sound liberty, which it has cost us and must cost every other country, so much time and so much pains to obtain, would be reviled, would be disregarded, contemned, disgraced, and traduced.

I had not the foresight to imagine that the contest could have been so brought on, or have been likely to have had the issue with which we have been threatened, but I always thought that the attempt at freedom would not be successful in France, and would materially endanger that of this country. I therefore most perfectly agree with you in your opinion of the proceedings and doctrines which have produced this mischief abroad, and in your opinion of the war, which I think is for every thing, for which it is worth being born into the world. But still the merit of concurring in this sentiment, great as I may be disposed to admit it to be, does not appear to me, upon the sole credit of that authority, sufficient to obliterate from my memory the share which those very persons, who are said to agree with me in principle, had, and in my apprehension at this moment continue to have, in supporting and maintaining principles of a similar tendency to

Digitized by Google

those which have brought on this general confusion in France and in Europe. I will act with any man at any time in the cause of good order and of civil society. But I am not christian enough to turn the other cheek to the man who has given me a blow, nor can I lick the hand which has endeavored to destroy me. I can forgive where I see a real disposition to repentance, I desire no man to disgrace himself, and I am positively certain that you are the last man who would consent to my debasing myself. You were pleased to approve a letter I once wrote to the Duke of Richmond. I remember it with pleasure, because it argued a perfect coincidence in our opinions respecting the only basis upon which an administration ought to be formed. I do not believe there is more real difference in our opinions at this moment than there was at that. I think my principles are exactly the same—I mean they should be so. They do not teach me to consider as enemies those who profess to be under the influence of the same sentiments, but they require more proofs than one of this similarity. They call for a consistency of conduct, as a security, as a title for confidence; and should I observe the persons, who profess to agree with me in one case in principle, counteracting and undermining this very principle in another, it would seem to me unreasonable to expect and impossible to give that confidence, which I once was vain enough to hope might have been established, and which, had it so pleased Providence, might have prevented the alarming crisis to which we have been brought. There was an evident want of good faith then, that want still remains; however, in conformity with the principles I have ever professed, in this great cause, and indeed in all its appendages, my support, such as it may be, will be given completely and unreservedly to those, be they who they may, who appear to conduct it to the best of their abilities. Farther than this I cannot go—and so far seems to me to be advancing no farther than I have done, and should consider it my duty to do, in any occasion of peril or importance to my country. In this I may be mistaken, as I may have been in other instances. But I must acknowledge

Digitized by Google

that where I have been in long habits of intimacy and friendship, where I have observed many and striking instances of very superior talents and judgment, the most incorruptible integrity, the most perfect disinterestedness, I am much disinclined to impute to bad motives a conduct however different and opposite it may be to that which I feel myself obliged to hold. This may be a great weakness, but it is a weakness I am not ashamed of confessing, and less so to you than to any friend I have.—I have now nearly done. I have only to thank you most sincerely for this testimony of your friendship and affection. It is not possible to esteem, value, or desire them, more than I do; or to feel greater satisfaction than I always shall do in convincing you and all who belong to you, and the public in general, that you have not a more sincere, more affectionate, or more grateful friend than I am.

Most truly yours ever,

PORTLAND.

LETTER IV.

FROM DR. LAURENCE TO THE DUKE OF PORTLAND.

Beaconsfield, Oct. 20th, 1794.

MY DEAR LORD,

WHEN your Grace did me the honor of a long and confidential conversation on Saturday evening, I mentioned to you the anxiety, agitation, dismay and horror, which afflicted the mind of our unhappy friend here on the subject of public affairs. On my return yesterday, I did not find him more tranquil; neither did any thing which I thought myself at liberty to communicate, give him much relief. It is true, he felt a considerable degree of pleasure in finding your Grace's sentiments so fully agree with his as to the principle and mode of opposing the jobbing of the college by taking up the person, who alone is regularly qualified under the statutes,

Digitized by Google

and who seems designated for the provostship by his present situation: He was also gratified to be told of your firmness in resisting the improper disposal of the late Mr. Hutchinson's other office; and above all he conceived some little hope from learning, that the great mischief which he dreaded, has not yet actually taken place. Yet his mind is still overwhelmed by the contemplation of the terrible prospect before us; at this moment too, immediately before the meeting of parliament, when they, who alone feel no terror of French principles in this country, are perplexed and confounded, but will derive new hopes and therefore new activity from the destruction of a ministry formed for the very purpose of eradicating those principles; when abroad, all the old governments of Europe are shaken to their very centre, and are every day more and more showing their own internal debility and the insufficiency and indecision of their rulers; when they can only be confirmed and strengthened by the unanimity of all good men in this country, if even that will effect it, and consequently must be wholly lost, if there be an appearance of weakness and distraction here. Still, terrible as this prospect truly is, he would not sacrifice the honor and characters of yourself and Lord Fitzwilliam to a false appearance of unanimity; because your country and all Europe have an interest in your honor and characters. Were you deprived of them, every reasonable hope of the permanent security of this country, and through this country of all Europe would just in that proportion be lessened and impaired.

To entrench on the strongest ground, what (both as a private friend and an individual necessarily interested, though not immediately engaged in public affairs) he holds so dear and sacred in your Grace and Lord Fitzwilliam; he is most anxious that the whole question should be made to turn only on a clear public principle. That principle I take to be the necessity of reforming the corrupt system of government in Ireland, both with a view to the better management and the greater tranquillity of that kingdom internally, as also to the nearer *dependence of that* GOVERNMENT on his majesty and his

Digitized by Google

ministers in Great Britain. The appointment of Lord Fitzwilliam must be considered only as a step preparatory to this great object; not an end itself, but one, and a principal, among other means for the attainment of the best and noblest end. And the expediency and urgency of endeavoring to reform that government at this highly critical moment must, I think, appear incontrovertible; since to quiet and consolidate every part of our own empire seems an indispensable requisite to give vigor to our efforts, too necessary, abroad.

To prove this principle to be the true motive on which you act in urging the nomination of Lord Fitzwilliam to the government of Ireland, no man who has the honor of knowing your Grace and his Lordship will require more than his own observations on your conduct. But you will recollect, my dear Lord, that you are in a battle with corruption, which from its very nature, can never have a single feeling of liberality, and is now rendered desperate in this very contest. You will have a furious faction in Ireland eager and busy in misrepresenting you, and they will be assisted with more or less energy by all the corrupt and the weak among their numerous connections here. English corruption will make common cause with them, though unconnected with them, except by a sense of common danger. You will stand in this country between two parties, neither of them cordially attached to you, and in the event of your quitting office, having all their passions keenly excited by their different speculations on the consequences. The leaders with all ostensible professions of candor will however, because for their own purposes they must, misrepresent different parts of your sentiments and actions; while the inferior members of those parties (who never really loved, and I trust never will love you, though I wish them subdued into silence by your virtues) will open all their mouths on both sides in unprincipled and unmanaged abuse or insidious panegyrics more mischievous than their invectives. I trust that you would sustain all these attacks without injury in public opinion, as I am sure you would in the just judgments of all good and wise men. But these

Digitized by Google

latter are a feeble aristocracy, if any contrary impression be made on the sovereign multitude. And in a moment like the present, it is of the highest importance to the well-being if not to the very existence of civil society, that the reputations of such men as yourself and Lord Fitzwilliam (and I mean to include also not only Wyndham, but generally all those who took office with you,) should not be exposed to the hazard even of a scratch, that can be avoided. As in accepting your present situations, your long abstinence (longer certainly than some of your most sincere well wishers thought necessary) satisfactorily evinced the purity of your motives in taking at last your share of responsibility under the most unpromising aspect of affairs; so your conduct in vacating those situations (if the world be indeed to experience so cruel a calamity) ought not only to be capable of the most honorable explanation, but to be clear from all possibility of misrepresentation, and even to preclude discussion. It should prove itself in the very act. How then can this be most effectually attained; by resigning on a question, essentially connected indeed with the execution of the main principle, but not directly *involving* the principle itself, or by being turned out on a *question*, which does directly involve the principle? So nakedly put, the doubt seems to me to answer itself. I do not positively know, but I believe, it was a train of reasoning, something of this kind, though I doubt not more forcible and convincing in its several steps, which ultimately settled Mr. Burke's *mind* in the decided opinion (which he authorizes me to declare) that your Grace and Lord Fitzwilliam ought *not* instantly to *resign*, if the continuance of Lord Westmoreland be carried against you: He has revolved the matter again and again in his thoughts; he has viewed it in every light, that his imperfect knowledge of all the circumstances would allow; and in his consideration of it, he has divested himself of all personal feelings, except (as the greatest minds will shew some human infirmity) a most unfeigned and jealous zeal for the honor and characters of your Grace and Lord Fitzwilliam, which at the same time he endeavored to purify by referring it to the public

Digitized by Google

interest, which the great cause of mankind has in your good names at the present moment. The result of the whole is what I have already stated. I fancy, he will write to Lord Fitzwilliam by his own servant, who will bring this to your Grace. Perhaps he will himself assign his own reasons to Lord Fitzwilliam. Will your Grace however permit me, long as this letter already is become, to submit to your better judgment some of the arguments, which either suggested in substance by him, or occurring to my own mind, have induced me to agree in his opinion—not that you should compromise with corruption, but that you should maintain those posts, and choose that field of battle, which will enable you to continue the most obstinate combat against it to the last; perhaps to conquer, certainly to retreat without being harassed? Whatever may be the weight of these arguments, your Grace I am sure will do justice to their sincerity.

Most of the resignations, which we have seen—not of individuals, but of parties—were probably influenced by the great example in the late reign, when Lord Carteret was so driven to break up his administration of two days; but none have had the same success. At this moment it requires little sagacity to discover, that such a measure is less likely than ever to be successful, in the present broken state of political connections. It can now only be rationally viewed, as sometimes necessary in vindication of honor and character; and this is a necessity, of which the most virtuous and exalted minds are most liable to judge with too quick a sensibility. Your Grace and Lord Fitzwilliam are not men, whose integrity is now for the first time to be tried. To pass over all your former public lives, the little haste, which you manifested to get into office, seems to render it less incumbent on you to be hasty in going out.

But all this is general. What is the particular question on which in the first instance you must resign? The recall of one Lord Lieutenant, and the appointment of another. I know this to be essential to the full and complete effect of the laudable and enlightened principle, which you have in view.

Digitized by Google

I know too, that your object in making this a question will not be misunderstood by the few, whose approbation is most valuable, next to that of your own consciences: but public opinion is necessary to the utility of public men, and ought therefore to be managed, where it does not demand the sacrifice of a principle. It may fairly be allowed most authority in questions of public character. The change of the Lord Lieutenant you must be aware, my dear lord, is open to a double interpretation. He may be changed for that excellent object, which is your aim; but he may also be changed on bad motives, or on motives of personal passion, as well as on pure public principle. He may be changed for the sake of power and patronage to be employed well or ill. They who resist the change, cannot interpret, what you do, in the most favorable manner, without accusing themselves. You know, what construction will be attempted, because you know, what has been attempted to be given to your virtuous firmness on this subject. It will then become, if you resign on this point, a question of motives to be discussed before the public. That conduct, which is meant to be the justification of your characters, will itself be to be justified by those very characters. In the meantime, if you are once out of office, you can in no degree support with any comparative effect the great principle, for the sake of which, you wish the change of the Lord Lieutenant.

Suppose on the other hand, that you were in the first instance to leave the propriety of changing Lord Westmoreland for Lord Fitzwilliam, entirely and directly to his majesty, making at the same time in writing a strong, grave, and dignified declaration of your motives for desiring the change; accompanying it with a concise but pointed exposition of some among the more flagrant abuses, that demand an alteration of system in that government; releasing yourselves from the heavy responsibility of continuing Lord Westmoreland there; and adding to all an avowal of your steady resolution, as bound in duty to his majesty, your country and yourselves, to resist to the utmost every specific act of cor-

Digitized by Google

ruption. You will then have to take issue on the detail of jobs, and you have strong questions of the kind now pending from the death of Mr. Hutchinson, and may expect more from the death of the primate. As, I conceive, every recommendation must in some stage of its progress at least, pass through your Grace's hands, you will have an opportunity of recording your sentiments upon it, to remain for ever in the office with the paper itself; and if the forms of office require the seals in your Grace's custody for the authentication of any instrument, you will in all such cases have an absolute negative in your power. If you conquer in this war of posts, every victory will in itself be so much actual good done, and will so far advance your ruling principle; and very few such victories repeated will shake to its foundation the abominable government, to the system of which you are, as you ought to be, hostile.

LETTER V.

FROM MR. BURKE, TO THOMAS KEOGH, ESQ. GRAY'S-INN COFFEE-HOUSE.

Beaconsfield, 17th Nov. 1796.

SIR,

I AM so much out of the world, that I am not surprised every one should be ignorant of, as he is uninterested in, the state of my health, my habits of life, or any thing else that belongs to me.

Your obliging letter of the 20th of July was delivered to me at Bath, to which place I was driven by urgent necessity, as my only chance of preserving a life, which did not then promise a month's duration. I was directed to suspend all application to business, even to the writing of a common letter; as it was thought that I had suffered by some such application, and by the attendant anxiety, before and about that

Digitized by Google

time. I returned from Bath not well, but much recovered from the state in which I had been; and I continued in the same condition of convalescence for a month or six weeks longer. Soon after I began gradually to decline, and at this moment I do not find myself very materially better or stronger than when I was sent to Bath.

I am obliged to you for the offer which you made in that letter, of conveying any thing from me to Ireland; but I really thought you had known that I have no kind of correspondence or communication with that country, and that for a good while I had not taken any part whatsoever in its affairs. I believe you must have observed when last I had the honor of seeing you in London, how little any opinions of mine are likely to prevail with persons in power here, even with those with whom I had formerly a long and intimate connection. I never see any of his majesty's ministers, except one gentleman, who, from mere compassion, has paid me some visits in this my retreat, and has endeavored by his generous sympathy to soothe my pains and my sorrows: but that gentleman has no concern in Irish affairs, nor is, I believe, consulted about them. I cannot conceive how you or any body can think that any sentiments of mine are called for, or even admitted, when it is notorious, that there is nothing at home, or abroad, in war, or in peace, that I have the good fortune to be at all pleased with. I ought to presume that they who have a great public trust, who are of distinguished abilities, and who are in the vigor of their life, behold things in a juster point of view than I am able to see them, however my self-partiality may make me too tenacious of my own opinion. I am in no degree of confidence with the great leader either of ministry or opposition.

In a general way, I am but too well acquainted with the distracted state of Ireland, and with the designs of the public enemy pointed at that kingdom. I have my own thoughts upon the causes of those evils. You do me justice in saying in your letter of July, that I am a true Irishman. Considering as I do England as my country, of long habit, of obliga-

Digitized by Google

tion, and of establishment, and that my primary duties are hers, I cannot conceive how a man can be a genuine Englishman, without being at the same time a true Irishman, though fortune should have made his birth on this side the water. I think the same sentiments ought to be reciprocal on the part of Ireland, and if possible with much stronger reason. Ireland cannot be separated one moment from England, without losing every source of her present prosperity, and even hope of her future. I am very much afflicted, deeply and bitterly afflicted, to see that a very small faction in Ireland should arrogate it to itself to be the whole of that great kingdom; I am more afflicted in seeing that a very minute part of that small faction should be able to persuade any person here, that on the support of their power the connection of the two kingdoms, essentially depends. This strange error if persevered in (as I am afraid it will) must accomplish the ruin of both countries. At the same time I must as bitterly regret, that any persons who suffer by the predominance of that corrupt fragment of a faction, should totally mistake the cause of their evils, as well as their remedy; if a remedy can be at all looked for; which I confess I am not sanguine enough to expect in any event, or from the exertions of any person; and least of all from exertions of mine, even if I had either health or prospect of life commensurate to so difficult an undertaking. I say, I do regret, that the conduct of those who suffer should give any advantage to those who are resolved to tyrannize. I do believe that this conduct has served only as a pretext for aggravating the calamities of that party, which though superior in number, is from many circumstances much inferior in force.

I believe there are very few cases which will justify a revolt against the established government of a country, let its constitution be what it will; and even though its abuses should be great and provoking; but I am sure there is no case in which it is justifiable, either to conscience or to prudence, *to menace resistance* when there is no means of effecting it, nor perhaps in the major part any disposition. You know

Digitized by Google

the state of that country better than I can pretend to do, but I could wish, if there was any use in retrospect, that those menaces had been forborne; because they have caused a real alarm in some weak though well-intentioned minds; and because they furnish the bold and crafty with pretences for exciting a prosecution of a much more fierce and terrible nature than I ever remember, even when the country was under a system of laws, apparently less favorable to its tranquillity and good government, at the same time that sober exertion has lessened in the exact proportion in which flashy menaces increased. Pusillanimity (as often it does) has succeeded to rage and fury. Against all reason, experience, and observation, many persons in Ireland have taken it into their heads, that the influence of the government here has been the cause of the misdemeanor of persons in power in that country, and that they are suffering under the yoke of a British domination. I must speak the truth—I must say, that all the evils of Ireland originate within itself; that it is the boundless credit which is given to an Irish cabal, that produces whatever mischiefs both countries may feel in their relation. England has hardly any thing to do with Irish government. I heartily wish it were otherwise; but the body of the people of England, even the most active politicians, take little or no concern in the affairs of Ireland. They are, therefore, by the minister of this country, who fears upon that account no responsibility here, and who shuns all responsibility in Ireland, abandoned to the direction of those who are actually in possession of its internal government; this has been the case more eminently for these five or six last years; and it is a system, if it deserves that name, not likely to be altered.

I conceive that the last disturbances, and those the most important, and which have the deepest root, do not originate, nor have they their greatest strength, among the catholics: but there is, and ever has been, a strong republican protestant faction in Ireland, which has persecuted the catholics as long

Digitized by Google

as persecution would answer their purpose, and now the same faction would dupe them to become accomplices in effectuating the same purposes; and thus either by tyranny or seduction would accomplish their ruin. It was with grief I saw last year with the catholic delegates a gentleman, who was not of their religion, or united to them in any avowable bond of a public interest, acting as their secretary, in their most confidential concerns. I afterwards found, that this gentleman's name was implicated in a correspondence with certain protestant conspirators and traitors, who are acting in direct connection with the enemies of all government and religion. He might be innocent; and I am very sure that those who employed and trusted him, were perfectly ignorant of his treasonable correspondences and designs, if such he had; but as he has thought proper to quit the king's dominions about the time of the investigation of that conspiracy, unpleasant inferences may have been drawn from it. I never saw him but once, which was in your company, and at that time knew nothing of his connections, character, or dispositions.

I am never likely to be called upon for my advice in this, or in any business; and after having once almost forcibly obtruded myself into it, and having found no sort of good effect from my uncalled for interference, I shall certainly, though I should have better health than I can flatter myself with, never again thrust myself into those intricate affairs. Persons of much greater abilities, rank, and consequence than I am, and who had been called by their situation to those affairs, have been totally overwhelmed by the domineering party in Ireland, and have been disgraced and ruined; as far as independence, honor, and virtue can be ruined and disgraced. However, if your leisure permits you to pay a visit to this melancholy infirmary, I shall certainly receive any information with which you are pleased to furnish me; but merely as news, and what may serve to feed the little interest I take in this world. You will excuse my having used the hand of a con-

Digitized by Google

fidential friend in this letter, for indeed I suffer much by stooping to write.

I have the honor to be, &c.

EDMUND BURKE.

LETTER VI.

PART OF A LETTER FROM DR. LAURENCE. WITHOUT AN ADDRESS.

Doctors' Commons, Nov. 30th, 1796.

DEAR SIR,

THE introduction, which I received from the friendship of Mr. Burke to the honor of your acquaintance, has more than once almost encouraged me to obtrude myself upon you. But it could very little have interested you to know, that one humble individual more entertained a just sense of your public integrity and wisdom. The uninfluenced addresses which poured in from every part of Ireland to Lord Fitzwilliam, after his recall, were in truth the best testimonies, not only to the Lord Lieutenant, but to his confidential advisers, in the foremost rank of whom you stood.

You may possibly have learned from the newspapers, or by some accidental channel, that I have now begun to be a public man. I am,—not in the modern philosophical sense, but in the true old legal and constitutional style—a citizen; one of the citizens in parliament assembled. On the death of Mr. Benyon, the friends of Lord Fitzwilliam at Peterborough did me the honor of recommending me to their brother electors, who chose me their representative. Believe me, I would not have accepted the offer of that nomination, however flattering, if I had not conscientiously agreed with his lordship in all the general principles of his political conduct, of which his short government of Ireland (too short for the happiness of that

Digitized by Google

kingdom and the prosperity of the whole British empire) forms a very prominent part.

The present situation of your country, and the declared alarms of Lord Camden and his council, will probably force forward some discussion here. Indeed Mr. Fox has intimated his intention, and is expected to give a formal notice on the subject. I know not whether I may take any share in the debate, but it is my anxious wish at any rate to be fully master of the question, should the turn which it may take, or the impulse of my own mind at the moment, induce me to break my silence. I acquainted Lord Fitzwilliam with my purpose of requesting you to favor me with such communications, as you might think most expedient: and his answer was, that I could do nothing more pleasing to him than to open a correspondence with you.

My general notions of the evils under which Ireland suffers, I explained both to his lordship and to Mr. Burke separately; and I have the pleasure to add, to the satisfaction of both. I need not therefore enlarge upon my opinions here. I am sure you will take my sponsors. The radical evil I conceive to be the system of government, by which the confidence of the people is made a positive disqualification for power, and the only sure title is a want of all principle; for which merit alone, a little cabal is protected and perpetuated in office, till the members of it have tied up all the patronage of the crown, so as scarcely to have left the means of rewarding public services in others, if his majesty were disposed to make a change.

Digitized by Google

LETTER VII.

FROM DR. LAURENCE TO LORD LOUGHBOROUGH.

Doctors' Commons, Sept. 27th, 1797.

MY DEAR LORD,

Occupied, as you must be, especially at this very momentous crisis, with affairs of so much greater importance, I cannot but be highly flattered by the honor which you have done me in writing so long a letter. It was the more kind, as your Lordship feels yourself so wholly disinterested in the question. Indeed I very well know, how many testimonies you have at different times received of our deceased friend's approbation; and I know also, with what sincerity he gave them. Most, if not all of them, he originally shewed to me; and copies of one or two of them have been found among his papers.

On the letter to Lord F., of which I sent an extract, your Lordship has said much more than would have been sufficient to satisfy my mind. You and Mr. Anstruther, *it seems*, differ very essentially from Mr. Burke in your impression of the conversation that passed at your house. That was enough immediately to determine me against the publication of the letter. As nothing directly demands such a step for the necessary explanation of any part of Mr. Burke's conduct, I do not think that I ought to put your lordship and Mr. Anstruther to the disagreeable alternative of seeming to confirm by your silence a representation which you do not believe to be correct, or of raising a public discussion on the subject, especially on the sentiments of the noble person, now dead, who is the most prominent figure in the short account, which Mr. Burke gave, not of the whole conversation indeed (that he never intended,) but of its practical result. With the view of ascertaining whether any such material contradictions in point of fact did any where exist, I communicated copies or extracts to several, and should have communicated

Digitized by Google

them to all, whose names are there mentioned by Mr. Burke. But your Lordship's answer will render any further inquiry superfluous.

Thinking in the manner which I have taken the liberty of stating, I lost no time on the receipt of your Lordship's letter, in stopping the preparations which I had made for beginning to print as soon as I should have collected the opinions of the persons most concerned, if no peremptory objection should be offered. I could not absolutely abandon the purpose of publication till I had consulted Dr. King. He came to town yesterday. I was the whole of this morning with him. He appears fully to agree in all my general sentiments on the subject, and the publication will not proceed.

Permit me however, my dear lord, to trespass a little on your patience with regard to the principles which on this occasion you have laid down. They interest me deeply. They relate to the conscientious discharge of the sacred trust which I have undertaken—not the care of Mr. Burke's reputation, (he will have no posterity to enjoy that most glorious inheritance) but the task of holding out the purest example to the imitation of all public virtue. Ill would that great end be promoted, if I should do any thing, even of dubious morality. It has always been my endeavor to the best of my abilities, such as God has given me, to understand my moral duties. I have meditated still more upon them, since I became a public man, to the extent that I am such; and more so I do not wish to be in the present awful crisis of the country, in which, if even the grand impending danger should pass away, I see almost every symptom, that has usually forerun the downfall of great states under free constitutions. If I have erred, or shall err in my duty, as an adviser of Mrs. Burke it will be from a defect of judgment, not from a want of consideration, the best which I can give to every question. But if after all I am only the more deliberately wrong, I am unfit for an adviser.

In one sense I assent to the rule which your Lordship has laid down, "that nothing should be given to the public by

Digitized by Google

representatives, which it would have been improper for the person they represent to have committed to the press." If it be meant "*morally improper*," I see no exception to the rule. But there are a thousand little personal considerations of delicacy and even of prudence which naturally end with the life of the man.

Your Lordship thinks it contrary to morality that, "any letters should appear which relate to intimate and familiar conversations, where in mutual confidence the parties concerned express to each other their sentiments and opinions on men and things." This, my dear lord, is a nice question, as I view it, and on the very confines of opposite duties. If it were to be taken in the full latitude which you seem to give it, I am afraid it would go to the annihilation of all history worth reading. I have never seen or heard the morality of Atticus impeached, for publishing the valuable series of Cicero's letters, which could only have come directly or indirectly from him, and which, there is reason to think, must have been published, while many of the persons very freely mentioned in them were still alive. Posterity has uniformly applauded the act. Perhaps those letters, for real instruction, are worth all ancient history put together. On the other hand, if we were too literally and without any limitation to apply to all, what Mr. Burke in one of his letters nobly says of himself, "that he had no secrets with regard to the public," much mischief would undoubtedly ensue to private society. I scarcely know how to express myself accurately on the subject, but with reference to some particular case. Wherever I find any doubt in the execution of my trust, I shall lean rather to over-caution than too much laxity. If I were to lay down any general rule, it would be something to the following effect: That no hasty letters of unreserved familiarity should be published, where they contain free and perhaps momentary opinions of men and things, or recite accidental, loose, and vague conversations; but that I should not so class long and formal letters in the nature of protests, containing deliberate opinions, or relating the substance of

Digitized by Google

consultations had among public men for the systematic guidance of their public conduct. These, it should seem to me, under the correction of your lordship's better judgment, have nothing in their own nature, which should make it improper to give them to the public, *if the situation of things, to which they refer, has actually passed away.* At the same time care should be taken that others be not committed by representations of their sentiments which they do not acknowledge; and this was my object in sending round copies and extracts on the present occasion.

The letters, of which Mr. Burke kept copies, and which he spared when he burned a great number of papers, I always understood him to have preserved, as a sort of historical documents. There are very few of them which contain recitals of any conversations or consultations. Of his voluminous correspondence (as it must have been) with Lord Fitzwilliam, I have not found the complete copy of any other letter than that of the 29th of November, 1792; and that is in the hand-writing of Swift, to whom he never gave his really private and confidential letters to be copied. What can have been the meaning of this marked distinction with respect to this single letter? Does it not clearly show a distinction in the mind of the writer as to its nature and classification?

I sent a copy to Lord Fitzwilliam and to Mr. Wyndham, neither of them immoral men, and the latter more implicated than any other man in different parts of Mr. Burke's narrative; yet they made no general objection to the nature of the letter, as what it would be immoral to publish. Neither did Mr. Wyndham seem to think the statements materially untrue or inaccurate. If, unfortunately for me, your lordship should still continue to doubt my morality, I believe I shall rest contented with my three compurgators, without looking for the other nine.

Your lordship thinks also that it would not be proper to give a corrected copy of Swift's surreptitious publication. Certainly not because any confidential conversations are divulged in that paper. It relates wholly to the public actions

Digitized by Google

of the minority at that time, and particularly of Mr. Fox; but it was intended for private use only, and was drawn up, in a moment of just exasperation, in a style and manner unfit for the public eye, though to the day of his death Mr. Burke steadfastly adhered to the sentiments and principles contained in it. It has, however, been sent forth by an act of villany, and cannot be recalled. Notwithstanding your lordship's friendly and equitable promptitude in granting your injunction against it, three thousand copies at least were sold, and exist in the three kingdoms. Extracts from it appeared in all the newspapers, as the production of Mr. Burke: it was noticed in all the reviews; and I heard it quoted to be answered in debates of the house of commons, twice in one night, by Mr. Erskine first, and afterwards by Mr. Sheridan. If the works of our deceased friend shall ever reach posterity (as they more especially deserve to do, for the rich fund of wisdom which they contain,) it will be impossible to prevent this tract from finding its way into the collection. If any future antiquary should doubt its genuineness, he might authenticate it from the records of your lordship's court, from the evidence on which the injunction issued. From the "repositories of Mr. Burke" it will in no case receive more than a sort of posthumous authentication. No perfect copy was found there, but one of the spurious edition, corrected in Mr. Burke's handwriting. To all at Bath who asked him he related the history of the paper, but avowed the substance of the sentiments. He expressly authorized me to explain the circumstances in the most public manner, but charged me and all his friends never in any degree to countenance a notion of his retracting the substance of any one sentiment of it. It was not without much pain that Mrs. Burke, Dr. King, and myself, after considering all, and weighing objections similar to those of your lordship, ultimately found ourselves under the necessity of choosing, as the least of two evils, to print a correct copy, with the real introductory letter to the Duke of Portland, which has never been published, which will shew Mr. Burke's feelings on the occasion in a favorable

Digitized by Google

point of view, and of which he did himself keep a fair copy, as a general, "solemn and even testamentary protest;" and to prefix to both in an explanatory preface, an extract from a private letter from Bath to me, when he first received intelligence of Swift's scandalous breach of trust: rather than to seem totally to abandon in his name, what he essentially confirmed, though under some modifications, almost on his death bed. Your lordship, I am certain, must have done us the justice to believe, that we had not lightly and flippantly decided in this option of difficulties. You will therefore pardon us, if we adhere in this instance to our former resolution.

I am ashamed to detain your lordship so unconscionably; but will you allow me once more to resort to the letter of November, 1792, addressed to Lord Fitzwilliam? It relates to a distinct period in Mr. Burke's life, when, after his first separation, he endeavored to act in corps again with one division of his party, and it was his protest on that occasion. I shall hereafter certainly rely upon its authority, though without quoting it, or naming either persons or places, unless where I am fully warranted by the express consent of the party; and I shall rely upon it only as containing his impressions and his opinions. But I think it right to inform your lordship, why I am disposed to give it rather more credit, than I might otherwise be expected to do, after your lordship's observations upon it. It is not of a date long after the fact, as your lordship and Mr. Anstruther imagine, misled perhaps by my having sent only an extract. The whole letter contains the narrative of only twenty days preceding the date, from the 9th to the 29th of November; during which period he was twice in town, the *second time* to attend at your lordship's dinner. It is the latest fact to which he speaks in the letter from his own knowledge. I am thus accurate in these dates, because for another purpose I had occasion to trace Mr. Burke's motions about that time. He was at Bath in the autumn of 1792, and did not return from that place to Beaconsfield till the 8th of November, as appears from his servant's account book of bills paid upon the road. There can

Digitized by Google

be no mistake in this. Mr. Anstruther, after an interval of five years, may have confused the recollection of one dinner with another.

Mr. Burke was of opinion, that nothing was done at the meeting in question; that is, nothing towards bringing any number of his and your friends to act together with decision on those good principles, which they certainly then held in common. Your lordship draws a different inference, and considers it as supported by the sequel. I confess, my dear lord, that I have ever regarded the sequel as making for him. I have ever understood (you will be so good as to forgive and instruct me better, if I have been wrong,) that your lordship's principal motive for consenting to take office alone, after you had twice refused it, was the impossibility of finding any steady support in doing your duty to your country out of power. My approbation, I am sensible, is of little value; but on these grounds it is, that I have ever approved your acceptance of the seals, under all the circumstances of that day, as a virtuous and manly act.

This letter, which I began last night, has run to such a length, that it was impossible for me to send it before I presumed that your lordship would go to the drawing room. If you should wish any further explanation, I can attend your lordship as early as you please before you set off to-morrow.

I have the honor to be, with all esteem and respect, my dear lord, your lordship's

Obliged and faithful humble servant,

FRENCH LAURENCE.

Digitized by Google

LETTER VIII.

FRAGMENT OF A LETTER FROM MR. BURKE TO LORD CHANCELLOR LOUGHBOROUGH. WITHOUT A DATE.

MY DEAR LORD,

I AM to inform you, that your good-natured presentation has had its full effect, and that Mr. Etty is parson of Whitchurch. By that one arrangement your lordship has the satisfaction of making several people happy: the person who resigned the living not the least so. Your protégé is much attached to a very pleasing young woman, the daughter of a worthy clergyman in this neighborhood. Without this preferment there was no hope of their union. All the parties have a considerable degree of merit; and they feel much gratitude for the happiness they enjoy, and the good prospect, which, in their estimate, lies before them. I am sure I am myself extremely obliged to you on this occasion, and should think myself much to blame, if I neglected to make you my best acknowledgments.

We must enjoy those transient satisfactions as they arise, without inquiring too minutely into their probable duration. God knows how long the Church Establishment, on which these people exist, and to which such multitudes are now breeding up, is likely to last. But whenever that goes, it will go with every thing else.

When that grand period will arive, it is not easy to foresee with exactness: but there are plain and evident marks of its approach. I don't mean, that they appear in the event of this or that measure (though the prospect in that point of view is gloomy enough,) but in the dispositions of men, which prepare bad events and improve accidental misfortune into systematic ruin. I very much doubt whether in any country, they who have the charge of us the poor flock, are sufficiently aware of the giant-strides with which the great over-bearing

Digitized by Google

master-calamity of the time is advancing towards us. All you, the great, act just as if you thought a thousand things were to be feared or pursued for their own separate sakes, when, in reality, none are worth notice, otherwise than as they tend to promote or resist the cause of jacobinism. What amazes me, even to consternation and horror, is, that people, otherwise of the very best understandings, proceed exactly as if every thing stood in the situation, in which you and I saw them thirty years ago, at a time when very great errors led but to very slight consequences; and not as they are now, when very slight mistakes lead to incalculable evils. Then the greatest changes, which could be apprehended, could very little affect the domestic happiness of the greater part of mankind;—now no man's fireside is safe from the effects of a political revolution.

I confess that the conversation I had with your lordship, when you were kind enough to pay a short visit to this melancholy abode, filled me with no small uneasiness at that time and ever since. From the tenor of that conversation I collected, that if the ministry should exist at all in the form it had lately taken, it must lose for ever that cement of cordiality, of coöperation, and of unity of design, for which alone political coalitions are worth pursuing and framing.

This disunion has happened at the time, in the manner, and on the subject, which of all others is calculated to render it fatal. We see our way but ill before us! I thought that the reputation and the permanence of Mr. Pitt's administration was the very corner stone of the salvation of Europe. I thought that the junction lately made was the security of that angular piece. You know that although I had no share in the executive detail (a thing for which I have little capacity and no liking) how ardently I wished, how earnestly I labored for, and how truly I rejoiced in, the late arrangement. But would to God, it had never been made! without it there was a possibility (in truth, no more than a possibility,) of avoiding ruin. But now, at least in my bosom, every ray of hope is extinguished.

Digitized by Google

I know that many of those who considered themselves as Mr. Pitt's friends, and many of those who were in the closest connection with the D. of P. and with Lord F. were against the late coalition. They will, neither of them, be sorry to see them kept in with humiliation and mortification, or what one set of them will like better, to see them kicked out with disgrace. But their rejoicing will be the grief of a late posterity.

"The child will rue, that is unborn, the hunting of that day."

It is as I expected: Lord F. is not to go to Ireland. The reason, as I hear, for his not going, is that alone for which I should wish him to go at all. It was apprehended that he would make some changes in Ireland. I have seen and conversed with Lord F. upon Ireland; though not at all about the arrangements of men, nor the difficult case which has since occurred, and of which it did not seem to me that Lord F. had the least suspicion. He desired to talk to me, as to a man of some knowledge in the affairs of Ireland, and of great zeal and earnestness that the king's business should go on prosperously in that kingdom, and at this time. I gave him my honest opinions (which you know, as well as he knows them,) on that subject. I took the liberty, even before I had seen him, and on the prospect of Hutchinson's death (or instantly after it, I forget which) to caution him against jobbing away the two offices which he held, particularly that of the college. Of this I am sure that, before Hutchinson's death, I wrote to Grattan to exert himself to prevent that seminary of the church of Ireland from becoming a matter of state accommodation, or private patronage. I wrote to the D. of P. a long letter to the same effect. Even in the first paroxysms of grief, under the heavy hand of God, when Wyndham's kindness broke in upon me, finding it long before given out, that I was soliciting, and in one paper it being asserted, that I had secured it to myself, I spoke and wrote my mind very fully to him against this radical job, which struck at the rising generation, and poisoned public principle in its first

Digitized by Google

stamen—and when I heard, that one Dr. Bennet, not content with his bishopric, was so greedy and so frantic, at this time, when the church labors under so much odium for avarice, as to wish to rob the members of its seminary, men of the first characters in learning and morals, of their legal rights, and by dispensation to grapple to himself, a stranger and wholly unacquainted with the body, its lucrative provostship, as a commendam, I wrote to the D. of P. strongly to enforce the idea I expressed to your Lordship in our conversation, and before to him by letter against unstatutable nominations. I considered a dispensation to be to the statutes only as equity to law; and that he the D. of P. had no right by his arbitrary will and pleasure to recommend a violation of the law, and the robbing of other people of their undoubted rights.

LETTER IX.

TO DR. LAURENCE.

WITHOUT A SIGNATURE OR DATE.

DEAR LAURENCE,

TOGETHER with the letter which you sent from Mr. Nagle, we got one to-day from Mrs. Crewe, and taking in the two accounts, I must be sanguine in the hope that he will weather the storm, and in the end get right again.—I trust Dr. Parry understands his disorder, and if the redundancy of bile is the disorder itself, and not the symptom of something worse, it is not of a nature to make one despair: one knows how alarming the appearances produced by bilious disorders always are, without ending fatally.

I admire your firmness and resolution, and am happy that the national character for justice, wisdom, and foresight in its past conduct, is to be vindicated, though vindicated but by a single man. Impressed with the inconveniences that arise to the party, who gives the most measured reproof by unwel-

Digitized by Google

come admonition, it was my duty to state them, and to convey to you my own feelings on the point in question. Considering that as yet in this parliament I stand single in adherence to original principles, it certainly is most acceptable to me, to have those principles ably vindicated, and my assertion, that they were original principles, clearly made out: but God forbid, that any justification of my conduct should be made good at the expense of inconvenience to my friend.—I suppose the call of the house will bring Lord Milton to town: I have writ to tell him, that upon his seconding your resolutions will probably depend your getting inserted on the journals a defence of the nation.—To this pitch of spirit and consistency are we come.

Ever yours.

Tuesday.

LETTER X.

FROM THE DUKE OF PORTLAND TO DR. LAURENCE.

London, Friday, 7th Sept. 1798.

MY DEAR LAURENCE,

I THANK you for your letter and the communications, both which I have put into Lord Spencer's hands. Your anonymous correspondent's hints seem entitled to serious attention and consideration; but as for the emperor Hezekiah, I confess I am not sanguine enough to fancy, that his acquaintance or christianity will contribute much to stop the paganism, with which it is the object of the French to overwhelm all the nations of the earth.—Your letter was the first intimation I had had of Sir James's* having it in contemplation to retire from the bench; but unless you know the contrary to a certainty, I should very much doubt Sir William's having any intention whatever to fill his station. I understand, and indeed I have

* Sir James Marriot.

Digitized by Google

understood for some time, that in case of a removal of any sort, there could be no competition in your profession but between you and Dr. Nichol; and I am sure you will believe me, when I tell you, that if you are to withdraw yourself, or rather not to suffer justice to be done to you because you are in parliament, I suspect you are doing an act of injustice to the person to whom you are obliged for your seat, as well as to yourself and to the public. It would be idle to promise Dr. Nichol my support, when he has no competitor; and I have too good an opinion of him to think that he would fancy, that it could be possible that I could give it him in any case where you and he have the same object in view.

Sincerely yours ever,

PORTLAND.

END OF VOL. IX.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

INDEX.

A.

Absentee Tax, (Irish) letter on, v, 105.
Acadie, or Nova Scotia, ix, 394.
Act of Navigation, i, 455, 462.
Acts of Grace, impolicy of them, ii, 250.
Acts of indemnity and oblivion, probable effects of them as a means of reconciling France to a monarchy, iv, 123.
Addison, Mr., the correctness of his opinion of the cause of the grand effect of the Rotund, questioned, i, 114.
Addison, his fine lines on honorable political connections, i, 425.
Address (proposed) to the King, 1777, by members of parliament, v, 132.
Address (proposed) to the American Colonists, v, 150.
Administration, a short account of a late short one, i, 207.
Administration, Duke of Cumberland's, in July, 1765, i, 207. Lord Chatham's, July 1766, *ibid.* Marquis of Rockingham's i, 302. See *Rockingham*. Remarks on its foreign negotiations, 328. Character of a united administration, 339.
Admiration, the first source of obedience, iii, 48. One of the principles which interest us in the characters of others, v, 443.
Adrian, first contracts the bounds of the Roman Empire, v, 499.
Adviser, duty of one, iii, 319.
Agricola, Julius, character and conduct of, v, 487.
Aix, the Archbishop of, his offer of contribution, why refused by the French National Assembly, iii, 145.
Aix-la-Chapelle, the treaty of, remarks on it, iv, 497.
Akber, the Emperor, obtains possession of Bengal, vii, 63.
Alfred the Great, character and conduct of, v, 538, 545. His care and sagacity in improving the laws and institutions of England, 721.
Allegiance, oath of, remarkable one taken by the nobility to King Stephen, v, 644.
Alliance, one of the requisites of a good peace, i, 232. The famous Triple Alliance negotiated by Temple and DeWitt, iv, 496. Alliance between Church and State in a Christian commonwealth, a fanciful speculation, v, 368.
Ambition, one of the passions belonging to society, i, 92. Its nature and end, *ibid.* Ambition, one of the natural distempers of a democracy, iii, 416. Necessity and dangerous tendency of violent restraints on it, *ibid.* Not an accurate calculator, v, 397. Advantage of a generous ambition for applause for public services, vii, 291.

Digitized by Google

America, trade of, relieved, i, 207; representation of, discussed, 296; trade of, 316; advantage of to England, 458. Nature of various taxes there, 282. Eloquent description of the rising glories of, in vision, ii, 28. Its rapidly increasing commerce, 25. Temper and character of its inhabitants, 32. Their spirit of liberty, whence, 32, 38. Proposed taxation of by *grant*, instead of *imposition*, 60. Danger of establishing a military government there, v, 145. Difficulty of representation there, 296. An European power, iv, 484. Discovery of, ix, 21; general description of, in 1761, 144; animals, 147; gold and silver mines, 150; cochineal and cocoa, 156; English dominions in, 304.

American Stamp Act, i, 217; repealed, i, 314—320. Its origin and progress, 307. Reasons of the repeal political, not commercial, 453, 469. Good effects of the repeal, 479.

American Taxation, Burke's speech on, i, 433.

Americans, the aborigines, their persons, manners, &c. ix, 121; government, orators, justice, 126; mourning, marriages, 131; preparations for war, cruelties to prisoners, 134.

Amherst, Sir Jeffrey, i, 223.

Anacharsis Cloots, v, 48.

Ancestors, reverence due to them, iii, 52, 455.

Angles, in buildings, prejudicial to their grandeur, i, 115.

Anglesey, formerly *Mona*, v, 483.

Anglo-Saxons, v, 519.

Antilles, discovered, ix, 21.

Animals, their cries capable of conveying great ideas, i, 124.

Anniversaries, festive, advantages of, iv, 49.

Anselm, appointed Archbishop of Canterbury after the death of Lanfranc, v, 621. Supports Henry I. against his brother Robert, 635.

Apparitions, singular inconsistency in the ideas of the vulgar concerning them, v, 472.

"*Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs*," iii, 333; revised by Dr. Laurence, ix, 420.

Arbitrary power steals upon a people by lying dormant for a time, or by being rarely exercised. ii, 99. Cannot be exercised or delegated by the Legislature vii, 116. Not recognised in the Gentoo Code, viii, 51.

Arbitrary system must always be a corrupt one, vii, 150. Danger of adopting it as a principle of action, viii, 145.

Arcot. See *Nabob of Arcot*.

Areopagus, court and senate of, remarks on them, iii, 238.

Ariosto, a criticism of Boileau on, v, 447.

Aristocracy, affected terror of an extension of power by, in the reign of George II., i, 367. Influence of the aristocracy, 367. Too much spirit, not a fault of it, 368. General observations on it, iii, 165. Character of a true natural one, iii, 424. Regulations in some states with respect to it, 486–7. Must submit to the dominion of prudence and virtue, iv, 245. Character of the aristocracy of France before the Revolution, iii, 131; v, 40.

Aristotle, his caution against the delusion of demanding geometrical accuracy in moral arguments, ii, 72. His observations on the resemblance between a democracy and a tyranny, iii, 150. His distinction between Tragedy and Comedy, v, 447. His natural philosophy alone unworthy of him, 530. His system entirely followed by Bede, *ibid.*

Armies yield a precarious and uncertain obedience to a senate, iii, 242. On standing armies, iii, 12.

Army commanded by General Monk, character of it, iii, 313.

Digitized by Google

Art, every work of, only *great* as it deceives, i, 116.
Arthur, king, v, 516.
Articles of Impeachment against Warren Hastings, vi, 257—683; and Appendix, 685.
Artist, a true one effects the noblest designs by easy methods, i, 116.
Artois, de, Count, character of him, iv, 99.
Ascendancy, Protestant, observations on it, v, 309.
Asers, race of, origin, character and conduct of, v, 511.
Assassination, recommended and employed by the National Assembly of France, iii, 312. The dreadful effects of, in case of war, 312–13.
Assiento, the, i, 237.
Assignats, issues of, iii, 268.
Associations, effects of early ones, i, 163.
Astonishment, origin and nature of the passion, i, 98, 169.
Atheism by establishment, what, iv, 391; against our reason, iii, 113; schools of, set up by the French regicides at the public charge, v, 95.
Atheists, modern, contrasted with those of antiquity, iv, 39.
Athenians, at the head of the democratic interests of Greece, iv, 12.
Athens, the Plague of, wickedness remarkably prevalent during its continuance, v, 399.
Auckland, Lord, letters to, and from Burke, v, 11; his pamphlet on politics, v, 16.
August, Tenth of, in France, commenced by a Marseillois, ix, 452.
Augustine, state of religion in Britain when he arrived there, v, 517. Introduced Christianity among the Anglo-Saxons, 515.
Aulick Council, remarks on it, iv, 239.
Austria, began in the reign of Maria Theresa to support great armies, iv, 440. Treaty of 1756 with France, deplored by the French in 1773, 441. Policy as to her subjects, iv, 47.
Authority, the people the natural control on it, iii, 416. The control and exercise of it contradictory, *ibid.* The monopoly of it an evil, iv, 265. The only firm seat of it in the public opinion, ii, 117, v, 135.

B.

Bacon, Lord, a remark of his applied to the Revolution in France, iv, 284. His demeanor at his impeachment, viii, 23.
Bacon, Nicholas, his work on the Laws of England not entitled to authority, v, 718, 719.
Bahamas, discovered, ix, 21; 400.
Bail, method of giving it introduced by Alfred, v, 542. Advantage of it, *ibid.*
Ball, the Abbè *John*, remarks on his conduct, iii, 427.
Ballot, all contrivances by it, unfit to prevent a discovery of the inclinations, iii, 238.
Balmerino, Lord, extract from the account of his trial, vii, 548.
Baltimore, Lord, grant of Maryland to, ix, 363.
Bank Paper in England owing to the flourishing condition of commerce, iii, 266. Bank of England, suspends payments in specie, ix, 534; embarrassments of, 541.
Banyan, Indian, character of, vii, 39.
Bards, origin and character of them, v, 469.
Bartholomew, St., massacre of, iii, 169.
Bases, the three, of the New French government, iii, 202.
Bathurst, Lord, his imagined vision of the rising glories of America, ii, 27.

Digitized by Google

Bayle, his observation on religious persecution, v, 264.
Beauchamp, Lord, his Bill; Mr. Burke's vindication of his conduct with respect to it, ii, 250.
Beautiful, The. See *Sublime*.
Beauty, observations on, i, 85, 127. Natural proportion not the cause of it, 128. Nor customary proportion, 130. Beauty and proportion not ideas of the same nature, 140. The opposite to beauty not disproportion, or deformity, but *ugliness*, 140. Fitness not the cause of beauty, *ibid.* Nor perfection, 145. How far the ideas of beauty may be applied to faculties of the mind, 146. How far they may be applied to virtue, 147. The real cause of beauty, 148. Beautiful objects, small, and smooth, 148, 150. And gradually varied, 150. And delicate, 150, 152. And of mild or diversified colors, 153. Beauty acts by relaxing the solids of the whole system, 182.
Becket, Thomas à, v, 651.
Bede, the Venerable, brief account of him, v, 529.
Bedford, Duke of, his attack on Burke, iv, 229. Letter of Burke, on the Duke of Bedford and Earl of Lauderdale's attack upon his pension, 281. The first Earl of, who, iv, 304, 306.
Beer, brewed in England, i, 250.
Begum, Munny, her condition and character, viii, 284.
Begums, the East India Company suspect them of rebellion, ii, 325. Plundered by order of Mr. Hastings, 334. Pretence for seizing their treasures, viii, 313.
Benares, the capital of the Indian religion, ii, 327; the rajah's right and title, vi, 275; his expulsion, 298. Second revolution in, 319; third, 325. Devastation of the province during Mr. Hastings's government, viii, 66, 426. Projected sale of it to the Nabob of Oude, viii, 93. Nature of the rajah's authority, 77. Imprisoned by Mr. Hastings's order, 108.
Benfield, Paul, his character and conduct, ii, 442.
Bengal, extent and condition of, ii, 343. Internal Trade of, vi, 63. Nature of the government exercised there by Mr. Hastings, viii, 417. Conquest of it by the Emperor Akber, vii, 63. Era of the independent soubahs, 63. Era of the British empire there, 64. Has three distinct classes of people, viii, 418.
Bengal Club, observations on it, iv, 14.
Bermudas, ix, 399.
Bernard, Governor, in Massachusetts, i, 457; 467.
Bidjigur, fortress of, taken by order of Mr. Hastings, viii, 123.
Bingham, Sir Charles, letter to, on the Irish Absentee Tax, v, 105.
Biron, Duchess of, murdered by the French regicides, v, 41.
Bitterness, in description, a source of the sublime, i, 124.
Blackness, effects of, i, 179, 181.
Boadicea, her character and conduct, v, 485.
Board of Trade and Plantations, ii, 212.
Boileau, his criticism on a tale in Ariosto, v, 447.
Bolingbroke, Lord, animadversions on his philosophy, i, 1. Some characters of his style, 4. A presumptuous and superficial writer, iii, 151. A remark of his on the superiority of a monarchy over other forms of government, *ibid.*
Boston, in New England, ix, 328; Boston Port Bill, ii, 68, 99.
Botetourt, Lord, i, 449.
Boulogne, fortress of, surrendered to France, v, 308. Importance of it to England, *ibid.* Godfrey of Boulogne engages in the crusade, v, 630.
Bovines, victory of, important advantages of it to France, v, 701.

Digitized by Google

Borrower, the public and the private lender, not adverse parties with contending interests, iv, 510.
Brabançons, mercenary troops in the time of Henry II., their character, v, 671.
Brazil, discovery of, ix, 205; Brazil wood, 209; trade of, 210; gold and diamond mines, 213; St. Salvador, the capital, 215.
Bribing, by means of it, rather than by being bribed, wicked politicians bring ruin on mankind, ii, 492; effects of, vii, 281.
Bridgewater, (Duke of,) Canal, iv, 539.
Brissot, his character and conduct, iv, 51, 105. Preface to his Address to his Constituents, iv, 195. Appendix to it, 218.
Bristol, Burke's speech at, ii, 1.
Britain, invasion of by Cæsar, v, 458. Account of its ancient inhabitants, 462. Invaded by Claudius, 480. Reduced by Ostorius Scapula, 480. Finally subdued by Julius Agricola, 487. Why not sooner conquered, 489. Nature of the government settled there by the Romans, 492. First introduction of Christianity in, 504. Deserted by the Romans, 507. Entry and settlement of the Saxons, and their conversion to Christianity, 510.
Britons, more reduced than any other nation that fell under the German power, v, 514.
Browne, Dr., effect of his writings on the people of England, iv, 336.
Buccaneers, the rise of, ix, 225.
Buche, Captal de, his severe treatment of the *Jacquerie* in France, iii, 426.
Buckinghamshire Meeting, Letter to the, v, 232.
Buenos Ayres, account of, ix, 190.
Buildings, too great length in them, prejudicial to grandeur of effect, i, 116. Should be gloomy, to produce an idea of the sublime, 120.
Bullion, trade of, secured, i, 203.
Burgh, Thomas, letter to, 1780, v, 168.
Burke, Mr., his sentiments respecting several leading members of the whig party, iii, 337; and respecting an union of Ireland with Great Britain, 524; and respecting acts of indemnity as a means of reconciling France to a monarchy, iv, 123. His animadversions on the conduct of Mr. Fox, 150. His pathetic allusion to his deceased son, iv, 310. The orthography used by him, ix, 466. Declines the poll at Bristol, ii, 285.
Burke, Richard, Letter to, on the Catholic question, v, 304.
Burnet, Bishop, his statement of the methods which carried men of parts to Popery in France, iii, 177.
Bute, Earl of, i, 208; 217; 375; his resignation, i, 303. His successors recommended by him, *ibid.* Supposed head of the court party called "King's Men," or "The King's friends," 374.

C.

Cæsar, Julius, his policy with respect to the Gauls, v, 456. His invasion of Germany, 457. And of Britain, 458.
Calais, lost by the surrender of Boulogne, iv, 308.
Calamity, its deliberations rarely wise, iii, 265. Public calamity often arrested by the seasonable energy of a single man, iv, 243.
California, English claim to, ix, 169.
Caligula undertakes an expedition against Britain, v, 479.
Callao, in America, ix, 182.
Calonne, de, M. remarks on his work, L'Etat de la France, iii, 216. Extract from it, 272.
Campagna, Buon, character of him, iv, 25.

Digitized by Google

Campanella, curious story concerning him, i, 165.
Canada Bills, convention for the liquidation of them, i, 326.
Cannibalism, in France, iv, 396.
Canterbury, disputes between the suffragan bishops of the province and the monks of the Abbey of St. Austin, v, 692.
Cantons, French, origin and nature of them, iii, 203, 210.
Cantoo Baboo, Mr. Hastings's banyan, his character, vii, 161.
Canute, his character and conduct, v, 551. Remarks on his code of laws, 722.
Cape of Good Hope, its importance to England, iv, 427.
Capital, monopoly of, not an evil, iv, 265.
Caractacus, conquered, v, 482.
Care, appearance of, highly contrary to our ideas of magnificence, i, 118.
Caribbees, discovered, ix, 24.
Carnatic, the extent and condition of the country, ii, 458, 460, 473. Dreadful devastation of it by Hyder Ali Khan, 456.
Carolina, province of, ix, 367; 372; productions of, 376.
Carthagena, in Spanish America, ix, 200.
Caste, consequence of losing it in India, vii, 221.
Castile, different from Catalonia and Arragon, iv, 26, 27.
Castles, great numbers of them built in the reign of Stephen, v, 648.
Casuistry, origin and requisites of, iii, 419. Danger of pursuing it too far, *ibid.*
Catholics, letter to an Irish peer on the penal laws against them, iii, 459; tracts on Popery laws, v, 237; letter on the same, to Richard Burke, v, 304.
Celsus, his opinion that internal remedies were not of early use, proved to be erroneous, v, 474.
Cerealis, extract from his fine speech to the Gauls, iii, 504.
Change and *Reformation*, difference between them, iv, 294.
Charles I. defended himself on the practice of his predecessors, ii, 163. His illjudged attempt to establish the rites of the church of England in Scotland, v, 344.
Charles II, obliged, by the sense of the nation, to abandon the Dutch war, ii, 113. Brief character of him, iii, 314. His government contrasted with that of Cromwell, iv, 129.
Charles XII. of Sweden, parallel between him and Richard I. of England, v, 683.
Charleston, (S. C.) ix, 383.
Characters of others, principles which interest us in them, v, 445.
Charity, observations on, iv, 261. The magistrate must not interfere with it, *ibid.*
Chatham, Lord, his character, i, 480; his "tesselated" ministry, 481. His administration, 207, 362.
Cheit Sing, Rajah of Benares, nature of his authority, ii, 327. Imprisoned by order of Mr. Hastings, viii, 77, 108.
Chenier, his ode, v, 93.
Cheselden, Mr. his story of a boy who was couched for a cataract i, 177.
Chester, the county palatine of, oppressed until the reign of Henry VIII. ii, 57.
Chesterfield, Lord, his conduct (when Lord Lieutenant of Ireland) with respect to the Roman Catholics, iii, 474.,
Chili, account of, ix, 185; its principal towns, 186.
Chivalry, the age of, gone, iii, 98.
Christendom, the several states of it have all been formed slowly and without any unity of design, iv, 474.

Digitized by Google

Christianity, original introduction of, into Britain. State of in France, v, 100, 521.
Church, the, has power to alter her rites and discipline, v, 343.
Church Establishment, in England, observations on it, iii, 114. Eulogy on it, v, 365, 380. Education of its clergy, contrasted with that of the Roman Catholic clergy, iii, 469. Convocation of the clergy a part of the constitution, ii, 118. Observations on the provision made for the clergy by the State, iii, 190–6. Church property, confiscation of, iii, 128.
Cicero, remarks on his orations against Verres, viii, 534.
Citizens, not to be listened to, in matters that relate to agriculture, iv, 262.
"*Civic Education*," during the French Revolution, iii, 176.
Civil List, debts due on it, request for a supply for discharging them, how made, i, 408. Plan of economy relative to it, ii, 219.
Civil Wars corrupt the manners of the people, ii, 100.
Civil Vicinity, law of, what, iv, 401.
Civil society, iii, 80; grand object of it, v, 265.
Clarendon, Constitutions of, v, 656.
Claudius, the Emperor invades Britain, v, 480.
Clavering, General, ii, 353. Eulogy on him, vii, 9, viii, 356.
Clear expression, different from a strong one, i, 320–1.
Clearness not necessary for affecting the passions, i, 101.
Clergy, convocation of, a part of the constitution, ii, 118. Observations on the provision made by the state for them, iii, 166, 190; in the National Convention, 65.
Clergy, Roman Catholic, in France, character of them before the revolution there, iii, 166, 171, 172. Laws of William and Anne respecting the Popish clergy in Ireland, v, 251. Review of the state of the clergy in England down to the reign of Henry II. v, 650.
Clive, Lord, sent to India, vii, 102, 104. His conduct there, vii, 102.
Cloths, or *Piece Goods*, manufactured in India, vi, 83.
Cloots, Anacharsis, observations on his conduct, v, 43.
Coke, Lord, ingenious quotation in his reports, i, 3. His observation on discretion in judicature, iii, 520.
Coke, Mr., of Norfolk, opposes the war, iv, 146.
Colonies, commercial, mode of levying taxes in them, a difficult and important consideration, i, 307; ix, 290. Trade of, 316.
Colonists import ten times more from Great Britain than they send in return, i, 311, 316. Character of the British colonists in America, 315.
Colors, cheerful ones unfit to produce grand images, i, 121. As a source of beauty, i, 191.
Columbus's project, and discovery of America, ix, 19; he returns to Europe, 24; conduct at Lisbon, 24; reception by Ferdinand and Isabella, 26; his second voyage, 27; complaints against him, 36; his third voyage, 39; discovers the continent of America, 40; sent to Spain in irons, 43; acquitted, 47; his fourth voyage, 47; his seamen mutiny, 50; his use of an eclipse, 51; his death and character, 54.
Comedy, observations on, v, 445. Aristotle's distinction between it and Tragedy, 447.
Comines, Philip de, his remarks on the English civil wars, v, 202.
Commerce and Liberty, the two main sources of power to Great Britain, ii, 5. Great increase of, in America, 26, 27.
Common Law, nature of, v, 705.
Common Pleas, court of, its origin, v, 708.
Commons, the House of, observations on its nature and character, i, 394;

Digitized by Google

iii, 64. What qualities recommend a man to a seat in it, in popular elections, i, 399. Duty of the members to their constituents, ii, 12. A council to advise, as well as an accuser to criminate, ii, 387. Can never control other parts of the government unless the members themselves are controlled by their constituents, 404. Duty of a member to his constituents, ii, 10, 12. Concise view of its proceedings on the East India question, ii, 393. Cannot renounce its share of authority, iii, 39. In legal construction, the sense of the people of England is to be collected from it, ii, 381. The most powerful and most corruptible part of the British constitution, v, 392. A superintendence over the proceedings of the courts of justice, one of its principal objects, v, 414. Speech on reform of, 402.

Commonwealths, not subject to the laws that determine the duration of individuals, iv, 243, 332.

Communes, in France, their origin and nature, iii, 202.

Compurgators, in Saxon law, what, v, 586.

Conciliation with America, Burke's speech on, ii, 17.

Condé, prince of, iv, 106.

Condorcet, brief character of him, iv, 39, 52. Extract from a publication of his, 39; preceptor to the Dauphin, 39.

Confidence, unsuspecting, in government, importance of it, ii, 125. Confidence of mankind, how to be secured, iv, 477.

Confiscations of church and private property, iniquitous, iii, 129, 179, 182.

Connections, political, held honorable in the commonwealths of antiquity, i, 424.

Conquest cannot give a right to arbitrary power, vii, 117.

Conscience, a tender one ought to be tenderly handled, v, 378.

Constantine the Great, changes made by him in the internal policy of the Roman empire, v, 503.

Constantinople, anecdote of the visit of an English country squire to, iv, 455. Anecdote of the Greeks at the taking of it, v, 87.

Constituents, in England, more in the spirit of the constitution to lessen than to enlarge their number, i, 294. Duty to their representatives ii, 238. Compulsive instruction from them first resisted by Mr. Burke, iii, 360. Points in which they are incompetent to give advice to their representatives, v, 391.

Constitution, a change in it, an immense operation, i, 296, 418. Only to be attempted in times of general confusion, *ibid.* No constitution can preserve itself, v, 90. The whole scheme of the English constitution is to prevent any one of its principles from going too far, iii, 451. Was not suddenly formed, 452. Commendation of it by Montesquieu, 454. Eulogy on it, iii, 52; iv, 313; v, 412. Danger of disgracing the frame and constitution of the state, v, 410. Constitution of France, iii, 54, 226.

Constitutional Society, what, iii, 22.

Conti de, Prince, observations on his conduct, iv, 104.

Contract, an implied one always between the laborer and his employer, iv, 254.

Contracting parties, not necessary that they should have different interests, iv, 256.

Control, and exercise of authority, contradictory iii, 416.

Convocation of the clergy, though a part of the constitution, now called for form only, ii, 118.

Conway, General, moves the repeal of the American Stamp Act, i, 472, 473.

Cornwallis, Lord, extracts from the account of his trial, vii, 546.

Cornwallis, Lord, his evidence at the trial of Warren Hastings, viii, 409.

Digitized by Google

Coronation Oath, observations on it, with respect to the Roman Catholics, iii, 483.
Corporate bodies, importance of them, iii, 188, 191.
Corruption of nature and example, the only security against it, what, ii, 128.
Cortes, character of, ix, 59; his policy and conduct, 62; imprisons Montezuma, 63; conspiracy against him, 82; his death, 95.
Cossim Ally Cawn, his character and conduct, vii, 75.
Country, love of, remarks on it, viii, 228.
Credit and Power, incompatible, ii, 293.
Crimes, the acts of individuals, not of denominations, ii, 275. According to the criminal law, what, v, 270.
Cromwell, brief character of him, iii, 295. His conduct in the appointment of judges, 295. His conduct in government, 314. His government contrasted with that of Charles II., iv, 129.
Cross, the form of it, not so grand in architecture as the parallelogram, i, 115.
Crown, the influence of it, what, i, 357. Inheritable nature of it, iii, 38. Maintained at the Revolution, 37. The only legitimate channel of communication with other nations, iv, 151.
Cruelties of the Spaniards in America, exaggerated, ix, 96.
Crusade, origin and progress of it, v, 629.
Cumberland, Duke of, i, 207.
Curfew, the origin and policy of it, v, 616.
Curiosity, general observations on, i, 74.
Cusco, city of, ix, 183.
Custom, observations on it, i, 139. Not the cause of pleasure, *ibid.*
Cyprus, account of the conquest of it by Richard I. v, 677.

D.

Danger and pain, with certain modifications, delightful, i, 88. The sense of it an attendant of the sublime, 99. The danger of any thing very dear to us removes all other affections from the mind, iii, 360.
Darkness, terrible in its own nature, i, 177. Why? 178. Mr. Locke's opinion concerning it, considered, 176. Darkness and gloom necessary to the sublime in building, 120.
Davis, Sir *John*, his statement of the policy of the English government with regard to Ireland, ii, 54.
Day, not so sublime as night, i, 121.
Debi Sing, his character, vii, 200.
Debt, the unfunded, i, 239; interest of, the only thing that can distress a nation, i, 261.
Debts, civil, faults of the law with regard to them, ii, 249. Observations on public debts, iii, 280.
Deceitful men can never repent, iii, 291.
Declaration of Right, contains the principles of the Revolution of 1688, iii, 34. Framed by Lord Somers, 36. Proceeds upon the principle of reference to antiquity, 52.
Defensive measures, though vigorous at first, relax by degrees, iv, 38. Necessary considerations with regard to them, v, 88.
Deficit, in French Revenues, iii, 143.
Definitions, frequently fallacious, i, 58.
Deformity not opposed to beauty, but to *complete, common form*, i, 138.
Deity, idea of power the most striking of his attributes, i, 108.
Delamere, Lord, account of his trial, vii, 546.

Digitized by Google

Delight, what, i, 79. How derived from terror, 167. Compared with pleasure, 79. Derived sometimes from the misfortunes of others, 89. The attendant of every passion which animates us to any active purpose, *ibid.*
Democracie Royale, in France, iv, 87.
Democracy, a perfect one, shameless and fearless, iii, 117, 151. No example in modern times of a considerable one, iii, 150. An absolute one, not to be reckoned among the legitimate forms of government, 150. Aristotle's observation on the resemblance between a democracy and a tyranny, 150. Vice of the ancient democracies, iii, 239. The foodful nurse of ambition, iii, 416.
Denmark and Norway, not revolutionary, iv, 27.
Departments in France, origin of them, iii, 202.
Depth has a grander effect than height, i, 112.
Description, verbal, a means of raising a stronger emotion than painting, i, 102.
Desirable things, always practicable, ii, 225.
Despenser, Lord, i, 217, 287.
Desperate situations produce desperate councils, iii, 293.
Despotism, nature of it, i, 358; vii, 116.
D'Espremenil, the illustrious French magistrate, murdered by the revolutionists, v, 40.
De Witt, iv, 496.
Dialogue, advantages and disadvantages of it as a mode of argumentation, v, 15.
Difference in taste, commonly so called, whence, i, 67.
Difficulty, a source of greatness in taste, i, 117. Difficulty in morals, importance and advantage of it, iii, 195.
Dignity national, no standard for rating the conditions of peace, iv, 347; personal and official dignity, vii, 330.
Dimension, greatness of, a powerful cause of the sublime, i, 112. Necessary to the sublime in building, but incompatible with beauty, 189.
Dinagepore, Rajah of, account of him, viii, 508.
Diogenes, anecdote of him, iii, 333.
Directory, (of the church) the, by whom settled, v, 348. Rejected at the Revolution, *ibid.*
"*Discontents, Thoughts on the cause of the present*," i, 349. Produced by a system of favoritism, 376.
Discretion, Lord Coke's remark on it, iii, 520.
Discretionary powers of the monarch should be exercised upon public principles, i, 377.
Discrimination, a coarse one, the greatest enemy to accuracy of judgment, iv, 259.
Dissenters, observations on the Test Act against them, iii, 498. Burke's speech on the Bill for their relief, v, 354.
Distress, great, never teaches wise lessons to mankind, iii, 293.
Distrust, advantages of it, iv, 110.
Disunion in Government, mischief of it, i, 339.
Divorces, observations on, iv, 395; frequency of, in France, 395.
Dominica and Jamaica, ports opened, i, 208.
Doomsday Book, origin and nature of it, v, 615.
"*Double Cabinet*," what, i, 358, 386. Nature and design of it, 362. Mischievous conduct of it, 386. How recommended at court, 389. Its operation upon Parliament, 394. Singular doctrine propagated by it, 421.
Dowdeswell's Motion, respecting the law of libel, v, 414; his bill respecting powers of juries, 427, 430.

Digitized by Google

Drama, hints for an essay on it, v, 440.
Dramatic writing, difficulty of it, v, 440; origin of it, 444.
Druids, some account of their origin and character, v, 467; the opinion that their religion was founded on the unity of the Godhead, confuted, 475; their temples, 477.
Dryden, his translation of a passage in Virgil, iv, 459.
Du Bos, his erroneous theory respecting the effect of painting, on the passions, i, 101.
Dupin, M. *de la Tour*, his account of the state of the army in France, iii, 243.
Dunkirk, demolition of, i, 328.
Dunning, Mr., brief character of him, ii, 260.
Durham, county palatine of, misgoverned until the reign of Charles II. ii, 58.
Duty, people do not like to be told of it, iii, 415. Dependent on the will, 416. Effectual execution of it, how to be secured, ii, 222.

E.

East India Bill, (Fox's) speech of Burke upon, ii, 289.
East India Company, i, 288; ii, 295; origin of it, vii, 27. System of its service, 29. A fundamental part of their constitution, that the whole shall be a written government, 44. Two sources of its power, 24. Its negotiations with government, i, 288. Observations on their charter, ii, 295. Extent and population of their possessions, 299. Observations on their conduct, 300. Their treatment of the nations indirectly subject to their authority, 303, 342. Concise view of the proceedings of the House of Commons relative to them, 394. Ninth Report, on affairs of, vi, 3.
East Indies, origin of the extensive British possessions there, ii, 393, *note*.
Easter, whence the name derived, v, 518. Disputes about the time of celebrating it, promote the study of astronomy, 531.
Ecclesiastical establishment in England, observations on it, iii, 114.
Ecclesiastical investitures, origin and nature of them, v, 640.
Ecclesiastical States, the, tendency to Revolution, iv, 24.
Economical Reform, Speech on, ii, 151.
Economy and War not easily reconciled, i, 245. Difficulty of attempting a plan of it, ii, 154. Admirable system of it, in France, by Necker, 158, 160. Rules for a proper plan of it, 168. Political economy had its origin in England, iv, 298. Description of real economy, 301.
Education, effect of it on the colonists in America, ii, 43. Description of a good one, iii, 303.
Edward the Confessor, his character and conduct, v, 552.
Egremont, Earl of, i, 303.
Election, popular, of magistrates, importance of it, i, 378. Right of, what, 405. Mischief of a frequent election, 415; v. 391. The charge of it, an important consideration, 394.
Elegance and *speciousness*, i, 156.
Elizabeth, sister of Louis XVI. murdered by the French regicides, v, 41.
Emphyteusis of the Romans, nature of it, v, 281.
Energy of the French Revolutionists, iv, 109.
England, its constant policy with regard to France, iv, 31. Will always take the greatest share in any confederacy against France, iv, 340. Prosperity of, iv, 551.
Encyclopedists of France, iii, 135.

Digitized by Google

English History, Burke's abridgment of, v, 451.
Enthusiasm, excited by other causes besides religion, iv, 434.
Eostre, a goddess worshiped by the Saxons, v, 518.
Epicureans, tolerated by the rest of the Heathen world, v, 361. Their system of physics, the most rational of antiquity, v, 530. Why discredited, *ibid.*
Equity, criminal, a monster in jurisprudence, i, 401.
Erskine's Pamphlet (in 1797); Burke's opinion of it, ix, 522; Laurence's remarks on, 530.
Established Religion of the State, has often torn to pieces the civil establishment, v, 284. Method adopted by the constitution respecting those public teachers, who are to receive the support of the state, v, 347.
Established Church, ought to be defended, v, 365.
Establishment, legal, grounds of a legislative alteration of it, v, 344.
Etiquette, advantages of it, iv, 493.
Europe, general division of it, previous to the universal diffusion of the Roman power, v, 453. The original inhabitants of Greece and Italy of the same race with the people of Northern Europe, 454. View of the state of Europe at the time of the Norman invasion, v, 593; a commonwealth of nations, iv, 399.
" *European Settlements in America*," by Burke, ix, 17.
Evidence, circumstantial, remarks on it, vii, 597; rules as to its admissibility, vii, 577.
Example, the only argument of effect in civil life, i, 400. The only security against a corrupt one, what, ii, 128. The school of mankind, i, 338.
Executions, public, observations on them, v, 197.
Exercise, necessary to the finer organs, i, 169.
Expression, a clear one different from a strong one, i, 205.
Eye, the, when beautiful, i, 154.
Eyre Sir *Robert*, (Solicitor General) extract from his speech at the trial of Dr. Sacheverel, iii, 395.

F.

Factions, ought to be suppressed by government, v, 370.
Fame, a passion for it, the instinct of all great souls, i, 483. The separation of it from virtue, a harsh divorce, ii, 132.
Fanaticism, epidemical, mischievous tendency of it, iii, 180. May be caused as much by a theory concerning government, as by a *dogma* in religion, iii, 438.
Farmer, dangerous to try experiments on him, iv, 263. Amount of his usual profits, what, *ibid.* Difficulty of his task, 264—266.
Fauquier, Governor, on the Stamp Act, i, 478.
Favoritism, a system of, at variance with the plan of the legislature, i, 376.
Fayette La. See *Lafayette.*
Fear, cause of it, i, 164. Early and provident fear, the mother of safety, v, 375. Effects of, in French Revolution, iv, 131.
Feeling, the beautiful in it, what, i, 157.
Female sex, the moral sensibility more acute in them than in men, viii, 381.
Ferrers, Earl, the case of, vii, 623.
Finance, new projects of, proceedings of men of sense with respect to them, i, 292.
Finances, importance of them to a state, and difficulty of managing them, iii, 260. Three standards to judge of the condition of a state with

Digitized by Google

regard to them, i, 262. Admirable management of the French finances, ii, 169.
Financier, duty of a judicious one in framing a plan of economy, i, 277; and in securing a revenue, iii, 262, 279.
Fire, why worshiped by the Druids, v, 472.
Firmness, a virtue only when it accompanies the most perfect wisdom, i, 353.
Fitness, not the cause of beauty, i, 140. See *Beauty*.
Flattery, why so prevalent, i, 93; corrupts both the giver and receiver, iii, 26; the people deceived by, 414.
Florence, the republic of, how originated, v, 597.
Florida, taken from Spain, i, 236.
Force, its great and acknowledged effect and reputation not impaired by an unwillingness to exert itself, ii, 23. Use of it temporary, uncertain, and hurtful to the object which it is designed to preserve, 32.
Forest Lands, proposal to Parliament concerning them, ii, 179.
Foster, Judge, extract from his discourses, vii, 543.
Fox, Mr. Burke's speech on his East India Bill, ii, 289; panegyric of him, ii, 371. Mr. Burke reluctantly dissents from his opinion concerning France, iii, 7. Animadversions on him, iv, 151. Political principle maintained by him, iv, 166. His conduct contrasted with that of Mr. Pitt, iv, 189. Burke's letter to, on the American War, v, 115.
Fox's encomium on Burke's writings, ix, 544. Burke disapproves of his conduct in Parliament, 545.
France and England, relative position of, i, 221; credit of, 260; prosperous state of it before the Revolution, iv, 333. From its vicinity, always has been and always must be an object of our vigilance with regard to its power or example, iii, 4. Barbarous treatment suffered by the King and Queen at the Revolution, 93. Apostrophe to the Queen, 97. Chivalry of France extinguished by the Revolution, *ibid.* Remarks on its population, 153. Brief review of its condition before the Revolution, 153—156. Degraded office to which the King was appointed by the Revolutionists, 233, 300. State of things there during the Revolution, iii, 341. Character of the King's brothers, iv, 99. The liberties of Europe dependent on its being a great and preponderating power, iv, 21, 119. Observations on the sufferings of the Queen, v, 41. Character of the aristocracy before the Revolution, iii, 163; v, 40. Character of the Government, iv, 414, 434.
Franchise and office, difference between them, iii, 489. Effect of separating property from it, 491.
Francis, Mr., ii, 353.
Franklin, Doctor, conjectures on his visit to Paris, v, 125; his extreme reserve, iii, 364.
Free-thinkers in England, iii, 112.
French monied interests at variance with the landed interests, iii, 133. Literary cabal, their plan for the destruction of Christianity, 135, 175. Frenchmen naturally more intense in their application than Englishmen, iii, 318. Mischievous consequences of this, *ibid.* French emigrants in England, capable of being serviceable in restoring the monarchy to France, iv, 95.
French Directory, the, characters of the members of it, iv, 503. Their conduct to the foreign ambassadors, v, 47.
French Revolution, characterized as one of *doctrine and theoretic dogma*, iv, 10, 13. Its fundamental principle, 13.
French Settlements in America, ix, 221; their West India Company, 224.
Freedom, the great contests for it in England, chiefly on the question of

Digitized by Google

taxation, ii, 33. But in the ancient commonwealths, chiefly on the right of election of magistrates, or on the balance among the several orders of the state, *ibid.* Character of civil freedom, 121. Our best securities for it obtained from princes who were even warlike or prodigal, v, 37.

"*Friends of the People,*" origin and proceedings of the club so called, iv, 153. A seditious petition of theirs, 181.

"*Friends of the liberty of the Press,*" a club formed under the auspices of Mr. Fox, iv, 159. Origin and character of it, *ibid.*

Fur trade in North America, ix, 403.

G.

Gage, General, letter from, i, 475.

Galgacus, the Caledonian chief, v, 488.

Gaming, the passion for it, inherent in human nature, ii, 174. A general spirit of it encouraged by the Revolutionists in France, iii, 224. Not unpleasant, iii, 293. They, who are under its influence, treat their fortunes lightly, 448.

Garrick, an anecdote of him, v, 46.

Gauls, their early incursions into Greece and Italy, v, 455. Reduced at last under the Romans by Caius Cæsar, 455. Policy of Cæsar with regard to them, 456.

General Warrants, condemned, i, 207.

Geneva, difficulties it has to contend with, iv, 268.

Genghiz Khân, his conquests, iv, 446; observations on his code, viii, 55.

Genoa, republic of, how originated, v, 597.

Gentoos, the original inhabitants of Hindostan, vii, 55. Distribution of the people, 53. Origin and character of their laws, 138. Extracts from Halhed's translation of them, viii, 50, 52.

Gentoo Law, the primæval law of India, viii, 50.

George II., his character, i, 366.

George III., state of the nation, and proceedings of government, at his accession, i, 361.

Georgia, province of, ix, 387.

Germanic Custumary, the source of the polity of every country in Europe, iv, 399.

Germans, of Scythian original, v, 589. Brief account of their manners and institutions, 511.

Germany, how likely to be affected by the Revolution in France, iv, 17.

Gibraltar, importance of it to England, iv, 61.

Girondists, in France, iv, 87.

Glastonbury Abbey, its extraordinary wealth and splendor, v, 525.

Go-betweens, what, iii, 437. The world governed by them, *ibid.*

Goddess of Reason, in France, v, 93.

Gordon, Captain, viii, 321.

Gothic Custumary. See *Germanic*.

Government, forms of a free one not altogether incompatible with the ends of an arbitrary one, i, 356. Project of government devised in the court of Frederick, Prince of Wales, considered, i, 358, 360. Nature and design of it, 359. Name of it, 374. Important ends of a mixed government, 377, iv, 515. Folly of hazarding plans of government, except from a seat of authority, ii, 14. Government, a practical thing, ii, 119, iii, 81. Character of a free one, ii, 121. An eminent criterion of a wise one, 162. Reform in it should be early and temperate, 163.

Digitized by Google

Without means of some change, is without the means of its conservation, iii, 40. Difficulty of framing a free one, 50. The particular form of it to be determined by the circumstances and habits of a country, 371. A theory concerning it may be the cause of fanaticism as much as a dogma in religion, iii, 439. The establishment of one, a difficult undertaking for foreign powers to act in as principals, iv, 83. Not subject to the laws that regulate the duration of individuals, 243; 332. *Restraint*, the great purpose of it, iv, 251; 296. Policy of it in times of scarcity, 269. Important problem concerning it, 278. Perishes only through its own weakness, 280. Impossible, without property, 447. Ought to attend much to opinions, v, 368. Stands on opinion, 402.

Grace, Acts of, impolicy of them, ii, 250.

Gracefulness, an idea belonging to *posture* and *motion*, i, 156.

Granaries, public, danger of erecting them, iv, 267. Only fit for a state too small for agriculture, 269.

Grand Seignior, the, not an arbitrary monarch, vii, 124.

Great personages, wisely provided that we should interest ourselves in their fate, viii, 134. Always made the objects of tragedy, *ibid.*

Greece, its original inhabitants of the same race as the people of northern Europe, v, 454.

Greek Church, character of its clergy, iii, 470.

Green Cloth, court of, its origin, ii, 183.

Grenville, George, i, 217; 303; 465; character of him, i, 461.

Grenville, Lord, eulogy of him, iv, 284; indiscreet speech of, ix, 583.

Grief, nature of it, i, 80.

Guadaloupe, commerce of, i, 224.

Guatimozin, emperor of Mexico, ix, 76; obliges Cortes to retire, 76; is tortured, 87.

Guienne, William, Duke of, engages in the Crusade, v, 632.

Guilt, when gigantic, often overpowers our ideas of justice, iv, 128. Expedients for concealing it, frequently the cause of its detection, vii, 186. Is never wise, *ibid.*

H.

"*Habeas Corpus*," remarks upon the suspension of it, ii, 89.

Habit and Use, not the causes of pleasure, i, 139.

Hale, Sir *Matthew*, Cromwell's declaration to him when he appointed him judge, iii, 295. Defect in his history of the Common Law, v, 716. Causes of it, *ibid.*

Halhed's translation of the Gentoo Code, remarks on it, viii, 50.

Halifax, Earl of, i, 303; the town of, in Nova Scotia, ix, 395.

Hallmote, or Court Baron, what, v, 572.

Hannay, Colonel, his character and conduct, viii, 229.

Happiness, civil, what, iv, 253.

Hardicanute, prince, v, 552.

Hardwicke, Lord, his declaration on rules of evidence, vii, 587.

Harold II. king, v, 554.

Harrington, his opinion on the government of a state without property, iv, 447.

Hastings, Mr. ii, 318. Articles of Charge against him presented to the House of Commons, 1786, vi, 257. Appendix to the viiith and xviith Charges, 685. Speeches of Mr. Burke on the Impeachment of him, vii, 11—519. Report from the committee, on inspection of the Lords'

Digitized by Google

Journals, in relation to their proceedings on his trial, with the Appendix, 521. His conduct in the treaty with the Mahrattas, ii, 307. His treatment of the Nabob of Oude, 317. His treatment of the Begums, 325. Arrests the Rajah of Benares, vi, 304. Gives orders for the seizure of the treasures of the Begums, 335. Authorizes the Nabob of Oude to seize upon, and confiscate to his own profit, the landed estates of his parents, kindred, and principal nobility, 337. Endeavors to stifle an inquiry into his proceedings, 377. Regulations of the East India Company, with respect to the violation of their orders by Mr. Hastings, vi, 411. His conduct with regard to the allowance to Sir Eyre Coote, 418. And to Brigadier General Stibbert, 419. And to Sir John Day, 421. And to the government of Fort William, 422. And with regard to the supply of grain at Fort St. George, 424. Charged with the violation of the orders of the East India Company, in the case of Munny Begum, 429. And of the phousdar of Houghly, 430. And in the case of money which he admitted he had privately received, 434. Tenders his resignation, by Mr. Lauchlin Maclaine, 444. Edward Wheler, Esq. is appointed in his room, 445. Mr. H. denies that his office is vacated, 446. General Clavering presides in Council as Governor General of Bengal, on the presumed resignation of Mr. H. 446. His irregular proceedings subsequent to his resignation, 447. Decision of the Judges on the proceedings of General Clavering, 448. His conduct with regard to the Surgeon General, 459. And to Archibald Frazer, Esq., 460. He appoints R. J. Sullivan to the office of Resident at the Durbar of the Nabob of Arcot, 470. Recommends a treaty with the Ranna of Gohud, 472. His conduct with regard to the landed estates of Bengal, 478. Permits his own Banyan to hold farms to a large amount in different districts, in violation of his own regulations, 482. Changes the system of the collection of the public revenue, and the administration of civil and criminal justice, by provincial councils, throughout the provinces, 487. Refuses to relieve the distress of the Nabob of Oude, 495. Illegally assumes the delegation of the whole functions of the Council, for the purpose of entering into a treaty with the Nabob of Arcot, 501. Unnecessarily burdens the Nabob of Oude with the maintenance of troops, to the destruction of British discipline, 504. Receives unlawful presents from, and makes unjustifiable demands on the Nabob of Oude, 505. Urges the capital punishment of Almas Ali Khân, on his simple allegation of offences, 541. Establishes in the government a system of disreputable and ruinous interference, 549. Attempts to abandon the British army to the discretion of the Nabob of Oude, 553. Gives order for the imprisonment of Mahomet Reza Khân, without proofs of his guilt, 568. Appoints Munny Begum to be guardian to the Nabob of Bengal, 569. Endeavors to aggrandize the power of the Mahrattas, 601. The Mogul delivered up to them, through his instrumentality, 583. He libels and asperses the Court of Directors, 605. Forces the Mahrattas into a war, by repeatedly invading their country, 614. Concludes a dishonorable treaty of perpetual alliance with them, 628. His conduct with regard to the rights of Fyzoola Khân, 646. Demands five thousand horse from Fyzoola Khân, 656. His conduct with regard to the treaty of Chunar, 664. Consequences of the treaty, 669. Confiscates the estates of the nobility of Bengal, vii, 158. Appoints Gunga Govin Sing to receive presents and corrupt bribes, 194. Throws off his responsibility, by delegating his power to a nominal council, 226, 7. Proceeds to Benares with an illegal commission, viii, 102. His treatment of the women and children of the Rajah Sujah ul Dowlah, 364.

Digitized by Google

Effect of his conduct on the revenues and prosperity of the province of Oude, 396. Nature of the government exercised by him in Bengal, 417. His conduct in the appointment of a successor to Mahmed Renza Khân, 423. And with regard to the article of contracts, 491. Charged with taking a bribe of £100,000 from the Nabob of Oude, 513. Violates the treaty of Porunda, 561.

Havannah, conquest of, i, 223; imports from, 224; description of in 1761, ix, 202.

Hawles, Sir John, extract from his speech at the trial of Doctor Sacheverel, iii, 393.

"*Heads for Consideration*," 1792, iv, 57.

Height, less grand than depth, i, 112.

Helvetii, remarkable emigration of them related by Cæsar, v, 464.

Helvetius, M. iii, 108.

Henry I. of England, brief account of his reign, v, 633.

Henry II. of England, brief account of his reign, v, 649.

Henry IV. of England, his conduct relative to the duchy and county palatine of Lancaster, ii, 176.

Henry IV. of France, brief character of him, iii, 162.

Hii, or Columkill, brief account of it, v, 529.

Hillsborough, Lord, i, 452.

Hindostan, eras in its history, vii, 58.

Hindû Religion, its tendency, vii, 53. Hindû polity destroyed by Mr. Hastings, 68.

"*Hints for a Memorial*" to be delivered to M. De M. M. (French Minister,) iv, 3.

History, moral lessons to be drawn from it, iii, 167, 170; iv, 129. Caution with regard to the study of it, *ibid.*

History of England, by Burke, v, 451.

Hobbes, a remark of his on war, i, 12.

Hoche, General, attacks Ireland, iv, 475.

Holland, how far revolutionary, iv, 30.

Holland, Sir *John*, extract from his speech at the trial of Doctor Sacheverel, iii, 401.

Holy Land, view of the condition of it at the commencement of the third crusade, v, 675, 6.

Homer, his art in framing similitudes, i, 65. A simile from the Iliad, 78. His representation of Discord, obscure and magnificent, 104. No instance, in the Iliad, of the fall of any man remarkable for great strength touches us with pity, 190. Has given to the Trojans more of the amiable and social virtues than to the Greeks, *ibid.* The passion he desires to raise with regard to the Trojans, is pity; admiration, with regard to the Greeks, 191. His masterly representation of the grief of Priam at the death of Hector, iii, 360. Observation on his representation of the ghosts of heroes at the sacrifices of Ulysses, v, 471. His works first introduced into England by Theodorus, Archbishop of Canterbury, 528.

Horace, the truth of an assertion in his Art of Poetry, discussed, i, 101. A passage from him in confirmation of Mr. Burke's theory of the Sublime, 109.

Household, The Royal, has strong traces of *feudality*, ii, 182.

House of Lords. See *Lords*.

House of Commons. See *Commons*.

Howard, the Philanthropist, his character, ii, 251.

Howe, Lord, ii, 108; v, 124.

Howe, General, ii, 108; v, 124.

Digitized by Google

Hudibras, humorous lines from, applicable to the modern whigs, iii, 404.
Hudson's Bay, ix, 401; the Company, 403; the fur trade, 403.
Hume, Mr. his account of the secret of Rousseau's principles of composition, iii, 200. His remarks on John Ball, iv, 38.
Humility, true, the basis of the Christian system, iii, 305. Humanity cannot be degraded by it, iv, 347.
Hundreds, the, in England, v, 574.
Hurricanes in the West Indies, ix, 280.
Husbandry, classification of laborers, in, iv, 259.
Hyder Ali Khan (Chief of the Western Division of the Carnatic) scheme of the creditors of the Nabob of Arcot, to expel him from his territory, ii, 455. Dreadful devastation caused by him in the plains of the Carnatic, 457.
Hypæthra of the Greeks, what, v, 477.

I.

Imagination, what, i, 63. No bounds to men's passions when they are influenced by it, iii, 438.
Imitation, one of the passions belonging to society, i, 91. Its source and use, *ibid.*
Impeachment, the great guardian of the purity of the constitution, i, 397. Report of Committee upon the impeachment of Warren Hastings, vii, 523. Law and Practice, in Impeachments, 527. Articles of Impeachment, vi, 257.
Impey, Sir Elijah, vi, 313; 344; order to seize the treasures of the Begums, carried by him, viii, 313.
Indecision, the natural accomplice of violence, iii, 437.
Indemnification, one of the requisites of a good peace, i, 237.
Indemnity, Acts of, probable effects of them as means of reconciling France to a monarchy, iv, 125.
Independence of mind, always more or less influenced by independence of fortune, v, 394.
India, people of, classification of, vii, 50; viii, 50. Ninth Report of Committee of Commons, on the affairs of, vi, 3. Eleventh Report on, 181; Appendixes to same, 239.
Indian Corn, of New England, ix, 323.
Indians, *Five Nations* of, ix, 341.
Indifference, pleasure, and pain, three states of the mind, i, 75.
Indigo, of Carolina, ix, 377.
Indolence, the prevailing characteristic of the fashionable class of mankind, v, 442.
Industry, dangers of discouraging it, v, 280.
Infinite, artificial, consists of succession and uniformity of parts, i, 113, 172.
Infinity, a source of the sublime, i, 113. In pleasing objects, a cause of pleasure, 116.
Influence of the Crown, operation of it, i, 356.
Inheritance, excellency of the principle of it in the British constitution, iii, 52.
Injury, is quick and rapid, justice is slow, vii, 271; viii, 29.
Innocence, contrasted with guilt, vii, 46.
Innovations; to innovate is not to reform, iv, 294.
Insolvency, who ought to suffer in a case of, iii, 138.
Institutions, ancient judicial ones in England, intended to retard the headlong course of violence and oppression, iii, 140. Soundness of the materials, of more importance than the fashion of the work, in politi-

Digitized by Google

cal institutions, iv, 240. Not subject to the laws that regulate the duration of individuals, 243. How to be established, 244.
Instructions to Representatives, inconsistent with the trust, ii, 11; iii, 360.
Interest of a debt, the only thing that can distress a nation, i, 261.
Interference, of foreign States, iii, 300.
Intolerance, mischief of it, v, 363.
Ireland, danger of a proposed tax upon it, i, 279. Early and uninterrupted participation in the laws and institutions of England, ii, 54. Two letters to the merchants of Bristol, relative to the trade of Ireland, ii, 135. Mr. Burke's defence of his conduct with regard to it, 243. Recent plan for the government of Ireland, iii, 461. The true revolution there, when, 507. State of religion there before the grant of Pope Adrian, v, 272. Letter on the affairs of, in 1797, v, 326. Nature of the grant, 273. Importance of Ireland to Great Britain, 330. Reduction of it by Henry II., 662. Previous condition of it, 664. Nature of the country, 662. Motives which led Adrian IV. to commission Henry II. to reduce it, 670. State of, in 1797, ix, 582; 593; 599; 603.
Irish Catholics, laws against, iii, 463.
Irish Language, names of the letters of it taken from the names of several species of trees, v, 664.
Isocrates, remark of his, in one of his orations against the Sophists, i, 2.
Italy, the original inhabitants, of the same race as the people of northern Europe, v, 454. Its situation from a remote period, 455; exposed to French power, iv, 60.

J.

Jaghires, Indian, nature of them, viii, 253.
Jacobinism by establishment, what, iv, 391; Jacobinism, the revolt of talents against property, *ibid.*
Jacobins, their character, iv, 373; v, 293. Their object, iv, 175. Supposed number in England, iv, 372; v, 84.
Jacquerie, in France, insurrection and subjugation of it, iii, 426.
Jamaica and *Dominica*, ports opened, i, 208. Jamaica discovered, ix, 32.
Jekyl, Sir *Joseph*, extract from his speech at the trial of Dr. Sacheverel, iii, 398, 399. His character, 397.
Jervis, Admiral (Lord St. Vincent) takes the Spanish fleet, ix, 536.
Jesuits' Bark, ix, 174.
Jews, a source of great revenue to William the Conqueror, v, 613.
Job, a passage in that book amazingly sublime, i, 103. The noble description of the war-horse, the wild ass, and the unicorn and leviathan, 106.
John, King of England, brief account of his reign, v, 684.
Joy and Grief, i, 80.
Judgment and Wit, difference between them, i, 64. A coarse discrimination the greatest enemy to an accurate judgment, iv, 259.
Judge, duty of one, vii, 606. Judges ought to be the last to feel the necessities of the state, ii, 220.
Judicature of France, iii, 237.
Juries, not an institution suddenly formed, v, 421. Not instituted by Alfred, *note*, 541; powers of, 414.
Juridical act different from a legislative one, v, 384.
Jurisprudence, nature and importance of the science, iii, 118. Character of it in France, iv, 390. State of the study of it in England, v, 716. Whole frame of it altered since the Conquest, 718.
Justice is slow, injury quick and rapid, vii, 271; viii, 29. General observations on it, viii, 572; the standing policy of civil society, iii, 184.

Digitized by Google

K.

Keppel, Lord, character of him, iv, 322.
Khan, *Ghengiz*, observations on his code, viii, 55.
Kilkenny statutes of, prove the ancient existence of the spirit of the Popery laws, iii, 505.
King, the things in which he has an individual concern, i, 389. Nature of his office, 230. His extensive power, iii, 325.
Kings, naturally lovers of low company, ii, 209. In what sense the servants of the people, iii, 48.
"*King's Men*," or "*King's Friends*," character of the court corporation so called, i, 374.
Knight-Errantry, origin of it, v, 645.

L.

Labor, necessary, why, i, 168. Called by the ancients *instrumentum vocale*, iv, 256. Is that on which a man is most to rely for the repayment of his capital, *ibid.* Ancient classification of it, *ibid.*
Laborer, and Employer, an implied contract always between them, iv, 254. His first and fundamental interest, what, iv, 257.
Laboring Poor, impropriety of the expression, iv, 252, 519.
Lacedemonians, at the head of the aristocratic interests of Greece, iv, 12.
La Fontaine has not an original story, v, 340.
Lafayette, iv, 87, 105, 466; ix, 502, 509.
Lally Tolendal's Letter, iii, 95.
Lancaster, duchy and county palatine of, ii, 173; conduct of Henry IV. relative to them, ii, 176.
Lanfranc, character of him, v, 623.
Landed interests, conduct of the French Republic with regard to them, iv, 13. Landed property, the firm basis of every stable government, iv, 540. Landed estates of the Crown, remarks on, ii, 175.
Landisforn, brief account of it, v, 529.
Langrishe, Sir *Hercules*, letter to, on Irish Catholics, iii, 479. Second letter, v, 297.
Langton, *Stephen*, his appointment to the See of Canterbury through the influence of the Pope, v, 693, 696. Oath administered by him to John on his absolution, 696.
Lauderdale, Earl of, Burke's reply to, iv, 283.
Laurence, Dr. *French*, his Correspondence with Burke, ix, 417; account of him, 420; his opinion of Pitt, 483; his letter to Lord Loughborough on publishing Burke's letters, &c., ix, 638.
Lawful enjoyment, the surest method to prevent unlawful gratification, iii, 492.
Law, remarks on the study of it among the Americans, ii, 36.
Law's, Mississippi scheme, character of it, iii, 275.
Laws of England, essay towards the history of them, v, 715.
Laws, can reach but a little way, i, 370. Their severity tempered by trial by jury, 401. Superseded by occasions of public necessity, ii, 203. Bad ones the worst sort of tyranny, ii, 257. Cannot wholly influence manners, iv, 278. Civil laws not all merely positive, iv, 401. Two things necessary to the solid establishment of them, v, 255. Equity and utility, the two foundations of them, 256. Ought to be in unison with manners, 358. Written in England, in the native language until the Norman conquest, 720. Written in other northern nations in Latin, *ibid.* Reason of this difference, *ibid.*

Digitized by Google

Laws of Canute the Great, remarks on them, v, 722. Review of the sanctions of the ancient Saxon laws, 722. Sources of them, 725. History of the Laws of England, v, 715.
Laws, Mahometan, sources of them, vii, 136.
Laws, Gentoo, sources of them, vii, 138.
"*Law of Neighborhood*," what, iv, 401.
"*Law Suit*," observations on that Comedy, v, 446.
Lawyers, in the French National Assembly, iii, 61.
Learning, an attention to it necessary to Christianity, v, 526. Contributed, in the early ages, to the influence of the clergy, 653.
Lechmere, Mr. extract from his speech at the trial of Dr. Sacheverel, iii, 382, 384, 398.
Legislative right, not to be exercised without regard to the general opinion of those who are to be governed, ii, 118. A legislative act different from a juridical one, v, 384.
Legislation, important problem in it, iv, 278.
Legislators, bound only by the great principles of reason and equity, and the general sense of mankind, ii, 81. Character of a wise legislator, iii, 197. His duties, iv, 278; v, 253. The mode of proceeding of the ancient legislators, iii, 214.
Legislature, true end of it, what, ii, 118; iii, 391. Rights of it, with regard to the succession of the crown, iii, 401.
Leland, Doctor, his able refutation of infidelity, v, 363.
Length, too great in buildings, prejudicial to grandeur of effect, i, 116.
Letters (Burke's) to the Sheriffs of Bristol, ii, 87; his Two Letters to Gentlemen in Bristol, respecting Ireland, ii, 135; to William Elliott, Esq. on the Duke of Bedford's attack, iv, 229; on the Regicide Peace, iv, 329; to the Empress of Russia, v, 101; to Fox, on the American war, v, 115; to the Marquis of Rockingham, v, 124; to an Irish Peer, on laws against the Catholics, iii, 459; to Sir Hercules Langrishe, on Irish Catholics, 479; v, 297.
Levelers, iii, 69.
Libel, parts of it, what, v, 419.
Libeling, not the crime of an illiterate people, v, 417. Power of juries in, 414.
Liberty and Commerce, the two main sources of power to Great Britain, ii, 5. Mistakes about liberty, 121. Cannot long exist where the people are generally corrupt, 131. Necessity of regulating it, iii, 25, 52. How men are qualified for it, iii, 327. Mr. Burke's declaration of his ideas concerning it, 362; v, 306. Difficulty of a contrivance fitted to unite public and private liberty, iii, 454. Review of the causes of the Revolution in favor of it in the reign of King John, v, 714.
Light, produces an idea of greatness, i, 119. When excessive, resembles darkness in its effects, 120. Light and riant colors unfavorable to the sublime, 121.
Lima, city of, ix, 181.
Limerick, treaty of, observations on it, v, 275.
Literary Cabal, in France, iii, 134, 137.
Liturgy of the Established Church, alteration in it, v, 348.
Locke, Remark on Wit and Judgment, 64; on the church, v, 352; an opinion of his concerning pleasure and pain, considered, i, 77; his opinion concerning darkness considered, 176.
Longinus, a remark of his on the effect of sublime passages in the works of orators and poets, i, 93.
Lords, House of, affected alarm at a supposed intrenchment by it on the

Digitized by Google

balance of the Constitution in the reign of George II. i, 367. Influence of it, *ibid.* The feeblest part of the Constitution, iv, 182.
Loudness, a source of the sublime, i, 122.
Louis XIV. his conduct at the peace of Ryswick; reason given by him for the revocation of the edict of Nantz, v, 260. His dislike to his minister Louvois, iii, 232.
Louis XVI. barbarous treatment experienced by him at the Revolution, iii, 91, 93, 97, 300. Unjustly called an arbitrary monarch; degraded office to which he was appointed by the revolutionists, iii, 230, iv, 299. Not the first cause of the evils by which he suffered, iv, 438. His character, iv, 448. Character of his brothers, iv, 99.
Louisiana, relinquished to Spain, i, 236.
Love, its origin and nature, i, 85. The physical cause of it, what, 182. Observations on the love of parents to their children. viii, 228.
Lucretius, passages from him, illustrative of the theory of the sublime, i, 109, 202.
Luxury, some good consequences of it, i, 338. A tax on it, the only contribution that can be called voluntary, iv, 515.

M.

Macartney, Lord. ii, 463.
Machiavel, an observation of his on war, i, 12. A maxim of his, v, 43.
Mackintosh's Vindiciæ Gallicæ, Burke's conjecture as to its political character, ix, 606.
Madmen, singular fact concerning them accounted for, i, 114.
Magna Charta, observations on it, iii, 50, 500. Origin and nature of it, v, 703.
Magnanimity in politics often the truest wisdom, ii, 82.
Magnificence, a source of the sublime, i, 117.
Magnitude, in buildings necessary to the sublime, i, 116.
Mahomet's conquests, iv, 446.
Mahomet Rheza Khan, arrested by Mr. Hastings, vii, 298; reinstated in his offices, viii, 460. Mahometan government, character of it, vii, 123. Progress of the doctrines of Mahomet in Hindostan, vii, 59.
Mahometan laws, sources of them, vii, 136; viii, 58.
Majority, in a commonwealth, what, iii, 421. Not true that in all contests the decision will be in their favor, v, 377. See *Multitudes*.
Malesherbes, murdered by the French revolutionists, v, 40.
Malmesbury, Lord, 475, 489, 495, 501, 503; ix, 494.
Malvoisins, what, v, 644.
Man, becomes in his progress through life, a creature of habit and opinions, ii, 125; viii, 381; a religious animal, iii, 113.
Mango Capac, Inca of Peru, ix, 99.
Manifestoes, on what occasion commonly made, iv, 79. Matters usually contained in them, *ibid.*
Manilla ransom, remarks on it, i, 325.
Manners, while they remain entire, correct the vices of law, ii, 100. Corrupted by civil wars, *ibid.* Maintained in Europe for ages by the spirit of nobility and of religion, iii, 100. In England, influenced by France, 102. Had done alone in England what institutions and manners together had done in France, iv, 17. Statesmen ought to know what appertains to them, 278. Of more importance than laws, iv, 392. Laws ought to harmonize with them, v, 358.
Mansfield, Lord, his declaration on rules of evidence, vii, 589.

Digitized by Google

Mara, an ancient Saxon goddess, v, 519.
Maratta, invaded by the East India Company, ii, 307. Treaty with them, 308.
Marie Antoinette, queen of France, her fortitude under ill treatment, iii, 97. Animated description of her, in youth, *ibid.*
Marriage, importance of the Christian doctrine concerning it, iv, 393. Endeavors of the French National Assembly to desecrate it, 394. Restraints upon it in the reign of King John, v, 706. Speech on Marriage Act, v, 431.
Marriage Act, principles upon which it is founded, v, 431.
Martinico, described, ix, 231.
Maryland, ix, 363.
Massachusetts Bay, province of, ix, 312.
Mathematical and metaphysical reasoning different from moral, v, 390.
Matrimony, its objects, v, 431.
Mazarin, Cardinal, not loved by Louis XIV. iii, 232. Saying of his on settling the match between Louis XIV. and a daughter of Spain, v, 15.
Mediterranean Sea, importance to England of keeping a strong naval force there, iv, 482.
Meer Jaffier, appointed Nabob of Bengal, vii, 71.
Merchants, English, first consulted, i, 208; evidence given by them to Parliament, respecting America, i, 318, 323.
Mercy, not opposed to *Justice*, iv, 127; v, 201. Consists not in the weakness of the means, but in the benignity of the ends, v, 138.
Merlot, John, letter to, 1780, v, 189.
Metaphysician, nothing harder than the heart of a thorough bred one, iv, 317.
Mexico, kingdom of, ix, 60; trade of, 159.
Middlesex Election, speech on, v, 382.
Migration, in early times, caused by pasturage and hunting, v, 462. And by wars, *ibid.*
Militia, probable origin of it, v, 672.
Military life, observation on it, iv, 516.
Military officer, the qualifications of an able one, iv, 517.
Milton, his admirable description of Death, i, 100. His celebrated portrait of Satan, 102. His fine description of the Deity, 120. Example from him of the beautiful in sounds, 159. Of noble painting, 204.
Ministers, conduct of several, during the French Revolution, iv, 41. British, to be controlled by the House of Commons, 188.
Minority, advantages possessed by a discontented one over the majority, iv, 372. Conduct of the, in 1793, 143.
Misletoe, why venerated by the Druids, v, 474.
Moderate Men, the, in France, iii, 327.
Modes of life, advantages of them, iii, 184. Injustice of disturbing them, *ibid.*
Modesty, excellence of it, i, 146; iv, 247. Ought to be regulated, *ibid.*
Mogul Empire, Charter granted by it to the East India Company, ii, 393, *note;* vii, 24.
Mogul, the Great, sold by the East India Company, ii, 303. Treaty with him alleged to be broken by them, 306. Conspiracy to murder his son, vii, 80.
Mohun, Lord, extract from the account of his trial, vii, 547.
Mona, (the Island of Anglesea) the principal residence of the Druids in the beginning of the reign of Nero, v, 483. Reduced by Suetonius Paulinus, 483.

Digitized by Google

Monsieur, brother of Louis XVIth, iv, 98.
Monarchy, preferred by Bolingbroke to other governments, iii, 151. One of its characters, to have no local seat, iv, 100.
Monasteries, advantages of the early ones, iii, 188; v, 525.
Money, the value of it how to be judged, iv, 509.
Monied Companies, dangerous to tax great ones, i, 293. Ought to be allowed to set a value on their money, iv, 510.
Monied interests, when formidable to a government, iii, 133.
Monckton, General, i, 223.
Monk, General, character of the army commanded by him, iii, 313.
Monopoly of authority, an evil; of capital, a benefit, iv, 265.
Monson, Colonel, ii, 353.
Montesquieu, his remark on the legislators of antiquity, iii, 215. Character of him, iii, 454. His erroneous character of the people of India, viii, 50.
Montezuma, prince of Mexico, ix, 60; made prisoner by Cortes, 65.
Moral order of things, the view of great disasters in it attended with similar advantages to those which we derive from a contemplation of miracles in the physical, iii, 103. Moral questions never abstract, v, 378. Moral reasoning different from mathematical, 390; iii, 349.
Moral duties, not necessary that the reasons of the practice of them should be clear to all, i, 4.
Mortality, a general one, always a time of remarkable wickedness, v, 399.
Mounier, and *Lally*, iii, 317.
Multitudes, shouting of a great one, a cause of the sublime, i, 122. A majority of the multitude, *told by the head*, not the PEOPLE, iii, 431.
Munny Begum, a dancing girl, her history, vii, 308; appointed by Mr. Hastings to succeed Mahomet Rheza Khan, viii, 427.
Music, observation concerning the beautiful in it, i, 159.

N.

Nabob of Arcot (Mahomet Ali) the Subah of Deccan and other provinces sold to him by the East India Company, ii, 305. Nature of his debts, 429, 437, 450.
Nabob of Oude, treatment of him by the East India Company, ii, 317.
Nantz, edict of, reason assigned by Louis XIV. for the revocation of it, and observations on it, v, 260.
Naples, how likely to be affected by the Revolution in France, iv, 24.
Nation, state of it in 1770, i, 349. Speculation of the ministry on the cause of it, 351. Animadversions on them, 352.
"*Nation, Present State of the*," animadversions on a pamphlet so called, i, 213. Purpose of it, i, 217.
National Assembly of France, corresponds with the Revolution Society of London, iii, 23. Character of it, 61, 193. Studies recommended by it to the youth of France, iii, 304. Endeavors to imitate Rousseau, *ibid.*
Natural Society, Vindication of, i, 1; what it is, 8.
Nature, state of, inconveniences of it, i, 8.
Nature, the social, impels a man to propagate his principles, iv, 434.
Navigation, of Great Britain, i, 228; Act of, observations on it, i, 301.
Navy, the great danger of economical experiments upon it, i, 275.
Necessity, invincible, remarks on it, iv, 506.
Necker, his estimate of French debt, iii, 143.
Negro Slaves, remarks on all attempts to excite an insurrection among them by proclamation in the colonies, v, 140.

Digitized by Google

Negro Code, sketch of it in 1792, v, 204.
Negroes in the West Indies, ix, 293; 298; instruction of them in religion, 300.
Neighborhood, law of, what, iv, 401.
Netherlands, French influence there, iv, 30.
Neutrals in politics, iv, 107.
New England, described, ix, 322; charters, and history, 325.
Newfoundland, view of the trade with it, i, 254; described, ix, 398.
New Jersey, ix, 337; 342.
New Spain. See *Spain New*.
Newspapers, powerful influence of them, in producing the Revolution in France, iv, 17.
New York, (New Netherlands) ix, 337; city of, 340.
Nezzar, or *Nezzeranah*, what, vii, 288.
Night, a cause of the sublime, i, 99, 121.
Noailles, Vicomte de, iv, 106.
Nobility of France, character of, iii, 163; clamor against them, an artifice, 165.
Non-Intervention, principle of, falsely applied by European powers, iv, 65.
Norman conquest, extraordinary facility of it, v, 555. Attempt to account for it, 556. The great era of the English laws, 726.
Normandy, reunion of it to the crown of France, v, 690.
North, Lord, observations on his character, iv, 290; v, 173.
North Carolina, ix, 381.
Nouvelle Heloise of Rousseau, iii, 309, 311.
Nova Scotia, ix, 394.
Novelty, the first and simplest source of pleasure to the mind, i, 74.
Nundcomar, Rajah, hanged, ii, 355; accuses Mr. Hastings of corruption, &c. vii, 166; viii, 95; Burke's charge of Hastings's murdering him, vii, 405.
Nuzzer. See *Nezzar*.

O.

Oak, the, why venerated by the Druids, v, 473.
Oath, The coronation, observations on it with respect to the Roman Catholics, iii, 495.
Obscurity, generally necessary to produce an impression of terror or sublimity, i, 99. Why more affecting than clearness, 100.
Observations on the Conduct of the Minority, in 1793, iv, 143.
Obstinacy, though a great and very mischievous vice, closely allied to the masculine virtues, i, 484.
October 6, 1789, the morning of, in France, iii, 93.
Office, men too much conversant in it, have rarely enlarged minds, i, 461, 462.
Offices, the meanest, why held in feudal times by considerable persons, ii, 182; taxes on, ii, 165.
Officers, military, nature of the fortitude required of them, iv, 520.
Olive-Branch, an American vessel, case of the, ix, 595.
Opinion, popular, an equivocal test of merit, iv, 291. The generality of it not to be judged of by the noise of the acclamation, 373. Public opinion, the basis of authority, ii, 118; v, 135, 402.
Opinions, men impelled to propagate their own by the social nature, iv, 434. Frequently guide and direct the affections, iv, 468; and actions, v, 369. The interest and duty of government to attend much to them, v, 369.

Digitized by Google

Opium, trade in, vi, 97.
Opossum, the, of Virginia, ix, 353.
Oppression, the poorest and most illiterate, proper judges of it, iii, 512.
Orange, prince of, (afterwards William III.) extracts from his Declaration, iii, 402.
Ordeal, purgation by it, v, 582.
Oude, extent and government of it, viii, 188. Nabob of, ii, 326; princesses of, vi, 334.

P.

Pain, pleasure, and indifference, the three states of the mind, i, 75. Difference between the removal of it and positive pleasure, 77. Cause of it, 164. How a cause of delight, 167. A source of the Sublime, 126.
Paine Thomas, remarks on his character, iv, 233; v, 57.
Painting and Poetry, when the pleasures arising from either spring from the pleasures of imitation, and when from those of sympathy, i, 92.
Panama, account of, ix, 199.
Pandulph, the Pope's legate, his politic dealing with king John, v, 696. Parallel between his conduct to king John, and that of the Roman Consuls to the Carthaginians in the last Punic war, 698.
Papal pretensions, origin of them, v, 640.
Papal power, uniform steadiness of it in the pursuit of its ambitious projects, v, 694.
Papal States, how likely to be affected by the Revolution in France, iv, 24.
Paper Currency of the Colonies, ix, 414.
Papers, private, seizure of, condemned, i, 207.
Paraguay, account of, ix, 189. The Jesuits' government of, 191.
Parliament, remarks on it, ii, 388. Power of dissolving it, the most critical and delicate of trusts vested in the crown, *ibid.* Disadvantages of triennial parliaments, v, 394. On the duration of, v, 232; 388.
Parliaments of France, character of, iii, 238. Observations on their subversion, viii, 572.
Parliamentary disorders, ideas for the cure of them, i, 213.
Parsimony, a leaning towards it in war may be the worst management, i, 245; parsimony is not economy, iv, 301; a short sighted one, injurious, iv, 509.
Party divisions inseparable from free government, i, 213. Character of a party, 425. Mischievous tendency of them, iv, 306.
Passions, all belong either to self-preservation or society, i, 81. Final cause of the difference between those that belong to self-preservation and those which regard the society of the sexes, 84. Those which belong to self-preservation turn upon pain and danger, 93. An indulgence of them incompatible with freedom, iii, 326. Strong ones awaken the faculties, iv, 374. Do not always indicate an infirm judgment, 472. Passions which interest men in the characters of others, v, 443.
Pasturage and Hunting weaken those ties which attach men to any particular habitation, v, 462.
Patagonia described, ix, 198.
Paulus, observations of his, on law, v, 257.
Peace, requisites of a good one, i, 232. A judgment may be formed of what it is likely to be, from the steps that are made to bring it about, iv, 346. A good ground of it never laid until it has been nearly concluded, 353. An arrangement of it in its nature a permanent settlement, 424.

Digitized by Google

People, accurate idea of the term, iii, 420; the prey of impostors, iii, 292. Danger of an abuse of it, iv, 84. Temper of them the chief study of a statesman, i, 350. Not always blamable in time of public disorders, 353. Generally fifty years behind-hand in their politics, 354. A connexion with their interests a necessary qualification of a minister, 380. Sense of them how to be ascertained by the King, 383. Ought to have the power to protect their representatives, 404. Liberty cannot long exist where they are generally corrupt, ii, 131. People of England love a mitigated monarchy more than even a good republic, iii, 403. Danger of teaching them to disregard their moral obligations to their governors, 414. The natural control on authority, 416. *People of France*, who are the, iv, 84. Dangerous tendency of a power capable of resisting even their erroneous choice of an object, v, 234. Points in which they are incompetent to give advice to their representatives, v, 391.

Penal statute of William III. against the Papists, repeal of it, ii, 254, 258.

Penn, William, ix, 343.

Pennsylvania, province of, ix, 337; variety of people and religions, 345.

Perfection not the cause of beauty, i, 145.

Perry, Rt. Hon. Edmund, letter to, 1778, v, 161.

Persecution, religious, an observation of Mr. Bayle on it, v, 264. General observations on it, v, 310; ix, 313.

Persecutor, a violent one, frequently an unbeliever in his own creed, v, 79.

Peru, empire of, ix, 97, 170; city of, 180. Peruvian bark, 175. Peruvians, character of, 177.

Peshcush, what, vii, 288.

Peters, Hugh, remarks on his sermon, iii, 87.

Petition of Right, recognises the inheritable nature of the English Crown, iii, 51.

Philadelphia, described, ix, 348.

Philosophical inquiries, how to be conducted, and use of them, *Preface to Sublime and Beautiful*, i.

Physic, the profession of it, in ancient times, annexed to the priesthood, v, 473.

Physiognomy has a considerable share in the beauty of the human species, i, 154.

Picts, the, v, 499; Picts' Wall, 499, 505.

Pilgrimages, early advantages of them, v, 527.

Pilgrim's Progress, remark on, i, 67.

Pitt, Mr., remarks on his conduct, iv, 189. His admirable *Declaration* on the war with the French republic, 367, *note*. Eulogy of his speech on the war with France, iv, 458; his unwise course, ix, 513.

Pizarro, in Peru, ix, 97; his quarrel with Almagro, 105; his death, 114.

Place Bill, proposed remedy for Parliamentary disorders, i, 416.

Plagues, in Athens and in London, wickedness remarkably prevalent during their continuance, v, 399.

Pleasure and Pain, observations on them, i, 75. Pleasure, pain, and indifference, three states of the mind, *ibid.*

Poetry more powerful than painting in moving the passions, i, 101. Does not depend for its effect on the raising of sensible images, 193; this exemplified, 198. Affects rather by sympathy than imitation, 202. Descriptive poetry operates chiefly by substitution, *ibid.*

Poland, character of the revolution there, iii, 441. Contrasted with the revolution in France, iv, 20, 28; partition of, 441.

Digitized by Google

Policy, a refined one, the parent of confusion, ii, 21. Inseparable from justice, iii, 184.
Political Economy had its origin in England, iv. 298.
Political connexion, held honorable in the ancient commonwealths, i, 424. An injudicious or mischievous system not necessarily of short duration, iv, 37.
Politician, duty of a true one, iii, 278.
Politics ought to be adjusted to human nature, i, 317. Different in different ages, 354. Unsuitable to the pulpit, iii, 29.
Polybius, anecdote concerning him, iii, 514.
Poor, the laboring, their poverty owing to their numbers, iv, 252; proper compassion for them, what, iv, 252, 519.
Pope, the, his disputes with Henry I. v, 640. Treatment of him by the French Revolutionists, iv, 480. His motives for giving Henry II. a commission to conquer Ireland, v, 664.
Popery Laws, (Ireland) tracts on, v, 237; letter on, to W. Smith, 288.
Popular election, remarks on, v, 389.
Popular opinion, an equivocal test of merit, iv, 291.
Population, rapid increase of it in America, ii, 24. State of it, a certain standard by which to estimate the effects of a government on any country, iii, 153. Review of the state of it in France, *ibid.* Effects of peace and war on it compared, iv, 519, 520.
Portugal, out of the road of French politics, iv, 27.
Portuguese in America, character of, ix, 218. State of their slaves, 219.
Porunda, treaty of, broken by Mr. Hastings, viii, 565.
Power, all sublimity a modification of it, i, 104. Originates wholly from God, vii, 117. Incompatible with credit, i, 293. The civil power, when it calls in the aid of the military, perishes by the aid it receives, i, 388. Arbitrary power steals upon a people, by being rarely exercised, ii, 99. Persons possessed of power ought to have a strong sense of religion, iii, 116. Dissensions in the commonwealth mostly concerning the hands in which power is to be placed, 415. Necessity of teaching men to restrain the immoderate desire and exercise of it, *ibid.* Active power never placed by wise legislators in the hands of the multitude, 416. Danger of a resumption of it by the people, 420. Not always connected with property, iv, 34. The possession of it discovers a man's true character, iv, 435. Men will make the greatest sacrifices to obtain it, v, 397. The supreme power in every constitution must be absolute, vii, 120. Ends to which a superintending controlling power ought to be directed, viii, 224.
Pownall, Governor, i, 298.
Prejudice, cannot be created, v, 292.
Prerogative, remarks on the exercise of it, ii, 118.
Presbyterianism, remarks on it, iv, 117.
Prescription, part of the law of nature, iii, 179. The most recognised title in jurisprudence, v, 324, 405.
Present State of the Nation, observations on, i, 210.
Price, Doctor, observations on his sermon, iii, 27, 47, 74, 83, 102; declarations of, v, 380.
Price of commodities, how raised, iv, 259. Danger of attempting to raise it by authority, 258.
Priestley, declarations of, as to the church, v, 380.
Primogeniture, right of, impolicy of taking it away, iii, 407; v, 239.
Principal of a debt cannot distress a nation, i, 261.
Principalities, the, Mr. Burke's proposal to unite them to the crown, ii, 174.

Digitized by Google

Probert, John, ii, 171.
Profit, an honest and fair one, the best security against avarice and rapacity, ii, 207.
Property ought to predominate over ability in the Representation, iii, 71. Importance of the power of perpetuating it, *ibid.* Not inseparably connected with power, iv, 34.
Proportion, what, i, 132. Not the cause of beauty in vegetables, 128. Nor in animals, 131. Nor in the human species, 132. Whence the notion of it arose, 138.
Proprietary Governments, in the American colonies, ix, 409.
Prosperity discovers the real character of a man, iii, 302. A constant prejudice in favor of it, iv, 95.
Protestant Association, animadversions on it, ii, 253.
Protestant Ascendancy, observations on it, v, 307.
Protestant, in what sense the state was declared so, at the Revolution, iii, 492. Protestantism, not then undefined, 493.
Protestants, errors of the early ones, ii, 254. Misconduct of those in the south of France at the French Revolution, iv, 116.
Provisions, trade of, danger of tampering with it, iv, 251.
Prudence, the first in rank of the political and moral virtues, iii, 349. Its rules and definitions seldom exact, never universal, iv, 338.
Prussia, policy of, iv, 113.
Psalms, abound in instances of the union of a sacred awe with our ideas of the Deity, i, 109.
Public affairs, state of them previous to the formation of the Rockingham administration, i, 302. Public men not all equally corrupt, ii, 129. Public service, means of rewarding it necessary in every state, 204.
Punishment, considerations necessary to be observed in inflicting it, iv, 128. Inflicted by the Saxons, iv, 126; v, 588. Remarks on the nature of it, *ibid.*
Puritans, in New England, ix, 306; settlement at Plymouth, 310.
Purveyance and *receipt in kind*, what, ii, 184. Taken away by Charles II. 185. And afterwards revived, *ibid.*
Pythagoras, his discipline contrasted with that of Socrates, v, 469. Silence why enjoined by him, *ibid.*

Q.

Quakerism, aristocratic, v, 380; quakers persecuted, ix, 314.
Queen of France. See *Marie Antoinette*.
Quicksilver Mines, of America, ix, 177.
Quito, city of, ix, 183.

R.

Raleigh, Sir *Walter*, addressed in harsh language on his trial, by Lord Coke, viii, 24; in America, ix, 357.
Ransom, by auction (in American taxation) method of it impracticable, ii, 74.
Raymond, Count of Tholouse, engages in the Crusade, v, 630.
Reason, sound, no real virtue without it, iii, 304. Never inconvenient but when it comes to be applied, v, 258.
Reasoners, men often the worse reasoners for having been ministers, i, 268.
Reform, in government should be early and temperate, ii, 163. And slow, iii, 197. Economical, speech on, ii, 151.
Reform in representation of the House of Commons, v, 402.

Digitized by Google

Reformation, different from change, iv, 294. Observations on it, v, 232; iii, 197, 373.
Reformation, The, observations on it, ii, 253. Effects of it, iv, 10.
Reformations, in England, have all proceeded upon the principle of reference to antiquity, iii, 52.
Reformers, English, conduct of them, iii, 177.
"*Reflections on the French Revolution*," iii, 21; submitted to revision of Dr. Laurence, ix, 419.
Regicide, by establishment, what, iv, 391.
Regicide Peace, Three Letters on, iv, 329, 419, 453. Fourth Letter on, v, 15.
Religion, the Christian, overcame all opposition, v, 356. The magistrate has a right to direct the exterior ceremonies of it, 360. Writers against it, never set up any of their own, i, 4. Effects of it on the colonists of America, ii, 43. The basis of civil society, and the source of all good, and of all comfort, iii, 113. Respected in England, 116. A strong sense of it necessary to those in power, 123. Mischievous consequences of changing it, except under strong conviction, iv, 115.
Religious opinions, not the only cause of enthusiasm, iv, 434.
"*Remarks on the Policy of the Allies*," in 1793, iv, 77.
Repetition of the same story, effects of it, iv, 17.
Report of the Committee of the Commons, in relation to Precedents and the Course of Proceedings, in Impeachments, vii, 521. *Appendix* to Report, 623.
Representation, of America in the British Parliament, impossible, i, 296. Ought to represent the ability as well as the property of a state, iii, 71. Comparison between the representation of England, and that of France in the National Assembly, 218. *Virtual* representation, what, iii, 521. *Natural*, what, iv, 372.
Representation to his Majesty on the speech from the Throne, ii, 375.
Representative, his duty to his constituents, ii, 10, 12, 164.
Republican Government, remarks on, iii, 371.
Reputation, public, how to be preserved, vii, 13.
Resemblance, pleasing to the imagination, i, 64.
Resolutions, moved by Burke, respecting America, ii, 82.
Responsibility, nature of it, iii, 234; iv, 553.
Revenge, observations on it, viii, 27.
Revenue, great importance of it to a state, iii, 260. Demands great ability for its management, *ibid.* Of France, iii, 143, 260.
Revolution, of 1688, diminished influence of the Crown, at that time how compensated, i, 357. Brief remarks on it, iii, 13, 348. Principles of it in the *Declaration of Right*, 34.
Revolution in France, general observations on it, iii, 54; compared with that of England, in 1688, 13; characterized as a revolution of *doctrine and theoretic dogma*, iv, 10; as relates to foreign states, iv, 419.
Revolution Society, correspond with the National Assembly of France, iii, 23. Its origin and character, *ibid.*
Reynolds, Sir *Joshua*, an excellent observation of his on taste, iii, 455.
Rice, of Carolina, ix, 376.
Rich, their duties stated, iv, 252; dependent on the poor, *ibid.*
Richard I. brief account of his reign, v, 674. Parallel between him and Charles XII. of Sweden, 683.
Richelieu, Cardinal, hated by Louis XIII. iii, 232.
Rider's Almanac, referred to, v, 17.
Rights, presumed, their effects of great weight in deciding on their validity, iii, 432.

Digitized by Google

"*Rights of Men*," theory of, animadversions on it, iii, 79, 434. The rights of men often sophistically confounded with their power, 83.
Rio Janeiro, ix, 216.
Rioters of 1780, letters respecting their executions, v, 193.
Robespierre, his character, iv, 105; v, 59.
Rochefoucault, Cardinal, and Duke of, iii, 139.
Rochford, Lord, his conduct with regard to Corsica, i, 386.
Rockingham, Marquis of, formation of his administration, i, 302. State of public affairs at the time, 303. Character and conduct of it, 309. Ideas of it with regard to America, 321. His lordship's conduct in American affairs, 467, 471. Burke's letter to, v, 124.
Roland, character of him, iv, 200.
Rohilla War, vi, 257.
Rollo, a Danish chief, v, 556.
Roman Catholics, Mr. Burke's defence of his Parliamentary conduct with regard to them, ii, 252. Letter on the penal laws against them, iii, 459. Mode of education necessary for their clergy, 467. Condition of the clergy before the restraints on marriage, 469. Mischievous effects of placing the appointment of the Irish Roman catholic clergy in the hands of the Lord Lieutenant, 469.
Roman politics, under the Emperors different from those which actuated the Republic, v, 489. Procurators under the Emperors, why invested with greater powers than the Legates, 493. Military ways, origin, nature, and extent of them, 496. Nature of the revenues, 497.
Romans, methods by which they held their dominion over conquered nations, v, 492.
Rome, ancient, examples from its history to show the danger of an attempt to feed the people out of the hands of the magistrates, iv, 269. Destroyed by the disorders of continual elections, v, 397. And by its heavy taxes, 498. Bounds of the Empire first contracted by Adrian, 499. The third great change after the dissolution of the Commonwealth, what, 504.
Rota, in the French Republic, remarks on it, iv, 35.
Rotund, grand effect of it, i, 114. Accounted for, *ibid.*
Rousseau, iii, 108; 304. Mr. Hume's account from himself of the secret of his principles of composition, iii, 200. The leaders in the National Assembly endeavor to imitate him, iii, 304. Vanity his prevailing passion, 305. Brief character of him, 306. Totally destitute of taste, 309. His reprehensible ideas on the passions in the *Nouvelle Eloise*, 308, 309. Character of his style, 310.
Royalists of France, iv, 92.
Russell, Baron, the first, his character, iv, 306. See *Bedford*.
Russia, treaty made with, i, 208; how far liable to revolution, iv, 28; Burke's letter to the Empress of, v, 101; the Emperor of, his character, iv, 483.
Russian treaty of commerce, i, 328.

S.

Sacheverel, Doctor, impeachment of him carried on by the Whigs for the purpose of stating the principles of the Revolution, iii, 390. Extracts from his trial, 382.
Salaries, observations on a tax upon them, ii, 166.
Saladin, Sultan of Egypt, Palestine reduced by him, v, 676. Defeated by Richard I. 677.

Digitized by Google

Salem, in New England, ix, 317.
Sallust, remarks on his finely contrasted characters of Cæsar and Cato, i, 147.
Salt, monopolized by the French government, i, 264.
Salt, the trade in, in India, vi, 119.
Saltpetre, trade in, in India, vi, 142.
Santerre, his brutal conduct to Louis XVI. v, 92.
Saracens, their character and operations, v, 594.
Sarum, Old, ii, 184.
Saunders, Sir Charles, i, 223.
Saville, Sir *George*, his character, ii, 259. His act for the repeal of a penal statute of William III. 258.
Saxony, Elector of, as affected by France, iv, 29.
Saxons, a brief account of their laws and institutions, v, 510. Wholly altered in England since the Conquest 718. Sources of them, 725. The question whether the crown was elective or hereditary, discussed, 568.
Scarcity, thoughts and details on it, iv, 249. Policy of Government in times of, 269.
Scotland, beneficial effects of its union with England, ii, 141. Remarks on the Church of Scotland, iii, 493.
Scripture, indefinite nature of subscription to it, v, 351.
Scythians, what part of Europe inhabited by them, v, 454.
Selden, his observations on *witnesses*, vii, 609.
Self-preservation, the strongest of all the passions, i, 81. The sublime, an idea belonging to it, 126. See *Passions*.
Senate, none, in French Constitution, iii, 229.
Senses, general remarks on them, i, 59.
Serpent, why an object of veneration, v, 474.
Shakspeare, his description of the king's army in Henry IV. an example of the sublime, i, 118.
Shaw, Allum, vi, 268.
Sheridan's attack on Burke, iii, 16.
Sheriffs of Bristol, Burke's Letter to, ii, 87.
"*Short Account of a Short Administration*," i, 207.
Silence, why enjoined by Pythagoras and the Druids, v, 469.
Silk Trade of Bengal, vi, 70.
Silures, of ancient Britain, v, 481.
Sirach, son of, fine example of the sublime from his Book of Wisdom, i, 118.
Slave-Trade, abolition of, iv, 204.
Slavery of the Indians in America, ix, 178.
Slaves, not so beneficial to their masters as freemen, iv, 262.
Smallness, as a source of beauty, i, 189.
Smells, remarks on, i, 124. Taste and smell, their agreement, i, 160.
Smith, Sir *Sydney*, observations on his conduct, iv, 466.
Smith, William, Letter to, on the Popery laws, v, 288.
Smoothness, why beautiful, i, 183.
Social nature impels a man to propagate his principles, iv, 434.
Society, natural, what, i, 87. Notion of, how first taught, *ibid*. Political society, what, *ibid*, iii, 120. Its continuance under a permanent covenant, iii, 118. Society and solitude compared, 86. Great object of it, what, v, 265.
Socrates, his discipline contrasted with that of Pythagoras, v, 469.
Solitude, something may be done in it for the benefit of society, iv, 244.
Somers, Lord, the *Declaration of Right* framed by him, iii, 36.

Digitized by Google

Sophia, the Princess, why named in the Act of Settlement as the root of inheritance to the kings of England, iii, 42.
Sophia, St., church of, anecdote of the Greeks assembled there when Mahomet II. entered Constantinople, v, 87.
Sound, a source of the sublime, i, 122. Grand effect of a single one repeated at short intervals, 123. Intermitting one, productive of the sublime, 123. The beautiful in sounds, 158.
Spain, how likely to be affected by the Revolution in France, iv, 25, 61, 112. Not a substantive power, iv, 62.
Spain, New, people and government of, ix, 166.
Speciousness and elegance, i, 156.
Speech, by Mr. Burke on American taxation, i, 433. On his arrival at Bristol, ii, 1. To the electors of Bristol on being elected, 7. On moving the resolution for a conciliation with the colonies, 15. On economical reform, 151. At the Guildhall in Bristol, relative to his parliamentary conduct, 233. In Parliament on Mr. Fox's East India Bill, ii, 289. On the Nabob of Arcot's debts, 407. On the Army Estimates, iii, 3. At Bristol, 1780, on declining the poll, ii, 283. On the Acts of Uniformity, v, 341. On the Bill for the relief of Protestant Dissenters, 355. On the Petition of the Unitarians, 367. On the Middlesex election, 382. On a Bill for shortening the duration of Parliaments, 388. On the Reform of the Representation in the House of Commons, 402. On the powers of Juries in prosecutions for Libels, 414. On the Bill for repealing the Marriage Act, v, 431. On the Bill for restraining dormant claims of the Church, 436. Speeches in Westminster Hall at the trial of Warren Hastings, Esq., vii, 11—519. Speeches in Westminster Hall, in reply to the defence of Warren Hastings, Esq., viii, 9—574.
Spelman, difficulties overcome by him in the study of the law, v, 717.
Spon, Mr. his curious story of Campanella, i, 165.
Spring, the, why the pleasantest of the seasons, i, 117.
Stafford, Lord, extract from his trial, ii, 546.
Stamp Act, American, origin and progress of it, i, 307; opposed, i, 309. Repealed, 310. Motives for the repeal, 312, 320. Good effects of the repeal, 320.
Standing Army, in France, iii, 12.
Stanhope, General, extract from his speech at the trial of Doctor Sacheverel, iii, 386.
Starry Heaven, why productive of the idea of grandeur, i, 117.
State, the, meaning of the term, iii, 485. Important considerations respecting the question of vesting in it some one description of citizens, 487.
States, varieties in their progress to perfection and decay, iv, 332. Not necessarily subject to the laws which determine the duration of individuals, *ibid.* Those which bound their efforts only with their being must give law to those which will not push their opposition beyond their convenience, 336.
States General of France, iii, 61; *Instructions* to them, 152; 325.
Statesmen should chiefly study the temper of the people i, 350. Character of an able one, iii, 184; iv, 278. Differ from professors in the universities, v, 367.
Stephen, king, v, 642.
Stonehenge, grand, why, i, 117. Observations on it, v, 470.
Stones, rude ones, why objects of veneration v, 474.
Strafford, Earl of, a protestation of the House of Commons on his trial, vii, 532, 609. Remarks on the prosecution, 613.

Digitized by Google

Sublime and Beautiful, an inquiry into the origin of our ideas of them, i, 57. Stand on very different foundations, 149. Comparison between them, 160. On the efficient cause of them, 162. How produced, 167.
Sublime, the strongest emotion of the mind, i, 82. Its cause, *ibid.* Its nature, 98. The sublime and beautiful compared, 160. An idea belonging to self-preservation, 126. Why produced by visual objects of great dimensions, 170.
Succession, effects of it in visual objects explained, i, 174. The principle of hereditary succession recognised at the Revolution, iii, 37. See *Uniformity*.
Suddenness, a source of the sublime, i, 122.
Sujah ul Dowlah's family persecuted by Hastings, viii, 364.
Suffering, all must be prepared for it who aspire to act greatly, iv, 345.
Sugar, in the West Indies, ix, 282.
Sully, M. *de*, an observation of his on revolutions in a state, i, 354.
Sullivan, agent of the Nabob of Arcot, ii, 451.
Superstition, nature of it, iii, 188.
Sweden, its revolutionary tendencies, iv, 27.
Sweetness, its nature, i, 184. Relaxing, 186.
Swiss Guards, in Paris, massacre of, ix, 453.
Switzerland, an object of French influence, iv, 22, 113.
Sympathy, observations on it, i, 87, 88; iv, 464.

T.

Taille, the, nature of it, i, 264.
Tanistry, what, v, 568.
Tallien, the regicide, his brutal conduct, v, 92.
Tamerlane, his conquests in Hindostan, vii, 60. Remarks on his Institutes, viii, 57.
Tanjore, province of, ii, 476.
Taste, discourse concerning it, i, 57. Definition of it, 59. Want of it, whence, 70. A wrong or bad one, what, 70. A good one, *ibid.* Effect of the judgment upon it, 71. Taste and smell, their agreement, 160. Taste and elegance of no mean importance in the regulation of life, iii, 308.
Taxes, in France, i, 264; iii, 144; mode of levying them in commercial colonies, an important and difficult consideration, i, 281. Nature of several in America, 282. Remarks on taxes on offices, ii, 165; on different establishments, 166. The great contests for freedom in England, chiefly upon the question of taxing, ii, 33. Remarks on English taxes, iv, 527.
Tea-tax, Burke's speech on, i, 439.
Teas, consumption of, in America, 1, 454.
Temple, Sir William, iv, 496.
Terra Firma, in Spanish America, ix, 197.
Terror, often the source of delight, i, 89. A cause of the sublime, 98. Produces an unnatural tension of the nerves, 167. How the cause of delight, 167.
Test Act, observation on it, iii, 498.
Thanes, origin and character of them, v, 571.
Theatrical entertainments, remarks on them, iii, 103; iv, 392. Made an affair of state by the French regicides, v, 94.
Theodorus, Archbishop of Canterbury, character of him, v, 528.
Third Estate in France, iii, 60.
"*Thoughts on Scarcity*," by Burke, iv, 249.
"*Thoughts on French Affairs*," iv, 5.

Digitized by Google

"*Thoughts on the present discontents*," i, 349.
"*Three Seals*," the history of the affair so called, vii, 77.
Thurlow, Lord, his animadversions on Burke's speech, replied to, viii, 1.
Tiers Etat, in France, how composed, iii, 60.
Time blends the conquered with the conquerors, iii, 504.
Timour, Institutes of, viii, 57.
Tithings, in England, v, 574.
Toleration in England, what, iii, 178. Ought to be tender and large, iii, 493. Not opposed to Christianity, v, 347. Not afforded by the heathens, 361.
Toulon, fleet of, injudicious measures of the English government with regard to it, iv, 111, 112.
Townshend, Charles, his character, i, 482.
Trade, sometimes seems to perish when it only assumes a different form, i, 248. State of, i, 251. Quickly and deeply affected by taxes, i, 312. State of it how to be judged of, iv, 543.
Trade, Board of, origin and operations of it, ii, 212.
Tragedy, observations on the effect of it i, 89. General remarks on it, v, 444. Great personages always the objects of it, viii, 134.
Transmigration of souls, origin of the doctrine, v, 471.
Treasurer's Staff, Lord Coke's remarks on the use of it, ii, 223.
Trent, Council of, effect of its regulations respecting seminaries, iii, 470.
Triangle, the form of it, the poorest in effect of all visible figures, i, 116.
Triennial Parliaments, disadvantages of them, v, 395—400.
Trinoda necessitas, in Saxon law, what, v, 592.
Tucker, Dean, on the Stamp Act, i, 476.
Turkey, power sought there with avidity, notwithstanding the known danger of its tenure, v, 397.
Tyranny, augmented by contumely, ii, 332. The desire of it often lurks in the claim of an extravagant liberty, iii, 376. Never learns moderation from unsuccessful oppression, vii, 215. Ought to be punished, iii, 105.

U.

Ugliness, opposite to beauty, but not to proportion and fitness, nor to sublimity, i, 155.
Uniformity of parts and succession necessary to our idea of artificial infinite, i, 114. Acts of, speech upon, v, 341.
Unity requisite to vastness, i, 171.
Unitarians, speech on the petition of, v, 367.
Universal, nothing universal can be rationally affirmed on any moral or political subject, iii, 349.
Use to be attended to in works of art, i, 118. Use and habit not the cause of pleasure, i, 140.

V.

Vane, Sir Henry, ix, 316.
Vanity, nature and tendency of it, iii, 305.
Variation, beautiful, why, i, 187.
Vastness, a cause of the sublime, i, 112. Unity why necessary to it, i, 171.
Vattel, extracts from his Law of Nations respecting alliances, cases of interference with independent powers, &c. iv, 132; viii, 78.
Venice, republic of, its regulations with respect to offices of state, iii, 486.

Digitized by Google

How originated, v, 597. Acquires the island of Cyprus, 677. The only state in Europe which derived any advantage from the crusades, *ibid.*

Verbal description, a means of raising a stronger emotion than painting, i, 102.

Verres, orations of Cicero against, viii, 534.

Vesputius, Americus, ix, 44.

Vice, a transition to it from virtue seldom suddenly made, i, 335. In common society receives palliating names, viii, 26.

Vices, obscure and vulgar ones often blended with great talents, iii, 306.

Vicinity, civil, law of, what, iv, 401.

"*Vindication of Natural Society*," i, 1.

Virgil, his description of Fame, obscure and magnificent, i, 104. The combination of images of a tremendous dignity in his description of the mouth of hell, 111. A passage from him illustrative of the sublime effect of the cries of animals, 124. And of Smells, 125. Examples of fine painting, 203; iv, 295.

Virginia, described, ix, 350; its productions and trade, 354.

Virtue, progress of a transition from it to Vice in public men, described, i, 335. Will spread as well as Vice by contact, ii, 131. Enumeration of those virtues which cause admiration, i, 146. Enumeration of the softer virtues, *ibid.* How far the idea of beauty may be applied to it, *ibid.* Humility, the foundation of virtue, iii, 305.

Visual objects of great dimensions, why sublime, i, 170. Effect of succession in them explained, 174.

Voltaire, iii, 108.

Voters, in England, more in the spirit of the constitution to lessen than to enlarge their number, i, 295.

W.

Wages, the rate of them has no direct relation to the price of provisions, iv, 254.

Wales, abortive attempt to increase the revenue from, ii, 172; injudiciously and mischievously governed by England for 200 years, ii, 55. Alteration of the system in the reign of Henry VIII. 56.

Wales, Frederick, prince of, project of government devised in his court, i, 358. Name of it, 374.

Walpole, Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert,) extract from his speech on the trial of Doctor Sacheverel, iii, 388. Forced into war with Spain by the people of England, iv, 375. Remarks on his character, 376.

War, the original cause of it often very far from being the principal purpose, i, 335. Economy not easily reconciled with it, 245. Laborers and manufacturers not capable of understanding the grounds of it, iv, 174. War of England with the French Republic, a war with an *armed doctrine*, 344. Can never be carried on long against the will of the people, 371. General Observations on it, 398. The sole means of justice, iv, 398.

Warrants. See *General Warrants*.

Warwick, Earl of, extract from his trial, and observations on it, vii, 546.

Washington, v, 52.

Water, why venerated by the Druids, v, 473.

Weakness, human, seldom pitied by those who applaud prosperous folly or successful guilt, iii, 431.

Wealth, internal, consists in useful commodities as much as in gold and

Digitized by Google

silver, i, 255. A certain standard by which to estimate the character of a government, iii, 155. Can never rank first in England, iv, 15. Ought always to be subservient to virtue and public honor, 338. Remark of a foreigner on the display of it in the shops in London, 543.
West Indians, always indebted to English merchants, i, 225.
West Indies, relative position of, politically, iv, 428.
Whigs, the great connection of them in the reign of Queen Anne, i, 425. The impeachment of Doctor Sacheverel carried on by them for the purpose of stating the true principles of the Revolution, iii, 381; principles of the new Whigs, 380. Another statement from their writings, 405. Their opinion with respect to the power of the people over the Commonweath, 405.
Whigs, Appeal from the New to the Old, iii, 331.
Wickham, Mr., British minister in Switzerland, iv, 355.
Wilkes, Mr., his contest with the court party, i, 399. Pretence for punishing him, i, 401.
Will and Duty contradictory terms, iii, 416. Our duty not dependent on it, 417.
William of Normandy, extraordinary facility of his conquest of England accounted for, v, 556. Reasons assigned for his numerous followers, 598. Brief account of his reign, 600. Amount of his revenue, 608. His character, 622.
William II., (Rufus,) v, 624.
William III., his elevation to the throne an act not of *choice* but of *necessity*, iii, 36. His judicious appointment of able men to the episcopal bench, iii, 296. The spirited address of the Commons to him respecting the war against France, 381. Origin of that war, iv, 378. Singular address with which he conducted it, 382. Address of the House of Lords respecting it, 384.
Windham. See *Wyndham*.
Wintoun, Lord, extracts from his trial, vii, 538.
Wisdom of the Son of Sirach, example of the sublime from it, i, 119.
Wit and Judgment, difference between them, i, 64.
Witchcraft, in Salem, ix, 317.
Wittenagemote, or Saxon Parliament, v, 577.
Words, the best means of communicating the affections of the mind, i, 193. Affect us in a manner very different from natural objects, painting, or architecture, *ibid.* Three sorts of them, 194. General words before ideas, 195. Effect of them, 196. Aggregate words do not necessarily operate by presenting images to mind, 197. Exemplified in the case of Blacklock, 198, and of Saunderson, 199. Words the only means by which many ideas have been presented to the mind, 203. Influence the passions, 203, 206. Much mischief arises from them, v, 312. The world much influenced by them, viii, 21.
Writers, when they act in a body, have much influence on the public mind, iii, 137.
Wyndham, Mr. ix, 580, 589, 591.

Z.

Zeal, novelty not the only source of, iv, 244.
Zisca, John, iv, 284.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

This book should be returned to the Library on or before the last date stamped below.

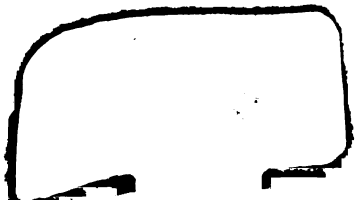
A fine of five cents a day is incurred by retaining it beyond the specified time.

Please return promptly.

SEP 22 42

MAR 7 '61 H

May 15



Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google